

მესამე გამოცემა

სკოლა
და

საზოგადოება

უოლტერ ფინბერგი
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სერიიდან - „ვიზიძროთ განათლების საკითხებზე“

seriidan - `vi fiqroT ganaTI ebis sakiTxebze-
mexuTe gamocema
redaqtori **ionas f. sol tisi**

es wigni warmoadgens wina gamocemebis ganaxl ebul da ganvrcobil versias. masSi naTI ad da mkafiod aris Camoyal ibebul i moqmed da momaval maswavl ebl ebTan dakavSirebul i saganmanaTI ebl o sakiT-xebi. saxel mZRvanel o warmoadgens araCveul ebriv instruments yovel dRiur saskol o cxovrebaSi arsebul i sakiTxebisa da probl emebis gasaanal izebl ad. wignSi agreTve ganxil ul ia swavl a-swavl ebasTan, saswavl o gegmasTan, eTikasTan, skol asa da sazogadoebis urTierTobebTan dakavSirebul sakiTxebze sxvadasxva fil osofiuri Sexedul eba.

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

swavl ebis eTika
kenet a. straiki da ionas f. sol tisi

saswavl o gegma da miznebi
deker f. uol ker i da ionas f. sol tisi

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

swavl ebis strategiebi
gari d. fenStenmaxeri da ionas f. sol tisi



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ვიგნების ტარგმნის პროგრამის ფარგლებში**



CENTER FOR CIVIL INTEGRATION AND INTER-ETHNIC RELATIONS

**სამოყალ აყო ინტეგრაციისა და ეროვნებატსორისი
ურტიერთობების ცენტრი**

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mexuTe gamocema

skol a
da
sazogadoeba

uol ter feinbergi
ionas f. sol tisi



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wi naTqma

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 standartebs, angariSval debul ebis meqanizmebsa da testirebis sistemis gavl ena skol ebze. axal gamocemaSi Secvl il ia bibliografiis sistemac. bibliografia dayofil i gvaqvs or nawil ad. TiToeul i Tavis bol os warmodgenil ia `damatebiTi gamokvl evisTvis- bibliografiis CamonaTval i, xol o saxel mZRvanel os darTul i aqvs `damatebiTi resursebi-, roml is gamoyenebac SeuZl ia mkiTxvel s.

Cven madl obas vuxdiT *mat sangers* bibliografiis am formiT Secvl is ideis mowodebisTvis. saxel mZRvanel oSi warmodgenil i praqtikul i magal iTebi am wignis erT-erTi umniSvnel ovanesi nawil ia. Ppraqtikul i magal iTebis meSveobiT, Cven ganvixil avT sxvadasxva Teoriul sakiTxs. axal gamocemaSi uamravi mniSvnel ovani da saintereso praqtikul i magal iTia gaanal izebul i, rac agreTve sainteresos xdis am gamocemas. saxel mZRvanel os pirvel gamocemaze komentarebisTvis Cven udides madl obas vuxdiT *erik bredos, Carl z haringtons, el eonor feinbergs* da *al an peSkins*. agreTve madl oba gvinda gadavuxadoT *karl hoStetl ers*, kvl evis asistents, da *francis sailmons*, roml ebmac araerTxel gadaamuSaves saxel mZRvanel os sxvadasxva gverdi. *nensi sol tisma* gadaamuSava meore, mesame, meoTxe da mexuTe gamocemebis damatebebi. Cven madl oba gvinda gadavuxadoT `TiCers kol ej presis- TanamSromel s *susan l idikouts* saredaqcio xasiaTis rCevebisTvis, agreTve *piter sigers*, saxel mZRvanel os xutive gamocemis araCveul ebrivi xel mZRvanel obisTvis.

nawilil

skolisada sazogadoebis
urtiertmimarTeba

Tavi 1

ra saki Txebs exeba saxel mZRvanel o

es saxel mZRvanel o ganixil avs skol isa da sazogadoebis urTierTmimarTebis sakiøxebs. Cven gvinda, TqvenTan erTad vifiqroT, Tu ra funqcia aqvT skol ebs, garda moswavl eTaTvis wera-kiTxvis, ariTmetikisa Tu sxvadasxva sagnis swavl ebisa. skol a asrul ebs mniSvnel ovan rol s adamianis Rirebul ebebisa da damokidebul 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 visaubrebT, kargi iqneba, Tu gavaanal izebT, ra SeiZl eba iswavl 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 moiTxovda, gaaanal izoT, Tu ra mogcaT da ra gaswavl aT skol am.

warmoebi sTvis momzadeba

erTi wuTit warmoidgineT skol a, sadac ar arsebobs saSinao daval eba. yvel aferi keTdeba skol aSi, adgil ze, moswavl e swavl obs mxol od skol aSi, iseve rogorc es xdeba qarxanaSi Tu sawarmoSi muSaobisas. yvel a moswavl es aqvs Tavisi kompiuteri an danadgari. kviris bol os moswavl e iRebs 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 airCios, romel i sagnis swavl a unda. Tumca anazRaureba sxvadasxva sagnis Seswavl isTvis sxvadasxvaa. im sagnebis Seswavl isTvis, sadac mkvl evarTa da mecniertTa deficitia, moswavl eTa anazRaureba maRal ia. maTematika "ufro rTulia" vidre, magal iTad, istoriis an literaturos sagani; Sesabamisad, erTi saatiT maTematikis swavl isTvis anazRaureba

orj er metia, vidre l iteraturis 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 proporciul 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 iaффasiani 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 mrewel obidan amoRebul i Tanxebidan.

xel fasidan miRebul i Tanxis ganaRdeba da daxarj va SesaZl ebel ia mxol od skol is savaWro centrSi. am savaWro centrSi moswavl eebS SeuZl iaT 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, SesaZl ebel ia, fasebi TandaTan an etapobrivad gaizardos. Sesabamisad, moswavl eebma unda aiRon ufro rTul i kursebi, raTa gamoimuSaon meti da SeZl on savaWro centrSi arsebul i saqonl isa da momsaxurebis SeZena.

miuxedavad imisa, rom moswavl eebi iReben ufro rTul kursebs, maTi Semosaval i mainc ar aris sakmarisi, raTa daikmayofil on yovel dRIuri cxovrebiS moTxovnebi. Sesabamisad, moswavl eebi iTxoven naswavl i kursebis anazRaurebis gazrdas da am moTxovnas ayeneben skol is direktorisa 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 centris mogebas da mis efeqturobas, Sesabamisad, ekonomikuri mosazrebidan gamomdinare, es SeTanxmeba orive mxaristvis momgebiania.

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

cxovrebisTvis, isini emzadebian sawarmoSi, qarxanasa Tu saamqroSi samuSaod. amasTanave, moswavl eebi erkvevian iseT mniSvnel ovan sakiTxebSi, 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 SeiZl eba aswavl os skol am mos-wavl eebes, garda saswavl o discipl inebisa. saxel mZRvanel os bol o TavSi ganxil ul ia ramdenime SemTxveva, romel ic war-moadgens saxel mZRvanel oSi ganxil ul i Teoriul i sakiTxe-bis praqtikul magal iTs da roml ebic saSual ebas mogcemT, gaaanal izoT skol is rol i da daniSnul eba. amasTanave, aRv-niSnavT, rom saxel mZRvanel os bol o, merve TavSi ganxil u-l ia praqtikul i magal iTi "moswavl eTa mmarTvel oba". Aam magal iTSi naTl ad aris Camoyal ibebul i, rogor unda gax-ados skol am sakuTari moswavl e kargi da aqtiuri moqal aqe. Aam magal iTSi ufro real isturad aris warmodgenil i saskol o cxovreba Cveni, sawarmosTvis mosamzadebel i sko-l is magal iTTan SedarebiT. es praqtikul i magal iTi gvaZ-l evs SesaniSnav SesaZl ebl obas, vimsjel oT da gavaanal i-zoT, Tu ra unda aswavl os skol am moswavl eebes akademiuri discipl inebis garda.

warmosaxvi Ti sazogadoeba

wina magal iTisgan gansxvavebiT, sadac warmodgenil i iyo industriul i da maRal teqnol ogiuri sazogadoeba, amJamad warmovidginoT agrarul i sazogadoeba, sadac ganviTarebul ia mebaReoba da mecxovel eoba da saerTo sakuTreba, sadac sakvebi da Sroma gadanawil ebul ia Temis wevrebs Soris. Aam sazogadoebaSi ar hyavT arCeul i l ideri. yvel a zrdasrul i adamiani rigrigobiT asrul ebs maswavl ebl is, mosamarTl is, policiel is Tu sxva social uri momsaxurebis agentis funqcias. A

dResaswaul ebi da festival ebi aris am sazogadobis umniSvnel ovanesi maxasiaTebel i. dResaswaul ebze da festival ebze cekva, simRera da azrTa urTierTgacvl a yvel aze farTod gavrcel ebul i aqtivobebia. es warmosaxviTi sazogadoeba aris izol irebul i sazogadoeba, ar awuxebis

garSemomyof Temebs da cxovrobs sakuTari tradiciebiTa da wes-Cveul ebebiT.

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

SemogTavazebT Cveneul xedvas, rogori warmogvi dgenia skol ebi aseT sazogadoebaSi. Cveni varaudiT, am skol ebSi TiToeul i moswavl e TveSi erTxel iqneboda l ideri, anu iqneboda pasuxismgebel i, rom moswavl eebma ganaxorciel on Semdegi saqmianoba: 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. Yyovel dil iT gakveTil i iwyeba simReriT, zRapis an igavis moyol iT da misi mora-lis gaanal izebiT. am skol ebSi mTavari sagani am 'sazogadoebis istoriaa da ara `msofl io historia-. garda amisa, iswavl eba sofl is meurneobis Teoriisa da principe-bis sagani. amastanave, skol a aswavl is cekvebsa da simRe-rebs, agreTve `ambebis Txrobs- xel ovnebas... moswavl eebi yovel dRe muSaoben skol is baRSi da swavl oben sxvadasxva sasofl o-sameurneo samuSaosaTvis Sesabamis simReras.

SegviZl ia, al baT, ufro detal uradac aRvveroT sko-l a aseTi tipis sazogadoebaSi. Tumca, mTavari sakiTxi, ra-zec 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 organizebuli da funqcionirebdes iseve, rogorc es sazogadoebaSi xdeba zogadad. zemoT warmodgenil i ori sazogadoebisa da skol is magal iTi warmoadgens il ustra-cias, Tu rogori skol a unda iyos industriul sazogadoe-baSi da rogor unda funqcionirebdes skol a agrarul sa-zogadoebaSi...

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) funqcional izmi; (2) konfl iqtis Teoria; (3) interpretivistul 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 funqcional istebisa da konfl iqtis Teoriis mimdevrebis Sexedul ebebs warmosaxviTi sawarmosTvis mosamzadebel i skol is Sesaxeb.

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

funcional istebisgan gansxvavebul i xedva aqvT konfl iqtis Teoriis mimdevrebs. isini skol as xedaven, rogorc instruments mmarTvel i el itis xel Si, raTa am el itam SeZl os sakuTari Zal aufl ebis da dominantobis SenarCuneba. faqtia, rom real ur cxovrebaSi arseboben, erTi mxriv, muSebi da, meore mxriv - biznesmenebi da xel mZRvanel ebi. Kkonfl iqtis Teoriis mimdevrebi 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, gansxvavebul ad xedaven am process konfl iqtis 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, gadaixadon gadasaxadi, rom SeZl on swavl a. konfl iqtis Teoriis mimdevrebi xedaven mTavar probl emas kl asebs Soris gansxvavebaSi, konfl iqtSi mdidarsa da Raribs Soris, da miicneven, rom zogadi ganaTl ebis sistema emsaxureba mdidari kl asis interesebs. konfl iqtis Teoriis mimdevrebi gamokveTil i nawil ia marqsis-tul i Teoria da Cven konfl iqtis Teorias marqsiszmis prizmaSi ganvixil avT. marqsis-tebi miicneven, rom social uri institutebi emsaxurebian uTanasworobas sazogadoebaSi da mowodebul ni arian, SeinarCunon el itis dominanturi mdgomareoba. marqsis-tebi mowodeben sazogadoebas garkveul i nabijebi gadadgan el itis dominantobis SemnarCunebel i sazogadoebrivi instituciebis transformirebisTvis.

Tval naTel ia, rom funcional istebisa da konfl iqtis Teoriis mimdevrebs gaaCniaT srul iad gansxvavebul i Sexedul ebebi skol isa da sazogadoebis urTierTmimarTebis erTi da imave sakiTxze. funcional istebis skol as xedaven, rogorc organizmis funcioni-rebisTvis aucil ebel nawil s, xol o konfl iqtis Teoriis mimdevrebi skol as aRiqvamen, rogorc instruments dominanturi j gufis gavlenis SesanarCunebl ad.

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

Sedgoba sxvadasxva individisa Tu institutisgan. individebi Tu institutebi iTviseben, erTmaneTs uziareben da interpretacias ukeTeben sxvadasxva wesebsa da normebs. swored es aTvisebul i, gaziarebul i da interpretirebul i normebi da wesebi real izdeba social uri interaqciisas. agrarul i sazogadoebis tipis skol ebSi, roml ebic 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 gaviarzot TiToeul TemSi arsebul i social uri konteqsti, iq arsebul i wesebi da normebi da am konteqstis, wesebisa 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, interpretivistebi ityvian, rom moswavl eebma iswavl es TamaSis wesebi skol aSi, iswavl es, rogor gamoimuSaon Tanxa, ra kursebi airCion gamomuSavebul i ful iT, ramdeni Tanxa gamoimuSaon kursebis SesarCevad, ramdenad bevri unda iSromon da nakl ebi daisvenon, ra meqanizmebi arsebobs da ra donemdea SesaZl ebel i skol is administraciasTan konfrontacia da a.S.

Cven mokl ed da zogadad 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, vfiqrobT, rom am formatiT fil osofiuri Sexedul ebebis dal ageba met saSual ebas iZl eva ganaTI ebis sxvadasxva sakiTxis gasaanal izebl ad.

wignis formati da Sinaarsi

saxel mZRvanel os meore TavSi ganvixil avT skol isa da sazogadoebis urTierTmimarTebis funzional istur Sex-edul ebebs, am xedvis Zl ier da sust mxareebs. saxel mZRvanel os mesame TavSi ukve ganvixil avT konfliqtis Teoriis mimdevrebis mosazrebebs. konfliqtis Teoriis ganxil vas davafuznebt Tanamedrove marqsistul kvl evebs, roml ebic swavl obs sazogadoebaSi uTanasworobis gamomwvev mizezebs da skol as ganxil avs, rogorc instruments am uTanasworobis SesanarCunebl ad. saxel mZRvanel os meoTxe TavSi ki warmovadgenT interpretivistebis mosazrebebs da gavaanal izebt saerto da ganmasxvavebel maxasiaTebl ebs funzional iste-bis, konfliqtis 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 in-terpretacias ukeTeben sakuTari kvl evis Sedegebs. aRni Snu-ll i kvl evis Sedegebi warmodgenil ia, raTa Tqven SesaZl eb-l oba mogeteT, skol isa da sazogadoebis urTierTmimarTeba ukeTesad gaanal izoT. garda amisa, TiToeul i Tavis bol os warmodgenil ia literaturis CamonaTval i. literaturis gacnoba xel s Seuwyobs mkiTxvel s, ufro Rmad gaecnos da gaiazros is sakiTxebi, roml ebiTac daintereseba.

al baT, saintereso, Tu rogor gamoiyenebs maswavl ebe-ll 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 uwyobs maswavl ebel s Tu nebismier ganmanaTl ebel s, gaaanal izos is, rasac akeTebis yovel dRiurad fil osofiur da social ur Wril Si. sax-el 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 TaviT SevecadoT pirvel oTx TavSi ganxil ul i Teoriul i sakiT-xebi praqtikasTan dagvekavSirebina.

skol is social ur miznebsa da daniSnul ebaze debatebi yovel Tvis mimdinareobda. saintereso, rom sxvadasxva epo-qaSi debatebis Tematika icvl eboda. magal iTad, meoce sauku-nis dasawyisSi skol isa da sazogadoebis urTierTmimarTebis

Wril Si mTavari Tema iyo, Tu ra rol i unda hqonoda skol as imigrantTa `amerikanizaciis- procesSi. meoce saukunis or- mocdaaTian wl ebSi ukve ganaTI ebis sistemis kritikis mTa- vari safuZvel i gaxda skol ebis moumzadebl oba, rom gamoeS- vaT 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 Si- naarsis swavl ebaze da ara individis aRzrdaze, kritikis seriozul i Tema gaxl daT moswavl eTaTvis Tanabari saganma- naTI ebl o SesaZI ebl obebis uzrunvel yofis sakiTxi da a.S.

saxel mZRvanel os mexuTe redaqcia gamodis. Aam xuTi redaqcii momzadebis periodSi araerTi sakiTxi ismeboda da ixil eboda skol isa da sazogadoebis urTierTmimarTebis konteqstSi. Tundac bol o periodSi gaaqtiurebul i mul ti- kul turul i ganaTI ebis sakiTxi. es sakiTxi sakmaod aqtu- al uria Tanamedrove ganaTI ebis reformis konteqstSi da, amastanave, warmoadgens imigrantTa ganaTI ebis Sesaxeb da- wunebul 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 pol itikis mniSvnel ovan da aqtu- al ur sakiTxebs warmoad- genda Zal adoba skol aSi, narkotikebi skol aSi, axal gazrda gogonebis gaxSirebul i orsul obis probl ematika, skol is mitovebis maCvenebl ebi da a.S. yvel a es sakiTxi ukavSirde- boda bol odroindel saganmanaTI ebl o reformebs amerikis ganaTI ebis sistemaSi, romel ic orientirebul i iyo maqsima- l uri angarisval debul ebis meqanizmebze, standartizebul testebe da a.S. bol o periodSi, aqtiurad dadga ganaTI e- bis sistemaSi kvl evebis gamoyenebis sakiTxi, xSirad mimdi- nareobs kamaTi, Tu rogori tipis kvl evebi unda Caataros skol am, maswavl ebel ma da mkvl evarma, raTa ukeTesad war- moaCinos skol aSi arsebul i probl emebi da xarvezebi. am Tval sazrisiT, Tvisebrivi kvl evis mniSvnel obis zrda cal - saxadaa SesamCnevi.

ganaTI ebis reformis ama Tu im sakiTxis irgvl iv ka- maTs iwvevs am sakiTxis ganxil visas social uri konteqstis ignorireba. social uri, ekonomikuri, pol itikuri da kul - turul i konteqsti umniSvnel ovanesia skol ebis struqturisa da daniSnul ebis gansazRvrisas. Ees konteqsti warmoadgens, erTi mxriv, axal SesaZI ebl obebs skol ebisTvis da, meore

mxriv, awesebs garkveul SezRudvebs maT saqmianobaSi. social uri konteqstidan gamomdinare, icvl eba maswavl ebl is saqmianobac, magal iTad erTi da igive maswavl ebel i SeiZl eba aswavl ida konteqstSi, sadac mTavari moTxovna akademiuri sizuste iyo. Tumca, axal i konteqstidan gamomdinare, mTavari moTxovna Tanabari SesaZl ebl obebis Seqmna, individual uri Taviseburebebis gaTval iswineba da individual uri midgomebis danergva gaxda. amitom, Zal ian mniSvnel ovania, rom TiToeul maswavl ebel s da ganmanaTI ebel s kargad esmodes arsebul i social uri konteqsti da, am konteqstidan gamomdinare, uzrunvel yos social uri moTxovnebis da saWiroebebis srul ad dakmayofil eba da saswavl o procesis Sesabamisad warmarTva. vfiqrobT, es saxel mZRvanel o daexmareba maswavl ebl ebs ganaTI ebis sakiTxebis social ur konteqstSi gaanal izebaSi.

skol a warmoadgens mudmivi cvl il ebebis adgil s. skol a ganicdis cvl il ebebs social uri konteqstis cvl il ebebidan gamomdinare. xSirad skol a icvl eba, imitom, rom Cven gvsurs misi Secvl a. Sesabamisad, mniSvnel ovania, rom skol a istoriul Wril Si gansxvavebul i struqturiTa da funqciIT iyos warmodgenil i da momaval Sic skol a aucil ebl ad iqneba gansxvavebul i imisgan, rac dRes gvaqvs. momaval i skol a damokidebul ia ganmanaTI ebl ebis xedvaze, maT codnasa da gamocdil ebaze; Tu ra pozitiuri da negatiuri mxareebi aqvs amJamindel skol as, rom am gamocdil ebidan gamomdinare moxdes skol ebis pozitiurad da social uri konteqstis gaTval iswinebiT cvl il eba.

saxel mZRvanel os merve Tavi, romel ic praqtikul magal iTebbs moicavs, daexmarebaT ganmanaTI ebl ebs skol isa da sazogadoebis urTierTmimarTebis praqtikul i aspeqtEBis gaanal izebaSi da sakuTari skol is ukeTesobisken Secvl aSi. am praqtikul magal iTebSi gansxvavebul i rakursiTaa warmodgenil i `skol ebis warumatebl obebis safuZvl ebi`.

nawil i ll

saskol o ganaTI eba,
rogorc social izaci is
procesi da progresi

Tavi 2

saskol o ganaTI ebis funqcional isturi xedva

funqcional izmi

funqcional izmi warmoadgens erT-erT Teoriul mimdina-reobas social uri movl enebisa da institutebis funqcionirebis Sesaxeb. funqcional izmis Teoria farTodaa gavrceleb i anTropol ogiasa da sociol ogiasa, Tumca dasabams iRebs biol ogiis mecnierebidan. funqcional istebi miiCnevden, rom biol ogiuri organizmis sxvadasxva sistemas gaaCnia sxvadasxva sasicocxl o funqcia. organizmSi kuWs, gul s, fil tvs - yvel as Tavisi funqcia gaaCnia da TiToeul i am organos sworad funqcionirebis gareSe, organizmi ver SeZleb sasicocxl es. biol ogiur mecnierebebSi arsebul i Teoria yvel a organos sasicocxl o funqciis Sesaxeb gadmoitanes social ur mecnierebebSi. funqcional istebi fiqroben, rom sxvadasxva social uri instituti Cven unda gavaanal izoT social ur konteqstSi, gaviazroT am institutis social uri funqcia da ra mniSvnel oba aqvs am social ur instituts social uri sistemis sasicocxl isunarianobisTvis. Sesabamisad, funqcional istebi skol as ganixil aven, rogorc sazogadoebriv institucas, romel ic emsaxureba am sazogadoebis garkveul i saWiroebebis dakmayofil ebas.

Ffunqcional istebris mTavari amosavali a, rom social uri institutebi da maTi saqmianoba ganixil on mTI iani social uri sistemis funqcionirebis konteqstSi. funqcional istebi social ur institutebs ganixil aven maTi saWiroebebis, rol isa da funqciis Sesabamisad, social uri sistemis efeqturad adaptirebisa da ganvitarebisTvis.

erTi wuTiT warmovidginoT da ganvixil oT eqimebisa da maswavl ebl ebis SerCevis, momzadebisa da dajil doebis sistemebi funqcional istebris Tval TaxedviT. funqcional istebris azriT, eqimebic da maswavl ebl ebic umniSvnel ovanesia sazogadoebis, rogorc social uri sistemis, arsebobis, ga-

darCenis, funcioni rebisa da ganvi Tarebis Tvis. Tumca sain-tereso a funcional istebis xedva, Tu ratom aris eqimebis anazRaureba gacil ebiT maRal i, vidre maswavl ebl ebisa. funcional istebs aqvT am fenomenis saintereso axsna. maTi azriT, aris profesiebi, romel Ta daufl eba SeuZl ia Zal ian bevr adamians da aris profesiebi, romel Ta aTvisbac SeuZl iaT mxol od Zal ian niWier da Sromismoyvare adamianebis mcire j gufs. funcional istebi miicneven, rom maswavl ebl o- ba SeuZl ia ufro met adamians, vidre eqimoba, maswavl ebl is profesiiis daufl eba ar moiTxovs imden niWsa da Zal isxmevas, ramdensac eqimis profesiiis daufl eba. Sesabamisad, sazogadoeba axal isebs ufro niWier adamianebs, roml ebic ufro met Zal isxmevas weven sakuTari profesiiis dasauf- l ebl ad da maTi anazRaureba da sazogadoebaSi maTi statu- si aris ufro maRal i. funcional istebis azriT, sanam mas- wavl ebl is profesiiis daufl eba SeeZl eba ufro met ada- mians, vidre eqimis profesiiis daufl eba, manamde eqimis pro- fesia iqneba ufro metad maRal anazRaurebadi da prestiJu- l i, vidre maswavl ebl is profesiaa.

funcional istebi miicneven, rom nebismier sazogadoe- baSi garkveul i saqmianoba gadanawil ebul ia. yvel aze primi- tiul i sazogadoebac ki axdenda rol ebis diferenciacias, zogierTi nadirobda, zogierTi sakvebs amzadebda, zogierTi mosaval s iRebda da a.S. adreul sazogadoebebSi rol ebis diferenciacia Tval saCinoa, yvel am icis, Tu ras akeTebis sa- zogadoebis sxva wevri, sazogadoebis wevrebs Soris sol i- darobis ganxda gamZafrebul ia.

funcional istebi gamoyofen sazogadoebrivi cxovrebis or amosaval i postul ats: *rol ebis diferenciaciassa da so- cial ur sol idarobas*. funcional istebis azriT, rol ebis diferenciacia da social uri sol idaroba damaxasiaTebel ia rogorc primitiul i, aseve Tanamedrove sazogadoebis Tvis. funcional istebis azriT, rol ebis diferenciaciisa da so- cial uri sol idarobis uzrunvel sayofad primitiul sazo- gadoebaSi araformal uri ganaTl eba gamoiyeneba, rac gu- l isxmobs bavSvis aRzrdas oj axSi oj axis wevrebis dakvir- vebis gziT; xol o Tanamedrove sazogadoebaSi ukve mniSvne- l ovani rol i ekisreba formal ur da kargad Camoyal ibeul ganaTl ebis sistemas, romel ic uzrunvel yofs sazogadoebaSi rol ebis danawil ebasa da social ur sol idarobas. saval de- bul o, saj aro, zogadi ganaTl ebis Tanamedrove sistema

xel s uwyobs sazogadoebaSi rol ebis danawil ebas, agreTve sazogadoebaSi Zvel i Rirebul ebebis, wesebisa da damokidebul ebebis axl iT Canacvl ebis process. sajaro skol a da zogadi ganaTI eba xel s uwyobs moswavl eebSi im codnisa da unarebis ganvITarebas, rac saWiro da aucil ebel ia Tanamedrove teqno logiur epoqaSi.

funqcional istebis azriT, saval debul o da universal uri ganaTI eba axasiaTebis 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 funqcional istebis xedvasTan. funqcional istebi iziareben safexurebriv Teorias - tradiciul i sazogadobidan Tanamedrove sazogadobamde misvl is process funqcional uri integrirebis gziT. Ees procesi Sejamebul ia funqcional zmis Sesaxeb vil bert muris naSromSi Semdegi model is saxiT:

pirvel i safexuri aris funqciurad integrirebul i statitikuri tradiciul i sazogadoeba. meore safexuri aris gardamaval i etapi tradiciul idan Tanamedrove sazogadobisken, xol o mesame safexuri aris funqciurad integrirebul i, srul iad Tanamedrove sazogadoeba.

safexurebrivma Teoriam didi vnebaTaRel ava gamoiwvia rogorc funqcional istebis Soris, agreTve farTo samecniero 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. AmecnierTa nawil i, am Teorias sxva kuTxiTac akritikebda. maTi azriT, tradiciul i sazogadobis Tanamedrove sazogadobadD qceva aris moral urad sakamato da miuRebel i debul eba. Sesabamisad, funqcional istTa nawil ma es Teoria ar miiRo. Mmiuxedavad amisa, safexurebrivi Teoria safuZvl ad daedo araerT mniSvnel ovan naSroms, gansakuTrebit mesame msofli os qveynebis saganmanaTI ebl o politikis ganxil vis konteqstSi.

`safexurebrivi Teoriis- mxardamWerebi ki miiCneven, rom Tanamedrove sazogadobas araerTi upiratesoba gaaCnia tradiciul sazogadobasTan Sedarebit. Tanamedrove sazogadobas Zal uZs upasuxos sazogadobis wevrebis moTxov-

nebs, Sesabamisad, safexurebrivi Teoriis mxardamWerebi sa-
 val debul o zogad ganaTI ebas Tanamedrove sazogadoebis
 cxovrebis aucil ebel procesad ganixil aven. maTi Sexedu-
 l ebiT, swored ganaTI ebis meSveobiT xdeba Tanamedrove sa-
 zogadoebaSi sazogadoebrivi rol ebis danawil eba. Tu tradi-
 diciul sazogadoebaSi sazogadoebrivi rol ebis miniWeba
 damokidebul i iyo individis warmomavl obasTan, Tanamedrove
 sazogadoebaSi is pirdapir ukavSirdeba ganaTI ebas da sa-
 val debul o zogadi ganaTI eba yvel a individs aZl evs Tana-
 bar Sesazl ebl obebs, daikavos garkveul i poziciebi sazoga-
 doebaSi da es xdeba bevrad samarTI iani da humanuri proce-
 sebis Sedegad, vidre tradiciul sazogadoeebSi.

funcional istebi miicneven, rom skol a aris mTavari in-
 strumenti moswavl is mosamzadebl ad oj axis wevrobidan
 sazogadoebis wevrobamde. swored skol aSi swavl oben mos-
 wavl eebi, Tu rogor unda funcionierebdnen efeqturad sa-
 zogadoebriv cxovrebaSi. am Tval sazrisiT erT-erT mniSv-
 nel ovan naSroms warmoadgens rober driibenis wigni "*ras
 swavl oben skol aSi*". Ddriibenis azriT, moswavl eebi swav-
 l oben qcevis normebsa da wesebs, rac mniSvnel ovania sazo-
 gadoebrivi monawil eobisTvis qveynis pol itikuri da ekono-
 mikuri konteqstidan gamomdinare. Mmisi azriT, skol aSi mos-
 wavl eebi sazogadoebrivi cxovrebisTvis emzadebian ara
 mxol od im sagnebis swavl iT, roml ebic saval debul oa
 saskol o kurikul umis mixedvit, aramed im sazogadoebrivi
 urTierTobebiT, roml ebic mimdinareobs skol aSi, rogorc
 organizaciaSi an sazogadoebis mcire model Si da romel ic
 saskol o cxovrebis ganuyofel nawil s warmoadgens. amitom,
 misi azriT, skol aSi sagnobrivi Sinaarsis swavl ebasTan er-
 Tad, umniSvnel ovanesia konkretul i sazogadoebisTvis adek-
 vaturi saskol o sazogadoebis formireba, roml is SigniTac
 efeqturi funcioniereba winapiroba gaxdeba moswavl is sa-
 zogadoebaSi efeqturi integraciisTvis. driibeni miicnevs,
 rom am SemTxvevaSi gacil ebiT mniSvnel ovania ara is, Tu ra
 iswavl eba Sinaarsobrivi Tval sazrisiT, aramed is, Tu ra
 midgomebiT, meTodebiT, strategiebiT iswavl eba da ra kl i-
 mati da garemoa Seqmnil i swavl ebis procesSi. Ddriibenis
 azriT, sagnebis garda, oTxi mniSvnel ovani norma unda is-
 wavl os moswavl em skol aSi pirvel i kl asidan bol o kl a-
 samde, raTa oj axis wevrobidan iqces sazogadoebis srul fa-
 sovan wevrad: (1) damoukidebl oba; (2) warmatebul oba; (3) un-

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

damouki debi 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 qmedebenze pasuxismgebl oba da angariSval debul eba exmareba moswavl es momaval Si sazogadoebriv cxovrebaSi. es norma agreTve gu-l isxmobs sanqciebis arsebobs 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 qmedebenze, rom Tavidan airidos sanqciebi.

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

universal izmi da **gansxvavebul oba** erTmaneTTan dakavSi-rebul i da urTierTgamomdinare 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 SegviZl ia ganvixil oT SemTxveva, rodesac moswavl e iT-xovs patiebas dagvianebul i daval ebis gamo, razec maswavl e-bel i cal saxad pasuxobs, rom mistvis daval ebis Seusrul ebl obis patieba niSnavs, rom man sxva moswavl eebSac unda apatios, Tu isini daval ebas ar Seasrul eben, ami tom midgoma universal uria da daval ebis umizezod dagvianebiT Sesru-l eba an Seusrul ebl oba dasj adia nebismieri moswavl istvis. universal izmTan dakavSirebul i meore normaa **gansxvavebu-l oba** da misi aucil ebl ad aRiareba saskol o doneze. gansxvavebul obis aRiarebis magal iTad SegviZl ia ganvix-il oT igive daval ebis Seusrul ebl obis SemTxveva, oRond, im SemTxvevaSi, Tu moswavl em ver SeZl o daval ebis Sesru-

I eba garkveul i specificuri mizezis gamo. magal iTad, maswavl ebel ma SeiZl 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 saka- l aTburTo gundis interesebS. am SemTxvevaSi maswavl ebel i iRebs mxedvel obaSi moswavl is gansxvavebul obas, rom is warmoadgens saskol o sakal aTburTo gunds da am gundis mier Catarebul i TamaSis gamo man ver SeiZl 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 gufebiST- vis, magal iTad kl asisTvis, gundis wevrebisTvis, damamTvare- bel i kl asis moswavl eebisTvis da aS. universal izmi mniSv- nel 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 indi- vid mzadaa gverdze gadados sakuTari individual oba da imoqmedos, rogorc konkretul i j gufis wevrma, iseve, ro- gorc aRqmul i iyos da moepyran, rogorc konkretul i j gu- fis wevrs. magal iTad, Tu aviRebT romel ime sportul gunds. sportul gundSi dawesebul ia universal uri normebi, maT Soris - yovel dRiuri varjiSebi da Tanabari moTxovnebi da val debul ebebi yvel asTvis. mwvrTnel ma ar SeiZl eba gamo- nakl 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 prin- cipebidan gadaxvevas da partikul arizms. Tumca, gansxvave- bul oba gundSic unda iyos dacul i. magal iTad, Tu rome- l ime moTamaSe ver eswreba varjiSs rel igiuri mosazrebebis gamo, romel ic specificuria misi rel igiuri Temisa da oj axisTvis, mwvrTnel i iTval iswinebs am faqtors da aZl evs saSual ebas moTamaSes im dRes gaacdinov varjiSi rel igi- uri mosazrebebis gamo, Tumca isev da isev es ar arRvevs un- iversal izmis princips. gansxvavebul oba da universal izmi erTdroul ad moqmedebs da orive norma dafasebul ia da in- dividi eCveva orive normis dafasebas, rac mniSvnel ovani ma- Ti sazogadoebriv cxovrebisTvis mosamzadebl ad.

driibenis mier Camoyal ibebuli oTxi normis swavl a ufro efeqturad xdeba skol aSi, vidre oj axSi saskol o cxovrebis gamo, Tumca SesaZl ebel ia moswavl em skol aSic ver SeiZl os am normebis aTviseba, rac mas funcional iste-

bis azriT aucil ebl ad swirdeba sazogadoebaSi fuqncioni-
rebisTvis. riibeni Tvl is, rom damoukidebl oba, warmatebebi,
universal izmi da gansxvavebul oba swored is normebia,
roml ebic uzrunvel yofs moswavl eebis moqal aqeebad formi-
rebas da sazogadoebriv cxovrebaSi efeqtur monawil eobas.
skol a `aZl evs moswavl es fsiqol ogiur mzaobas, rac exma-
reba mas monawil eoba miiRos sazogadoebrivi cxovrebi Zi-
riTad institucional ur sferoebSi, daikavos social uri
pozicia am sazogadoebriv instituciebSi da daakmayofil os
am instituciebis moTxovnebi, iseve rogorc isargebl os am
social uri instituciebis SigniT arsebul i ganvitarebis
SesaZl ebl obebiT-.

Tanabari saganmanaTI ebl o SesaZI ebl obebi

sainteresoa, al baT, mkiTxvel istvis, Tu sakuTarma sko-
l am ramdenad SeZl o aRniSnul oTx standartTan maTi zia-
reba. Aam sakiTxis gaanal izebaSi dagexmarebaT es gancxadeba,
roml is msgavsi arc Tu ise iSviaTi iyo amerikis SeerTebul
StatebSi sul cota xnis win: `gvesaWiroeba menejeri marke-
tingul i formisTvis. sasurvel i kandidati unda iyos TeTr-
kaniani, qristiani, aivis l igis skol is kursdamTavrebul i.
vakanturi poziciis dakaveba saukeTeso saSual ebaa winsvl i-
sa da warmatebisaTvis”.

aRniSnul i gancxadeba Tavistavad diskriminaciul i da
dResdReobiT sayovel Tao yuradRebisa da kritikis qveS
moeqceva. Aam gancxadebaSi wamoyenebul i moTxovnebi arare-
l evanturia dasakavebel i vakanturi TanamdebobisTvis aucil
ebel i da saWiro kval ifikaciisTvis. riibeni miicnevs, rom
dResdReobiT amgvar gancxadebaze sazogadoebis negatiuri
reaqcia warmoadgens skol is saqmianobis Sedegs, radgan
swored skol aSi moxda iseTi normebisa da principebis da-
nergva, rogoric aris universal izmi da warmatebul oba.
skol aSi iswavl es sazogadoebis wevrebma, rom TamaSis wese-
bi universal uria j gufis wevrebisTvis da Sefaseba xdeba
maTi warmatebis, codnisa da unarebis Sesabamisad. Anu sko-
l aSi SeTvissebul i principi TanxvedraSia Tanamedrove in-
dustrial i sazogadoebisTvis damaxasiaTebel i Tanabari Se-
saZl ebl obebis principTan.

Tanabari SesaZl ebl obebi gul isxmobs, rom adamienebi SerCeul ni unda iyvnen am Tu im poziciisTvis an dawinaurdenen maTi SeZenil i codnisa da unarebis, maT mier miRweul i warmatebidan gamomdinare da ara Tandayol il i, dabadebidan an oj axidan miniWebul i maxasiaTebI ebis gamo. roca indivi- dis dawinaureba an dasaqmeba xdeba mxol od oj axuri mdgo- mareobis gamo, adgil i aqvs Tandayol il i maxasiaTebI ebis gamo adamiანis warmatebas. Tandayol il maxasiaTebI ebSi xSirad gamoyofen social ur-ekonomikur status, rel igiur, rasobriv, eTnikur Tu genderul kuTvnil ebas.

funcional istebi ayal ibeben sam mniSvnel ovan faqtors, ramac Seuwyo xel i Tanamedrove sazogadoebas, rom aqcenti gakeTebul iyo SeZenil codnasa da unarebze, miRweul warmatebebze da ara Tandayol il i maxasiaTebI ebze. pirvel i, industriul i sazogadoeba iTxovs axal codnasa da unarebs, roml is miRebac SesaZl ebel ia mxol od ganaTI ebis gziT da arc erT oj axs social ur ekonomikuri statusis miuxedavad ar Zal uZs Taobidan Taobebis gadascēs 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 SesaZl ebl obebi SeeqmnaT im jgufebis, romel Tac adre es SesaZl ebl obebi ar hqondaT da isini diskriminirebul mdgomareobaSi iyvnen. mesame, pol itikuri stabil uroba gaxda umniSvnel ovanesi Tanamedrove sazogadoebaSi. pol itikuri stabil urobis SesanarCunebl ad mniSvnel ovania, rom sazogadoebis yvel a wevri fiqrobdes, rom maT uwevT samar- TI ian garemoSi konkurencia. samarTI ianobis gancda da Tanabari SesaZl ebl obebis Seqmna umniSvnel ovanesi faqtoria sazogadoebis pol itikuri stabil urobisTvis.

aRsaniSnavia, rom skol aSi, moswavl is oj axis wevrobi- dan sazogadoebis srul yofil wevrobamde transformaciis procesi xSirad Tavistavad winaswari gaazrebisa da gan- zraxul obebis gareSe xorciel deba. magal iTad Tuki maswavl ebl ebis umetesobas SevekiTxebiT, Tu ras akeTeben isini amJamad moswavl eebTan, pasuxebis miviRebT, rom `aswavl ian marTI weras- an `aswavl ian wil adebs-. maswavl ebl ebis ume- tesoba ar gipasuxebT, rom isini aswavl ian moswavl eebis sa- kuTari Rirebul ebebisa da qmedebebis gansj as rel evantur situaciaSi an amzadeben moswavl eebis momaval i biurokrati- ul i cxovrebisTvis. am procesisadmi momzadeba Tavistavad

xdeba saskol o cxovrebidan gamomdinare. saskol o cxovre-
baSi ki umniSvnel ovanesi rol i eniWeba `farul kuriku-
l ums~. saskol o garemo, procedurebi, gakveTil isTvis da
dasvenebisTvis gankuTvnil i dro, yovel dRiuri rutina, rig-
Si dgoma da mraval i sxva organizaciul i procedurebi, ro-
mel ic skol as axasiaTebS, xel s uwyobs moswavl eebis momza-
debas Tanamedrove sazogadoebrivi cxovrebiSTvis. moswav-
l eebi eCvevian, akontrol on TavianTi qmedeba instituciis
mier dawesebul i qcevis kodeqsis fargl ebSi.

saganmanaTI ebl o reforma: sami praqtikul i magal iTi

aRsaniSnavia, rom funqcional izmi ar gaxl avT mxol od
social uri mecnierebebis erT-erTi mimarTul eba. igi ga-
moiyeneba, rogorc Teoria da samecniero mimarTul eba, ma-
gram, amave dros, xSirad aqvs Zal ian mniSvnel ovani praqti-
kul i daniSnul eba, rameTu araerTi saganmanaTI ebl o re-
forma swored funqcional izmis principebis fargl ebSi gan-
xorciel ebul a. funqcional izmis TeoriaSa da saganmanaT-
l ebl o reformebs Soris kavSirs aqvs Sesabamisi axsna. ga-
naTI ebiS reformis gamtarebl ebi sakuTari reformis dasa-
buTebas swored sazogadoebrivi saWiroebebidan da moTxov-
nebidan gamomdinare xsnian. saganmanaTI ebl o reformebis
udidesi nawil i efuZneba mosazrebas, rom skol am unda
uzrunvel yos sazogadoeba im codniTa da unarebiT, rac au-
cil ebel ia Tanamedrove sazogadoebaSi funqcionirebisatvis.
qvemoT gTavazobT sam hipoTetur praqtikul magal iTs, ro-
mel ic naTel s gaxdis saganmanaTI ebl o reformebsa da
funqcional isteblis xedvebs Soris urTierTkavSirs.

warmoidgineT, rom Tqven brZandebiT ara mxol od
funqcional isti, aramed erT-erTi patara saxel mwifos
xel mZRvanel i. Ees saxel mwifo axl axan ganTavisufl da ko-
l onial uri marwuxebisgan da moipova damoukidebl oba. Ees
ori saxel mwifo Tanabari zomisa da gavl enis mqone tomis-
gan Sedgeba., pirobiTad Crdil oetis da samxreTis tomebis-
gan. am tomebs erTmaneTisadmi aral oial uri damokidebul eba
aqvT. erTaderTi, rac maT aertianeabdaT, 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 SesaZl ebel ia mxo- l 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 udidesi rol i iTamaSos qveynis ganviTarebisa da ayvavebis saqmeSi. Aam situaciidan gamomdinare, mniSvnel ovania, rom adamiანebis tomobrivi l oial oba transformirdes l oial o- bad saxel wifosadmi, raTa saxel mwifom da sazogadoebam SeZl os efeqturi funqcionireba. Sesabamisad, Tqven, rogorc saxel mwifos meTauri, qmniT saerTo ganaTl ebis sistemas da SemogaqvT saval debul o zogadi ganaTl eba moqal aqeebisTvis. amasTanave, Tqven qmniT insentivebis sistemas, raTa maqsima- l urad bevrma moqal aqem miiRos zogadi ganaTl eba, saukeTe- soni iswavl ian erovnul umaRl es saswavl ebel Si da daika- veben umaRl es samTavrobo Tanamdebobebis. saskol o kuriku- l umi ki gul isxmobs moswavl eebSi saxel mwifo cnobierebis Camoyal ibebas da l oial obas saxel mwifosadmi da ara mxo- l od sakuTari tomisadmi. Sesabamisad, Tqven sazogadoebisa da saxel mwifos efeqturad funqcionirebisatvis iyenebT konkretul saganmanaTl ebl o reformas.

meore praqtikul i magal iTisTvis ki, erTi wuTiT war- moidgineT, rom Tqven brZandebiT im saxel mwifos erT-erTi xel mZRvanel i, romel Sic mosaxl eobis umravl esoba agrarul seqtorSia dasaqmebul i. amasTanave, am saxel mwifoSi aSkarad SeimCneva mosaxl eobis migracia sasofl o dasaxl ebebidan urbanul i dasaxl ebebisken. paral el urad, am saxel mwifoSi viTardeba industria da qarxnebis meqanizaciis procesi aq- tiur fazaSi gadadis. sasofl o dasaxl ebebSic aqtiurad Sedis meqanizacia da rasac adre uamravi adamiანis Sroma sWirdeboda axl a is sxvadasxva teqniki saSual ebiT keTde- ba. Sesabamisad, sofel Si aRar aris amdeni muSaxel is auci- l ebl oba, xol o qal aqSi sawarmoebi da qarxnebi ganicdian kval ificiuri muSa-xel is nakl ebobas, Tumca radgan aqti- urad muSaoben sofl idan Camosul mosaxl eebis aqtiurad asaqqmeben. amasTanave am qarxnebsi dasaqmebul ebi arian bavS- vebic, roml ebic iaf musa xel s warmoadgenen. am situaciaSi ori tipis probl ema warmoisveba. erTi mxriv warmoeba ar

vi tardeba da meqanizacia ver Sedis aqtiur fazaSi, radgan ar arsebobs kval ificiuri muSaxel i. meore tipis probl ema oj axebeis social ur mdgomareobas ukavSirdeba. is gul isx-mobs, rom sofl idan Casul mosaxl eobas ar aqvs unari, qal aqSi efeqturad warmarTos Tavisi cxovreba, gadaixados gadasaxadebi, marTos oj axis biuj eti da a.S. radgan ar aqvT Sesabamisi ganaTI eba. amasTanave, mniSvnel ovania bavSvebis probl ematika. bavSvebi an muSaoben qarxnebsi da ar swavl oben, an miuxedavad imisa, rom maTTvis skol a xel misawvdomia, radgan mSobl ebi ar aqceven yuradRebas da mTel dRes quCa-Si uyuradRebod da umiznod atareben. am SeTxvevaSi Tqven, rogorc saxel mwifos meTauri, iRebT ramdenime mniSvnel ovan gadawyvetil ebas da gegmavT saganmanaTI ebl o reformas, ra-Ta sazogadoebam SeZI os sworad funqcionireba. kerZod, SemogaqvT saval debul o zogadi ganaTI eba bavSvebisTvis, profesiul i ganviTareba da samoqal aqo ganaTI ebis kursebi zrdsarul TaTvis da krZal avT bavSvTa Sromis gamoyenebas sawarmoebisa da qarxnebsi. saganmanaTI ebl o reformebiT Tqven imedovnebt, rom arsebul i situaciidan da real obidan gamomdinare, sazogadoebis wevrebi SeZI eben efeqturad funqcionirebas aRniSnul i saganmanaTI ebl o reformis gatarebis Semdgom.

aqve warmoidgineT mesame situaciac: Tqven brZandebiT im qveynis meTauri, sadac didi xania, saval debul o zogadi ganaTI ebis reforma xorciel deba. wigni erebis done sakmaod maRal ia mosaxl eobaSi da mosaxl eoba sasofl o dasaxl ebidan aqtiurad gadadis urbanul dasaxl ebebSi da warmatebul adac saqmdeba. Tumca, Tanamedrove teqnoL ogiebis ganviTarebam moiTxova kadrebi, roml ebic arian kval ificiurni sainJinro, maTematikur da zust mecnierebebSi, agreTve mniSvnel ovania kargi menejerebis aRzrda ekonomikis efeqturad ganviTarebisTvis. winaaRmdog SemTxvevaSi, saxel mwifo ver gauZI ebs konkurencias, dakargavs saeqsporto bazrebs da qveynis SigniTac samuSao bazarze samuSao adgil ebs mezobel i qveynis kadrebi daikaveben, radgan adgil obrivi kadrebi ver akmayofil eben bazris moTxovnebs. Tqven, rogorc saxel mwifos meTaurma, moiwviete ganamanaTI ebel Ta Sexvedra da miireT gadawyvetil eba, rom SeqmnaT obieqturi da srul yofil i testirebis sistema, mTel i qveynis masStabiT SearCioT niWieri axal gazrdebi, romel Tac xel s SeuwyobT umaRI esi ganaTI ebis miRebaSi. amasTanave, umaRI es saswav-

I ebel ebs sTxoveT, maqsimal urad aesaxaT saswavl o proces-
Si maTematikis, sainJinro sagnebis, zusti da sabunebismety-
vel o sagnebis teqnoL ogiebis swavl eba. amasTanave, yuradRe-
ba gaemaxvil ebinaT kargi menej erebis momzadebis procesze.
Tqven SesTavazeT universitetebS, rom maqsimal urad dafi-
nansdeboda biuj etidan swored zemoT miTiTebul i progra-
mebi, raTa am mimarTul ebiT momxdariyo umaRI esi ganaTI e-
bis, kvL evisa da mecnierebis ganviTareba.

samive zemoT ganxil ul i situacia hipoteturia, Tumca
samive asaxavs ganaTI ebis reformis funqcional istur xed-
vas. pirvel SemTxevaSi, ganaTI ebis sistemis meSveobiT cdi-
l oben mosaxl eobaSi ertiani erovnul i identobis formire-
bas, rac xel s Seuwyobs saxel mwifos SigniT arsebul i ori-
tomis mSvidobian Tanacxovrebas da saxel mwifosa da sazo-
gadoebis ganviTarebas. sxva sityvebiT, rom vTqvaT, ganaTI e-
bis reforma xel s uwyobs social ur da samoqal aqo inte-
graciis process saxel mwifoSi. meore SemTxevaSi, ganaTI e-
bis sistema gamoyenebul ia mosaxl eobisTvis axal i codnisa
da unarebis gansaviTarebl ad, rac ukavSirdeba maT migra-
cias sasofi o dasaxl ebidan urbanul dasaxl ebebSi da ur-
banul dasaxl ebebSi arsebul sazogadoebrivi da ekonomiku-
ri ganviTarebis moTxovnebs. sxva sityvebiT rom vTqvaT, am
SemTxvevaSi ganaTI ebis reforma gamoiyeneba sazogadoebaSi
reintegraciis procesis xel Sesawyobad. mesame SemTxevavSi
ki ganaTI ebis sistema gamoyenebul ia saerTaSoriso konk-
rentunarianobisTvis, raTa saxel mwifom SeZl os efeqturad
funqcionireba gl obal ur saerTaSoriso konkurentul ba-
zarze, rac miiRweva konkretul sferoebSi niWieri kadrebis
identificirebiT da maTTvis Sesabamisi umaRI esi ganaTI e-
bis micemis xel SewyobiT. am SemTxvevaSi ganaTI ebis sistema
xel s uwyobs sazogadoebaSi rol ebis diferenciaciasac. es
sakiTxebi ufro farTod iqneba gaanal izebul i saxel mZRva-
nel os merve TavSi, sadac ganxil ul i gvaqvs "ganaTI ebis
erovnul i angariSebi".

asimilacia, politikuri socializacia da modernizacia

funcionalistebi skol asariqvamen, rogorc mTavar instruments Tanamedrove sazogadoebis politikuri, socialuri da ekonomikuri ganvitarebisa da sawi roebebis dasakmayofil ebl ad. konkretul ad, funcionalistebi miicneven, rom Tanamedrove sazogadoebis moqal aqem unda SeZl os demokratiul i principebit cxovreba, unda pativi sces mraval ferovnebas da SeZl os efeqturad muSaoba maRal teqno logiuri ekonomikis pirobebSi. skol is funqcia swored aseTi moqal aqis aRzrdaa, romelic icxovrebs meritokratul sazogadoebaSi. skol is es funqcia mibmulia sam ZiriTad procesTan: kul turul i asimilacia, politikuri socializacia da modernizacia. kul turul i asimilacia da politikuri socializacia urTierTdakavSirebul i procesebia da ukavSirdeba funcionalistebis socialuri integraciisa da sol idarobis Teoriebs. xol o modernizaciis procesi ukavSirdeba funcionalistebis rolebis diferenciaciisa da ganvitarebis Teoriebs.

asimilacia kul turul i terminia, romelic gul isxmobs umciresobaTa jgufis asimilacias dominantur jgufTan. *Politikuri socializacia* politikuri terminia, rac gul isxmobs pirovnebis l okaluri jgufis mimarT politikuri l oial obidan saxel mwifos mimarT politikur l oial obamde transformaciis process. am procesis Sedegad pirovneba iRebs da aRiarebs. demokratiul i sazogadoebisTvis damaxasiaTebel i gadawyvetil ebis miRebis principebs. *modernizacia* ki ekonomikuri da socialuri terminia. igi gul isxmobs meritokratiul, biurokratiul da individual istur cxovrebis formebis ganvitarebas, rac Tanamedrove ekonomikurad da teqno logiurad ganvitarebul i saxel mwifos winapirobaa. aRsaniSnavia, rom zemoT ganxil ul i es sami procesi xSir SemTxvevaSi Tanmxvedri da urTierTgadankveTi procesebia.

al baT saintereso, ganvixil oT TiToeul i es procesi konkretul i magal iTebisa da saganmanaTi ebl o reformebis konteqstSi. meoce saukunis dasawyisSi, rodesac araingl isurenovani qveynebidan imigrantTa ricxvi SeerTebul StatedSi gaizarda dRis wesrigSi dadga Sesabamisi politikis

gatareba. aRniSnul i pol itika gul isxmabda 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 Crdil oet da dasavl eT evropis qveynebis warmomadgenl ebisTvis, romel Ta Rirebul ebebi da cxovrebeul i principebi TanxvedraSi modioda 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 isxmabda maTi kul turul i identobis dakargvas 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 amdidrebs amerikul sazogadoebas da xel s uwyobs mis ganvitarebas, amitom mniSvnel 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 ural istur 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 teqnologiuri ganvitarebisTvis.

pol itikuri social izaciis procesTan dakavSirebiTac sxvadasxva periodSi ikveTeboda gansxvavebul i mosazrebebi ganaTI ebis reformatorTa da pol itikosTa Soris, Tu ra rol i unda Seesrul ebina skol as moswavl eTa pol itikuri social izaciis procesSi. Magal iTad, sabWoTa kavSirTan civi omis periodSi pol itikosTan da reformatorTa nawil i miiCnevda, rom skol aSi unda eswavl ebinaT kursi "komunizms borotebani". anu, pol itikosTa da reformatorTa nawil i miiCnevda, rom saWiro iyo moswavl eebis pirdapiri pol itikuri indoqtrinacia. amastanave arsebobda pol itikosTan da reformatorTa meore frTa miiCnevda, rom pirdapiri indoqtrinacia araswori iyo da mniSvnel ovani iyo skol ebSi demokratiul i cxovrebis wesis damkvidreba da amit moswavl eebis ziareba demokratiul i amerikul i Rirebul ebebisadmi. aRniSnul i gul isxmabda skol ebisaTvis avtonomiis miniWebas

sakuTari saswavl o procesis dagegmvisa da marTvis Tval sazrisiT, moswavl eTa TviTmmarTvel obis Seqmnasa da maT aqtiur CarTvas sakuTari swavl ebis procesis dagegmvaSi 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 mniSvnel ovani instrumentia, gansxvaveba iyo mxol od strategiebSi, Tu rogor unda momxdariyo pol itikuri social izacia saskol o doneze.

Ppol itikuri social izacia umniSvnel ovanesia Tanamedrove saxel mwifoebSi. xel isufl ebisTvis sakuTari pol itikis gasatarebl ad sazogadoebis srul ad informireba xSirad SeuZl ebel i xdeba. amitom mniSvnel ovania, rom sazogadoeba aRiarebdes saxel mwifos marTvis demokratiul principebs. saxel mwifo pol itikis gasatarebl ad sami mniSvnel ovani nabijia aucil ebel i: (1) sazogadoebas unda swamdes, rom mTavroba namdvil ad warmoadgens srul iad sazogadoebas da aqvs sazogadoebis mier micemul i l egitimacia; (2) mTavrobas unda gaaCndes ndoba mosaxl eobis mxridan; (3) sazogadoebas unda swamdes, rom xel isufl ebas xel ewifeba dasaxul i pol itikuri miznis efeqturad ganxorciel eba. zemoT aRniSnul idan gamomdinare, skol am unda aRzardos iseTi moqal aqe, romel sac ecodineba Tanamedrove demokratiul i mmarTvel obis formebi, monawil eobas miiRebs am demokratiul i mmarTvel obis formebsi. aseTi tipis moqal aqis aRzrda uzrunvel yofs, rom mTavroba iqneba sazogadoebis warmomadgenl obiTi, reprezentaciul i da ndobiT aRWurvil i, romel sac xel ewifeba dasaxul i pol itikuri miznebis realizacia. Ees sakiTxi SedarebiT farTod aris gaSuqebul i merve TavSi `geografiis gakveTil is- praqtikul magal iTSi, sadac gaanal izebul ia, Tu raoden mniSvnel ovania ganaTl ebul i moqal aqe Tanamedrove saxel mwifos ganviTarebisTvis.

skol is modernizaciis funqciac mWidrod ukavSirdeba kul turul da pol itikur funqciebs. modernizaciaSi Tanamedrove mkvl evrebi da reformatorebi gul isxmoben preindustriul process, romel ic xasiaTdeba industriisa da sofl is meurneobis ganviTarebiT da roml is naTel magal iTs warmoadgens dasavl eT evropa da amerikis seerTebul i Statebi industriul i revol uciis Semdgom. modernistebi miiCneven, rom ekonomikuri ganviTareba rogorc agrarul , aseve warmoebis seqtorSi, damokidebul ia sabazro ekonomi-

kis ganviTarebaze, romel Sic meritokratiazea dafuZnebul i da mciredi central izaciiT xasiaTdeba, Tumca, kargad ganviTarebul i saxel mwifo biurokratia axasiaTebS.

modernistebis mTavari fokusia ``adamanuri kapital is-ganviTareba. modernistebi Tvl ian rom ekonomikuri ganviTarebisTvis umTavresi xdeba adamanuri kapital i. Sesabamisad, modernistebi mTavar aqcents akeTeben ganaTI ebis sistemaze. maTi azrit, Tu adre investireba xdeboda mxol od aRwurvil obasa da fizikur kapital Si, amJamad investiciebis didi nawil i unda wavides adamanur kapital Si da Sesabamisad maTi mTavari prioriteti adamanTa ganaTI ebaa, rac gul isx-mobs adamianebsi sxvadasxva unarebisa da codnis ganviTarebas, rac uzrunvel yofs ekonomikur winsvl asa da ganviTarebas.

amasTanave, aRsaniSnavia, rom adamanuri kapital is Teoriis mimdevrebi miCneven, rom adamanur kapital Si investireba mniSvnel ovania rogorc ganviTarebul i, aseve ganviTarebadi qveynebisTvis. ganviTarebul i qveynebisTvis investireba mniSvnel ovania, raTa maT SeZl on im social uri simdi-dreebis SenarCuneba, rac wina Taobebma Seqmnes. am Tval sazrisiT ki mniSvnel ovani xdeba yvel a social uri fenis CarTva ganaTI ebis sistemaSi, yvel a social uri j gufidan yvel aze niWeri adamianebs gamovl ena. amitom wina pl anze iwevs Tanabari saganmanaTI ebl o SesaZl ebl obebis micemis sakiTxi, rogorc ganaTI ebis pol itikis 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 iyvnen. Sesabamisad, umciresoba da da mowyvl adi j gufebis ganaTI ebaze meti resursis al okacia gaxda ganviTarebul i qveynebis ganaTI ebis pol itikis nawil i.

ganviTarebadi qveynebisTvisac mniSvnel ovania adamanuri kapital is ganviTareba, Tumca aq pol itika SesaZl ebel ia odnav gansxvavebul i iyos. 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 itebi, roml ebic uzrunvel yofen qveynis ekonomikis ganviTarebas grZel vadian periodSi. SesaZl ebel ia, al ternatiul i gzebic, Tuki umaRI esi ganaTI ebis sistema ganviTarebad qveynebsi arasakmarisadaa ganviTarebul i, mTel i Zal isxmeva SeiZl eba moxmardes erTi mxriv saskol o ganaTI ebas,

xol o meore mxriv umaRI esi ganaTI ebis miRebis SesaZI ebl oba saxel mwifom misces mxol od gansakuTrebiT niWier axal gazrdebs maTi sazRvargareTis umaRI es saswavl ebl eb-Si gagzavnis gziT. anu ganviTarebad saxel mwifoebis mTavari prioriteti adamanur kapital ia, Tumca masSi investirebis gzebi gansxvavebul i iqneba da damokidebul ia qveynis ekonomikur ganviTarebaze da ganaTI ebis sistemaze agreTve konkretul i qveynis konteqstze, romel ic mraval faqtors moicavs.

Aam TavSi mokl ed SevecadeT mimogvexil a funqcional istebis Sexedul ebebi skol asa da sazogadoebaze. funqcional listebis social uri Teoria saTaves iRebs biol ogiur mecnierebebsi arsebul i Teoriidan yvel a organos sasicocxl o funqciis Sesaxeb. funqcional istebi fiqroben, rom sxvadasxva social uri instituti Cven unda gavaanal izoT social ur konteqstSi, gaviazroT am institutis social uri funqcia da ra mniSvnel oba aqvs am social ur instituts social uri sistemis sicocxl isunarianobisTvis. Sesabamisad, funqcional istebi skol as ganxil aven rogorc sazogadoebis instituts, romel ic emsaxureba am sazogadoebis garkveul i saWi-roebebis dakmayofil ebas. Tumca, aRsani Snavia, rom mniSvnel ovani gansxvaveba arsebobs biol ogiur da social ur funqcional izms Soris. biol 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. ufro metic: aucil ebel ia misi cvl il ebebi, zogjer radikal uri da swrafi tempebiTac ki. Semdeg TavSi Cven ganvixil avT im probl emebs, rac axasia-Tebs funqcional izmis Teorias, agreTve am Teoriis Sesaxeb kritikul analizs, roml is Semdgomac gadaval T konfliqtis Teoriis ganxil vaze, romel ic miicnevs, rom skol a da ganaTI eba gamoiyeneba mmarTvel i elitis mier sakuTari gabatonebul i poziciebis SesanarCunebl ad. A ufro sainteresod social uri samarTlianobisa da social ur saWi-roebenze, agreTve saxel mZRvanel os am TavSi ganxil ul sakiT-xebze ufro mkveTri poziciis gasacnobad SegiZI iaT waikiT-xoT saxel mZRvanel os merve TavSi "resursebis al okaciis" praqtikul i magal iTi.

damatebi Ti gamokvl evi sTvi s:

damatebi Ti informaciisTvis SegiZl iaT gaecnoT Semdeg wignebsa da naSr omeps: (1) Robert K. Merton, *Social Theory and Social Structure, revised edition* (New York: Free Press, 1967); (2) Talcott Parsons, *The Social System* (Glencoe, II: Free Press, 1951). istoriul Wril Si sakiTxebis gasaanal izebl ad saintereso iqneba Semdegi saxel mZRvanel os gacnoba: T.B. Bottommore and L.R. Nisbet, eds, *A History of Sociological Analysis* (New York: Basic Books, 1978).

funcional uri Teoria, pol itika da probl emebi

Tanabari SesaZl ebl obebis Sesaxeb princips umniSvnel o-
vanesi adgil i uWiravs funcional istebis TeoriaSi. maTi
azriT, unarebisa da codnis mixedviT waxal isebe aris Tana-
medrove sazogadoebis ganviTarebis safuZvel i. Sesabamisad,
es principi iqca araerTi saganmanTI ebl o reformis gan-
xorciel ebis safuZvl ad.

Tanabari SesaZl ebl obebis principsis ganxorciel eba
SeuZl ebel ia, Tu adamianebs ar eqnebaT Tanabari saganmanaT-
l ebl o SesaZl ebl obebi. Tanabari SesaZl ebl obebi gul isx-
mobs, rom adamiani unda dawinaurdes da waxal isdes sakuTa-
ri niWis, codnisa da unarebis wyal obiT. xol o codnasa da
unarebs izl eva skol a da ganaTI ebis sistema. Sesabamisad,
Tanabari SesaZl ebl obebis principsis cxovrebaSi gasatareb-
l ad umniSvnel ovanes amocanad iqca Tanabari saganmanaT-
l ebl o SesaZl ebl obebis Seqmna ganaTI ebis sistemaSi.

amdenad, Tanamedrove sazogadoeba da ganaTI ebis sistema
dadga seriozul i dil emis winaSe: uzrunvel yos sazogadoe-
bis yvel a fenistvis Tanabari saganmanaTI ebl o SesaZl eb-
l obebi. amerikis SeerTebul StatebSi iseTi social uri
j gufebi, rogorebicaa afroamerikel ebi, l aTinosebi Tu qa-
l ebi, yovel Tvis diskriminirebul ni iyvnen rogorc ganaT-
l ebis sistemaSi, aseve mis gareT. Sesabamisad, Tanabari Se-
saZl ebl obebis principsis real izacia amerikul i sazogadoe-
bisTvis seriozul i dil ema aRmoCnda.

am dil emis gadaWra amerikis SeerTebul StatebSi didi
xnis ganmavl obaSi ver moxerxda, Tumca am Cavardnas sxva-
dasxva axsnas uZebnian. am Tval sazrisiT, sami ZiriTadi axsna
gamoikveTa¹, romel Tagan pirvel i l liberal izmis mimdevrebis-
gan momdinareobs, xol o meore - konservatorebisgan. l ibe-
ral ebi miCneven, rom am procesis mTavari xel isSemSl el i
faqtori istoriul i memkvidreobaa, xol o konservatorebi
mTavar dabrkol ebad kul turul da intel eqtual ur faqto-
rebs asaxel eben. TiToeul am damabrkol ebel faqtors ufro

detal urad ganvixil avT am TavSi da, amasTanave, ufro Rrmad gaviarezBT funqional istebis midgomebs ganaTI ebis reformisadmi. am TavSi ganxil ul sakiTxebze meti anal izi SesazI ebel ia merve TavSi warmodgenil i praqtikul i magal iTis safuZvel ze - „kol ej i da samuSao Zal a“.

istoriul i Semaferxebel i faqtorebi da makompensirebel i ganaTI eba

im mimarTul ebis mxardamWerebi, roml ebic, rogorc ukve aRvniSneT, liberal ur frTas ganekutvnebian, miCneven, rom umciresobaTa warmomadgenl ebi ar CamorCebian umravl esobas unarebis mixedviT, ubral od, umciresobebi istoriul ad ganicdidnen diskriminacias umravl esobis mxridan. Sesabamisad, umciresobaTa amJamindel i Taoba saWiroebs sxvadasxva damatebiT daxmarebasa da waxal isebas, ris safuZvel zec amerikis SeerTebul StatebSi meoce saukunis samocian wl ebSi inicirebul i iyo ramdenime makompensirebel i saganmanaTI ebl o programa umciresobaTa moswavl eebisaTvis (Head Start, Upward Bound). Head Start-is programis mTavari mizani gaxl daT, umciresobaTa bavSvebis momzadeba sajaro skol istvis. anu, umciresobaTa moswavl eebS SesazI ebl oba eZl eodaT, skol amdel dawesebul ebebSi mieRoT Sesabamisi ganaTI eba da momzadebul ebi Sesul iyvnen sajaro skol ebSi. Upward Bound-is programa ki gankutvnil i iyo saSual o skol is umciresobaTa moswavl eTaTvis. es programa maT exmarebodaT, ukeTesad momzadebul iyvnen 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 funqionirebda kol ej is doneze. am programis mixedviT, umciresobaTa warmomadgenl ebi xvdebodnen umaRI es saswavl ebel Si gansxvavebul i da special uri kriteriumebiT, amasTanave, kol ej Si Caricxvis Semdeg, gansakutrebil i unarebis mqone umciresobaTa studenteb sTavazobdnen special ur saswavl o gegmas, roml is Sesabamisadac iRebdnen umciresobaTa warmomadgenl ebi umaRI es ganaTI ebas.

aRsanisnavia, rom am mimarTul ebis mxardamWerebi miiCneven, rom Tanabari SesaZI ebl obebis principi umniSvnel ovanesia, Tumca, amasTanave, Tvl ian, rom Tanabari SesaZI ebl obebis principis amoqmedeba SesaZI ebel ia, Tu imuSavebs Tanabari saganmanaTI ebl o SesaZI ebl obebis principi. isini miiCneven, rom istoriul i konteqstidan gamomdinare, Tanabari ganaTI ebis SesaZI ebl obebis principi arasdros muSaobda da amas ukavSireben sxvadasxva istoriul movl enas (magal iTad, gavrcel ebul i monoba amerikis SeerTebul StatebSi). Sesabamisad, warsul is am diskriminaciis aRmosafxvrel ad mniSvnel ovania makompensirebel i damatebiTi saganmanaTI ebl o servisebis SeTavazeba umciresobaTa moswavl eebisTvis, raTamaT mieceT Tanabari saganmanaTI ebl o SesaZI ebl obebi. mxol od Tanabari saganmanaTI ebl o SesaZI ebl obebis pirobebSi real izdeba Tanabari SesaZI ebl obebis principi.

zemoT ganxil ul i programebis garda, makompensirebel ganaTI ebas, SesaZI ebel ia, sxvadasxva forma da midgoma hqondes. konkretul i saganmanaTI ebl o programa da strategia damokidebul ia im probl emaze, razec xdeba reagireba. magal iTad, umciresobaTa moswavl eTaTvis, romel TaTvisac swavl ebis ena ar aris mSobl iuri ena, SeiZI eba daigegmos bil ingvuri ganaTI ebis programebi, rac xel s Seuwyobs maT akademiur miRwevebs. magal iTad, Tu probl emaa, rom gogonebi ver swavl oben maTematikas fsiqol ogiuri probl emebis gamo, radgan miiCneva, rom maTematika qal ebisTvis dauZI evel ia, SesaZI ebel ia, am moswavl eebis Cautardes fsiqol ogiuri daxmarebis programebi, rac gazrdis maT TviTsefasebas da TviTrwmenas da uzrunvel yofs maT mier maTematikis sagnis daZI evas. Tu akademiuri warumatebl obis mizezi social uri mdgomareoba da siRaribea, programebi ise unda daigegmos, rom am moswavl eebisTvis xel misawvdomi gaxdes yvel a is produqti Tu SesaZI ebl oba, rac siRaribis gamo maTTvis xel miuwvdomel ia..

makompensirebel i saganmanaTI ebl o programebis ganxorciel ebas xSirad safuZvl ad udevs eTikuri faqtori samarTI ianobis Sesaxeb. anu samarTI ianobis principidan gamomdinare, mniSvnel ovania aRmofxvra warsul i usamarTI oba da individs, romel ic warsul Si ganicdda diskriminacias, misce damatebiTi SesaZI ebl obebi. eTikuri samarTI ianobis principic mTI ianad j deba fuqncional istebis Sexedul ebebSi, Tumca fuqncional istebi am process uyureben sazoga-

doebrivi keTil dReobidan gamomdinare. anu, Tanamedrove teqnoI ogiur sazogadoebaSi, rac met niWier adamians miecema SesazI ebl oba, Tavisi unarebi moaxmaros sazogadoebis ganviTarebis, miT ukeTesia sazogadoebisTvis. amitom funqcional istebi Tvl ian, rom umciresobebisaTvis makompensirebel i saganmanaTI ebl o programebis ganxorciel eba mniSvnelovania sazogadoebrivi interesebidan gamomdinare da ara mxol od individual uri eTikur samarTI ianobis principidan gamomdinare. funqcional istebis azriT, es is SemTxvevaa, roca individual uri da sazogadoebrivi interesebi TanxvedraSi.

rogorc ukve aRvniSneT, makompensirebel i programebi liberal uri frTis midgomas warmoadgens, rasac xSirad oponirebas uweven konservatorebi. maT gansxvavebul i midgomebi gaaCniaT am sakiTxTan mimarTebiT da xSirad akritikeben makompensirebel saganmanaTI ebl o programebs da maT Sedegebs. Sesabamisad, konservatorebi gansxvavebul reformebs sTavazoben sazogadoebas, magal iTad No Child Left Behind reforma, roml is mizania, rom yvel a moswavl em miaRwios minimal ur kompetenciebs maTematikasa da wignierebaSi, rac gai-zomeba standartizebul i testebis meSveobiT. konservatorebis azriT, yvel a moswavl is mier minimal uri kompetenciebis miRweva maTematikasa da wignierebaSi Tavistavad warmoadgens rogorc individual ur, aseve sazogadoebriv sikeTes.

kul turul i da intel eqtual uri Semaferxebel i faqtorebi

liberal ebis mier Semotavazebul istoriul i usamarTI obis argumentebs hyavs mowinaaRmdegeebi. mowinaaRmdegeTa argumentebi or nawil ad iyofa: mowinaaRmdegeTa erTi nawil i miiCnevs, rom istoriul i warsul i da diskriminacia SesazI ebel ia axdendes gavI enas moswavl is akademiur moswrebaze, magram es ar aris mniSvnelovani. mniSvnelovania, rom moswavl is ganviTarebis mTavari Semaferxebel i faqtoria misi bunebrivi unarebi da genetikuri intel eqti, rac sxvadasxva eTnikur j gufs sxvadasxva aqvs. Sesabamisad, umciresobaTa probl ema maTi bunebrivad dabal i intel eqtia, rac makompensirebel i saganmanaTI ebl o programebiT ver gadai-

Wreba. am j gufebs dabal i intel eqtual uri ganviTareba ar aZl evT SesaZl ebl obas, rom isargebl on makompensirebel i programebiT da miaRwi on warmatebas. Sesabamisad, am programis efeqturoba dabal ia. mowinaaRmdegeTa meore nawil i ki miiCnevs, rom mTavari Semaferxebel i faqtori ojaxi 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 moTxovnebtan. skol as ki ar SeuZl ia am kul turul i faqtores Secvl a. Sesabamisad, konservatorebis es frTa miiCnevs, rom Tu akademiur miRwevebSi didi gansxvavebebia moswavl eTa eTnikuri, rel igiuri, rasobrivi Tu seqsual uri warmomavl obidan gamomdinare, es ar niSnavs, rom Tanabari SesaZl ebl obebis principi ar muSaobs.

gansxvavebul i genetikuri intel eqtual uri SesaZl ebl obebis momxre konservatorTa frTa miiCnevs, rom Tanabari SesaZl ebl obebis principi gul isxmobs, obieqturad Sefasdes yvel a individis intel eqtual uri SesaZl ebl obebi da am SesaZl ebl obebidan gamomdinare yvel ad mieces Tanabari ganviTarebis saSual eba. ufro metic, maT miaCniaT, rom garkveuli j gufis saSual o intel eqti iqneba ufro maRal i, vidre sxva j gufisa. Sesabamisad, Tu SedarebiT maRal i intel eqtis mqone j gufi aris ufro warmatebul i, es niSnavs, rom Tanabari SesaZl ebl obebis principi efeqturad muSaobs.

intel eqtis, rogorc ganviTarebis Semaferxebel i faqtoris, momxreebs miaCniaT, rom SesaZl ebel ia TiToeul i individis zogadi intel eqtis gazomva zogadi intel eqtis testis (IQ test) meSveobiT, romel ic kul turul ad miukerZoebel i iqneba. cnobil i mecnierebi hernSteini da miurei miiCneven: radgan kvl evebi acvenebs, rom konkretul i j gufis, kerZod, afroamerikel ebs zogadi intel eqti ufro dabal ia, vidre TeTrkianebis an aziel ebisa, SegviZl ia miviCnioT, rom zogadi intel eqti genetikuria da, Sesabamisad, afroamerikel ebs warmatebis gacil ebiT nakl ebi Sansi aqvT TeTrkianebTan da aziel ebTan SedarebiT. Sesabamisad, isini miiCneven, rom Tanabari SesaZl ebl obebis principi efeqturad real izdeba, miuxedavad sxvadasxva social uri Tu umciresobaTa j gufis warumatebl obisa². am mosazrebas, ra Tqma unda, hyavs uamravi mowinaaRmdege. maTi nawil i miiCnevs, rom intel eqti sakmaod farTo cnebaa da misi gazomva zogadi intel eqtis testiT SeuZl ebel ia. oponentTa meore nawil i miiCnevs, rom

zogadi intel eqtis testebi Sedgenil ia saSual o fenis TeTrkanianTa kul turul i jgufis warmomadgenl ebis mier da, Sesabamisad, is yovel Tvis kul turul ad mikerZoebul ia. oponentTa mesame nawil i ki miiCnevs, rom zogadi unarebis testi ver iTval iswinebs rasistul sazogadoebaSi TeTrkanianTa da afroamerikel Ta cxovrebiSeul warsul sa da gamocdil ebas da am gamocdil ebis gavl enas testis Sedegebze.

kul turis, rogorc ganviTarebis Semaferxebel i faqtoris momxreebi aqtiurad ewinaaRmdegebian genetikuri intel eqtisa da bunebrivi Sesazl ebl obebis Sesaxeb Teorias da zogadi intel eqtis testis Sedegebis gamoyenebas amis dasababuTebL ad. isini miiCneven, rom zogadi intel eqtis testis Sedegebi umj obesdeba sxvadasxva eTnikur Tu rasobriv jgufSi. Sesabamisad, dabal i Sedegis mizezi ara maTi genetikuri Sesazl ebl obebia, aramed motivacia, rac ganapirobebs swavl as. motivacia ki mWidrod ukavSirdeba saoj axo cxovrebas da kul turul garemos.

kul turul i Semaferxebel i faqtoris model is erT-erTi aqtiuri mxardamWeri gaxl avT edvard benfil di³. misi azriT, akademiuri warmatebisa da warumatebl obis erT-erTi mTavari faqtori dabal i an maRal i motivaciaa. motivacias, ki Tavis mxriv ganapirobebs, individis unari sworad gansazRvros sakuTari momaval i, dagegmo da gadaanawil os resursebi grZel vadiani xedviT da Sesabamisad mizanimarTul ad dagegmos momaval i da yvel afer gaakeTos am momavl is misaRwevad. swored am unarebiT gansxvavdebian individebi, xol o am unarebis Camosayal ibebl ad udidesi mniSvnel oba aqvs e.w. „kl asis kul turas“. benfil dis kl asifikaciiT, oTxi kl asi gamoiyofa. zeda kl asi, romel sac Zal uZs efeqturad ganWwritos momaval i da motivirebul ia, iyos warmatebul i grZel vadian perspeqtivaSi. dabal i/qveda kl asi, romel ic Sors ar iWwriteba 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 ganWwriton met-nakl ebad sakuTari momaval i l okal ur, Statistis 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 perspeqtiviT oj axisa da megobrebis garemosTan mimarTebiT.

benfil di uaryofs mosazrebas, TiTqos momavl is ganWvretisa da Sesabamisi dagegmvis unari gadaecema Taobidan Taobas da genetikuria. misi azriT, amiT transferi xdeba yovel dRiuri cxovrebis gavl eniT da oj axis da kul turul i kl asi ganapirobebs am unarebis ganvitarebas. benfil ds magal iTisaTvis mohyavs sadil obisadmi sxvadasxva oj axis sxvadsxva damokidebul eba, ris Sedegadac sxvadasxva maxasiaTebel i uviTardeba sxvadasxva kul turul i kl asis warmomadgenel s da gadaecema Taobidan Taobas. oj axebis nawil s aqvT formal uri midgoma sadil obisadmi, sadac yvel l aferi formal izebul ia da oj axis yvel a wevrma icis Tavisi rol i da adgil i sadil obis procesSi. oj axebis meore magal iTia, sadac oj axis wevrebi ej ibrebian da erTmaneTs aswreben sxvadasxva kerZis dauflebas... amis gamo oj axis romel ime wevri mSieric SeiZl eba darCes, Tu aqtiuri ar iqneba... arsebobs sxva tipis tradiciebic 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 ime 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 Taobidan 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 SeiZl eba ganvixil oT, rogorc adamianis kerZo cxovrebaSi Carevad da am kerZo cxovrebis xel Seuxebl obis principis darRvevad.

Tu SevadarebT kul turul i da istoriul i Semaferxebeli i faqtorebis model ebs, erTi SexedviT TiTqos msgavsia, Tumca maT Soris arsebobs mkveTri gansxvaveba. istoriul i Semaferxebel i faqtoris model is momxreebs miaCniaT, rom skol a aris institucia, romel sac SeuZl ia Secval os garkveul wil ad konkretul i oj axisa da Temis kul tura da, Sesabamisad, meti Sansi miecema moswavl eebis warmatebisTvis. kul turul i Semaferxebel i faqtoris model is momxreebi ki miiCneven, rom skol a ar aris efeqturi meqanizmi social uricvl il ebebisTvis da makompensirebel saganmanaTl ebl o programebs ar eqneba Sesabamisi efeqti. ufro metic, am model is mimdevrebi miiCneven, rom skol am SeuZl eba ufro meti zianic ki moitanos, Tuki is Seecdeba kul turul i kl asis mier Ca-

moyal ibebul i standartis Secvl as. Sesabamisad, benfil dis azriT, ganaTI ebis pol itikis damgegmavebma unda gaiTval iswinon, 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 Seiqmna sistema, rac uzrunvel yofs am moswavl eebis rac SeiZl eba adreul fazaSi samuSaoze orientacias da profesiul ganviTarebas, raTa moxdes am moswavl eebis maTi kvalifikaciis Sesabamisad droul i dasaqmeba da maT isargebl on dasaqmebis monetarul 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 miiRon real uri ganaTI eba, rac maT dasWirdebaT Tanamedrove sazogadoebaSi warmatebis misaRwevad da karie-
rul i zrdisTvis.

si Rari be

funcional istebi miiCneven, rom skol ebsa Tu sxva social ur instituciebsi mimdinare cvl il ebebi ganpirobebul ia social uri saWiroebebiT. aRsaniSnavia, rom funcional istTa kul turis, rogorc Semaferxebel i faqtoris, frTis warmomadgenl ebi cdil oben, qal aqebisaTvis damaxasiaTebel i siRaribe axsnan social uri cvl il ebebiT. kerZod, isini miiCneven, rom urbanizaciis kval dakval , uamravi adamiani 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. adamianebi 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 sazogadobebis cxovrebis ganuyofel nawil ad miiCneven. benfil di miiCnevs, rom es procesi l ogikuria, qal aqis zrdisa da urbanul i ganviTarebis kval dakval ⁴.

funcional istebis aRniSnul i frTa miiCnevs, rom l ogikurad axal i imigrantebis Svil ebi ukeTess pirobebsi icxovreben vidre maTi mSobl ebi. social uri mobil oba iqneba maRal i, radgan isini aRar iqnebian axl ad Camosul i imigrantebi. Tu Taobebis Soris progresi ar SeiniSneba, maSin func-

cional istebis es frTa Tvl is, rom unda Seviswavl oT
oj axSi da Tu adgil obriv kul turul sazogadoebaSi mimdi-
nare Sida faqtorebi. maTi Teoria kidev ufro metad arTu-
l ebs Tanabari SesaZl ebl obebis principis, radgan yuradReba
unda gamaxvil des, erTi mxriv, adamanis unarebze, tal antze,
motivaciasa da kompetenciaze da, meore mxriv, Sesabamis
winsvl asa da waxal isebaze. magram, garda amisa, unda gaviT-
val iswinoT konkretul i j gufebis imigraciis dro da urban-
nul i ganviTarebis dinamikac.

oponentebi miCneven, rom am model is amuSavebiT, praqti-
kul ad, Tanamedrove sazogadoebaSi ver moxdeba Tanabari Se-
saZl ebl obebis principis realizacia. funkcional istebis am
frTis TeoriiT, faqtobrivad, ugul vebel yofil ia ganaTl e-
bis roli, romel sac SeuZl ia moitanos social uri cvl il e-
bebi. maTi Sexedul ebiT, arsebul i uTanasworobis gamoswo-
reba, praqtikul ad, SeuZl ebel ia. ufro metic: funkciona-
l istebis mier SemoTavazebul i kul turul i Semaferxebel i
faqtoris model i, faqtobrivad, arsebul uTanasworobas
xsnis mxol od urbanul i zrdis tendenciit da arafers am-
bobs sxva tipis uamrav uTanasworobaze, romel ic Taname-
drove sazogadoebas axasiaTebis da romel ic warmoadgens
seriozul damabrkol ebel faqtors Tanabari SesaZl ebl obe-
bis praqtikul i ganxorciel ebisTvis. am model is mixedvit,
faqtobrivad, iSl eba is gansxvaveba, rac arsebobs tradi-
ciul da Tanamedrove sazogadoebebis Soris. am model iT,
faqtobrivad, unarebsa da tal ants nakl ebi mniSvel oba aqvs
winsvl isa da warmatebisTvis da mTavaria oj axi, social uri
da kul turul i warmomavl oba, iseve, rogorc tradiciul
sazogadoebebSi.

funccional izmis Teoriis xarvezebi

funccional istebi miCneven, rom maT Seqmnes da ganavi-
Tares social uri cxovrebis mecniერul i analizi. isini
Tvl ian, rom maTi Teoria obieqturad da miukerZoebul ad
xsnis da aanal izებს Tanamedrove sazogadoebaSi social ur
institutebTan dakavSirebul sakiTxebis. miixedavad amisa,
funccional istebis hyavT uamravi kritikosi. kritikosebi

miiCneven, rom funcional istebis Teoria ar aris obieqturi da mecnierul safuZvl ebsaa mokl ebul i. funcional istebis xSirad adanaSaul eben, rom sakuTari TeoriiT isini cdil oben gaamarTI on Tanamedrove sazogadoebaSi arsebul i tendenciebi da uTanasworoba. funcional istebis kritikosta nawil i miiCnevs, rom aRniSnul i Teoria konservatorul ia, ganicdis konservatorTa pol itikur gavlenas da maT interesebs emsaxureba. saxel mZRvanel os am nawil Si swored funcional istTa kritikosta mosazrebebs davuTmobT adgil s da, amasTanave, gagacnobT funcional istTa mosazrebebsa da damokidebul ebas kritikosta poziciebze. Cven saubars daviwyebT funcional istTa pol itikuri mikerZoebul obis sakiTxis ganxil viT.

funcional iszmis Teoriis erT-erTi seriozul i kritikosi gaxl avT rober k. mertoni. aRsaniSnavia, rom robert mertoni Tavad gaxl avT funcional isti. mertoni eTanxmeba funcional istTa didi nawil is mosazrebas, rom social uri institutebis saqmianoba da social uri praqtika gamowveuli ia social uri ganviarebita da social uri adaptaciis saWiroebebiT. Tumca, mertoni mkveTrad akritikebs funcional istTa im frTas, romelic amCnevs da aanalizebs mxol od kul turul i institutebis maintegrirebel funcias da ver aanalizeben safrTxes, rom am institutebma Sesazl ebel ia sazogadoebis dizintegraciasac ki Seuwyos xel i⁶. mertoni miiCnevs, rom kul turul i tradiciebi, yofa Tu qceva yovel Tvis ar aris aucil ebel i sazogadoebis efeqturi funcionirebisTvis⁷. is miiCnevs, rom sazogadoebis efeqturi funcionirebisTvis Sesazl ebel ia zogierT SemTxvevaSi damkvidrebul i kul turul i praqtikis nacvl ad al ternatiul i qmedebebis ganxorciel eba iyos ufro efeqturi⁸. magal iTisaTvis, mertoni saubrobs skol aze,romelic Tanamedrove samyarosi xel s uwyobs moswavl eebSi rasizmisa da seqsizmis swavl ebas. msgavsi tipis skol ebi mertonis azrit anxorciel eben sazogadoebaSi madizintegrirebel funcias. mertoni Tvl is, rom funcional istebma unda SesTavazon sazogadoebas araideol ogiuri xedva ganaTI ebis pol itikis, romelic mimarTul i iqneba social uri cvl il ebebisen da sazogadoebas SesTavazebs al ternatiul i institutebs da damkvidrebul i praqtikis gaumj obesebul model s, roml ebic uzrunvel yofen sazogadoebis efeqtur funcionirebas Tanamedrove msofi ioSi.

mertoni Tavis naSromSi cdil obs pasuxi gasces kidev erT mniSvnel ovan da konceptual ur sakiTxs. sakiTxi Seexeba funqciis gaazrebas. ras niSnavs funqcia da rogor SeiZl 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 ufro Rmad gasaanal izebl ad gamoviyenebT isev da isev driibenis anal izs skol asa da sazogadoebasTan mimarTebiT.

driibeni miicnevs, rom skol is funqciaa Seaswavl os moswavl eebis normebi, romel ic saWiroa Tanamedrove meritokratul sazogadoebaSi fuqncionirebisTvis. Tumca, SesaZl ebel ia sajaro skol ebis arsebobisa da mxardaweristis real urad uamravi sxva mizezi arsebobdes. magal iTad, zogierTi mSobl isTvis skol a SesaZl ebel i iyos adgil i, sadac is SeiZl 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 funqcionirebis uamravi safuZvel i da axsnaa. kiTxva Cndeba, romel ia skol is real uri funqcia? ratom gamovyofT erTs da vuguvebel yofT sxvebs? ra niSnit xdeba am funqciis gansazRvra? mertons swams, rom mas Zal uZs am rTul kiTxvebze pasuxis gacema. misi azrit skol is funqciaa, mxol od is „rac xel s Seuwyobs arsebul i sistemis adaptirebas arsebul real obasTan“⁹. Sesabamisad, misi azrit, skol is Tu sxva social uri institutis fuqcia xel i Seuwyos sistemis adaptacias da social ur cvl il ebes sazogadoebaSi. yvel a danarCeni SesaZl ebel ia iyos individual uri motivi da survil i da ara social uri institutis fuqcia, Tumca amave dros, SesaZl ebel ia, individual uri motiva da survil is da social uri institutis funqciis Tanxvedrac moxdes.

mertonis ganmartebas Tu gavyvebiT, skol is funqcia meritokratul sazogadoebaSi sacxovrebl ad momaval i Taobis momzadeba, radgan es funqcia emsaxureba social uri sistemis adaptaciis saWiroebebs. xol o rac Seexeba skol is sxva funqciebs, 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 efeqturad funqcionirebas. ramdenad argumentirebul ia mertoni es gamoij vna mkiTxvel isTvis migvandia, Tumca vfiqrobT is mainc sakmaod sakamaToa. magal iTad, igive skol is, rogorc bavSvis movl is saagentod ganxil bva mSobl is mier SeiZl 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 SeiZl eba warmovaCinoT, 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 mniSvel 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 meSveobiTac xdeba am funqciis ganxorciel eba. mertoni mijnavs social uri institutebis Ria da farul (I atentur) funqciebs Soris. social uri institutis Ria funqcias ewodebs funqcias, 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. mertionis mier Ria da farul i funqciebis gamij vnisas axali sakiTxebi wamoiWreba, kerZod, ramdeni adamiani unda acnobierebdes social uri institutis funqcia, rom is CaiTval os Ria funqciad? sakmarisisa Tu ara erTi adamianis mier amis gacnobiereba, Tu sazogadoebis wevrTa umravl esobis mier unda moxdes am funqviis gacnobiereba? swored es sakiTxebi aqvs dasmul i entoni giddens, mertonis konfeciis kritikisas:

mertoni ar akonkretebs, Tu vin unda icodes 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 funqcia, magram amave dros SesaZl ebel ia gvqondes SemTxvevebi, roca sazogadoebis wevrebisTvis absol uturad sul erTia ama Tu im social uri institutis funqcia da am funqciis Sestrul e-biT damdgari Sedegi. anu yvel aferi damokidebul ia konkre-tul situaciaze da amis ognorireba SeuZl ebel ia. es imas niSnavs, rom social uri institutis wevrebi, roml ebsac gaTviTcnobierebul i aqvT am institutis funqcia privil e-girebul mdgomareobaSi Caayena sazogadoebis im nawil Tan SedarebiT, roml ebis social uri institutis funqciisa da Sedegi gacnobierebis gareSe arian am social uri sistemis wevrebi (10).

ra Tqma unda funqcional istebi ar iziareben giddensis kritikas. isini amtkiceben, rom social uri institutis funqcia SesaZl ebel ia gacnobierebel i iyos erTi nawil ist-vis da gaucnobierebel i meoresTvis.

giddensi funqcional istebs sxva kuTxiTac akritikebs. giddensi miicnevs, rom funqcional istebi cdil oben daakni-non individebis mizanmimarTul i qmedeba sxvadasxva socia-l ur procesSi. am konteqstSi giddens Semoaqvs ganmapirobe-bel i axsnis koncepti. is fiqrobs, rom nebismieri social u-ri movl ena ganpirobebul i adamianebi individual uri moT-xovnil ebebiT da social uri institutebis funqciisa da adamianis moTxovnil ebebis Tu motivebis izol irebul ad xedva arasworia.

giddensis am mosazrebis sicxadisTvis warmogidgenT or Zal ian yofiT magal iTs. pirvel magal iTSi warmodgineT, rom Tqven dageSvaT Tqveni manqanis saburavi. Tqven aRoCineT l ursmeni Tqveni manqanis saburavSi. Sesabamisad, Tqven daaskveniT, rom saburavis daSveba gamoiwvia l ursmanni, ro-mel ic SeerWo saburavs gadaadgil ebisas. warmodgenil i ma-gal iTi aris ganmapirobebel i axsnis standartul i situacia. Tqven daaskveniT, rom konkretul i faqti moxda (Tqven ga-dauareT l ursmans), ramaC gamoiwvia konkretul i Sedegi (daiCuta Tqveni saburavi). am SemTxvevaSi jer saxeze gvaqvs mizezi da Semdeg am mizeziT gamowveul i Sedegi.

axl a ganvixil oT meore magal iTi. Tqven gsurT SeiZinoT puri. Sesabamisad SedixarT maRaziaSi da maRaziaSi SeiZenT tqvenTvis sasurvel purs. am meore SemTxvevaSi Tqven gqon-daT survil i puris SeZenis da es survil i gaxda puris yid-vis anu Sedegis safuZvel i. sainteresoa es magal iTi Sevada-

roT skol is funqcias magal iTs, gagaxsenebT, rom funqcionalistebis Tvl ian, rom skol is funqciaa, rom moswavi eebsganuviTaron Tanamedro samyarosi sacxovrebl ad da funqcionirebisaTvis aucil ebel i unar-Cvevebi. aq saxeze gvaqvs mxol od Sedegi (11). puris SeZenis SemTxvevaSi adamianis survil i iyo konkretul i Sedegis dadgomis ganmapirobel i. skol is funqciis SemTxvevaSi ki es ganmapirobel i faqtori arsad Cans. Sesabamisad, giddensi miicnevs, rom ral urad skol is SemTxvevaSi arsebobs damdgari Sedegis ganmapirobel i faqtori, rac adamianebis survil Si gamoixateba, magram funqcional istebi amas uaryofen da swored aqidan momdinareobs giddensis funqcional istebis winaarmddeg mimarTul i kritika (12).

giddensi funqcional istebis xedvis kritikam miyvana daskvnam, rom aucil ebel i nebismier Sedegs gaaCndes ganmapirobel i safuZvel i da swored individual uri survil ebi da motivi gaxl avT amaTu im social uri institutis funqciis ganmapirobel i safuZvel i. giddensi miicnevs, rom „organizmebisgan gansxvavebiT social ur sistemeb ar gaaCniaT tviTgadarCenis instinqti da motxovnil eba. Sesabamisad social ur sistemebTan mimarTebiT winaswar motivebze saubaria arasworia“ (13). giddensi miicnevs, rom, ra Tqma unda, individebs Tu adamianebis jgufebis gaaCniaT amaTu im social uri sistemis gadarCenisa Tu ganvitarebis survil i, Tumca es aris individual uri survil i da ara social uri sistemis interesi. social ur sistemeb adamianebisgan gansxvavebiT ar gaaCnia konkretul i motivebi, survil ebi da interesebi. giddensis kritika Zal ian mniSvel ovania. funqcional istebi cdil oben skol asa da sazogadoebis urTierTmimarTebaSi adamianuri da politikuri faqtorebi gamoricxon. giddensi ki mianisnebs, rom personal uri da politikuri faqtorebis gauTval iswinebl ad warmoudgenelia social uri sistemisa da institucional uri cxovrebis gaa-zreba.

warmodgenil i Teoriul i analizis Semdeg, al baT upriani mivubrindet funqcional isturi Teoriis politikur aspeqtebs, romel sac mertonis naSromis ganxil visas mokl ed SevexeT. al baT, saintereso, marTlac warmoadgens Tu ara funqcional isturi Teoria wmindad konservatorul Teorias. giddensi miicnevs, rom funqcional istebi individual uri faqtorebis miCqmal vit cdil oben Tavi aaridoon Taname-

drove dasavl ur sazogadoebaSi arsebul Zal aufl ebisTvis brZol is mniSvnel ovan sakiTxs da mis gareSe moaxdinon skol isa da sazogadoebis urTierTmimarTebis ganxil va. Sesabamisad, giddensi Tvl is, rom funqcional istebi sazogadoebaSi Zal aufl ebisTvis brZol is ignorirebiT mxars uWeren garkveul i social uri jgufis domini rebis SenarCunebasa da ganviTarebas Tanamedrove sazogadoebaSi. Sesabamisad, giddensi miicnevs, rom am Tval sazrisiT funqcional istTa Sexedul ebebi pol itikurad konservatul obasTan erTad represiul i ki gaxl avT. am sakiTxs ufro farTod Semdeg tavSi ganvixil avT.

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

damatebi Ti sakiTxavi I iteratura

ganaTI ebisa da funqcional stebis Teooriis Sesaxeb saintereso informacia da anal izi SegiZl iaT Semdeg I iteraturaSi ixi-
l 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 funqcional istTa mosazrebebs ekonomikuri zrdisa da demokratiis ganviTarebis konteqstSi. ganviTarebadi qveynebis statistikuri monacemebis damusavebiT maT aRmoacines, rom ekonomikur zrdas ganviTarebad qveynebsi xSirad moyveba pol itikuri da social uri uTanasworoba.

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

wigni ganxil avs demokratiis arss da mniSvnel 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 warmoadgnes eTnografiul i kvl evis aRweras, sadac
umciresobaTa j gufebi ufl ebaayril Ni arian da wignSi
warmodgenil ia mul tukul turul i ganaTI eba, rogorc
mniSvnel ovani instrumenti umciresobaTa j gufebis
gasaZl ierebl ad.

nawil i III

zogadi ganaTI eba, rogorc
I egitimaci isa da reproduci rebis
instrumenti

konfl iqtis Teoria da funqcional izmi

rogorc ukve vnaxeT, funqcional istebs miaCniaT, rom zogadi ganaTI ebis miznebi gamomdinareobs Tanamedrove, industriul i da teqnol ogiuri sazogadoebis moTxovnebidan. Tanamedrove sazogadoebis funqcionirebisTvis, social uri da ekonomikuri cvl il ebebisTvis moqal aqeebs sWirdeba axal i codna da unarebi. zogadi ganaTI ebac swored am codnis, unarebis da Rirebul ebebis gamomuSavebaze unda iyos orientirebul i, raTa Tanamedrove sazogadoebam ganvitareba da funqcional oba SeZl os. dribeni da sxva funqcional istebi Tvl ian, rom skol a xel s uwyobs individebis SerCevas sxvasxva funqciebis Sesasrul ebl ad sazogadoebaSi maTi codnis, unarebisa da tal antis Sesabamisad da ara maTi social uri Tu oj axuri warmomavl obis mixedvit. Sesabamisad, funqcional istebi miCneven, rom skol as aqvs rogorc social uri, aseve individual uri funqcia. social uri funqciis doneze skol a uzrunvel yofs iseTi moqal aqis aRzrdas, rogoric saWiroa Tanamedrove, industriul , urbanul , maRal teqnol ogiur da demokratiul sazogadoebaSi. individebis doneze ki skol a uzrunvel yofs, rom Semosavlebis, samuSao adgil ebis, social uri statusisa da prestijis gadanawil eba sazogadoebaSi iqneba samarTI iani da daefuzneba adamianis individual ur unarebsa da maxasiaTebis ebs da ara maT warmomavl obas da oj axur mdgomareobas.

miuxedavad imisa, rom funqcional istTa Teoria dominebs ganaTI ebis mecnierebebSi, isini ar arian konkurentebis gareSe. erT-erTi mniSvnel ovani Teoria ganaTI ebis politikis mimarTul ebit gaxl avT konfl iqtis Teoria, romelic skol is rol s sazogadoebaSi funqcional istebisgan absol uturad gansxvavebul ad aRiqvams. konfl iqtis Teoria gamomdinareobs da srul ad exmianeba marqistul Teorias.

Tuki funqional istebi miiCneven, rom ganaTI ebis ganmsazRvrel i faqtoria teqniki ganviTareba da social uri cvl il ebebi, konfl iqtis Teoriis mimdevrebi miiCneven, rom ganaTI ebisa da sazogadoebis urTierTmimarTeba gani-sazRvrebaze sazogadobaSi sxvadasxva jgufebis Soris arsebul i dausrul ebel i brZol iT Zal aufl ebis, gavlenisa 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 elituri kl asis privilegirebul mdgomareobas da orientirebul i social uri da politikuri status-kvos SenarCunebaze da yovel ive xorciel deba obieqturobis, neitral urobisa da Tanabari Sesazl ebl obebis niRbiT.

sxvadasxva social uri jgufi xSirad ibrZvis Zal aufl ebisa da prestiJisaTvis sazogadobaSi. am jgufebis Soris konfl iqtis mizezi ki maT social ur statusebs Soris arsebul i gansxvavebaa. konfl iqtis Teoriis mimdevrebis azriT, erTi SexedviT, konfl iqtis mizezi SeiZl eba iyos eTnikuri, rasobrivi, genderuli, religiuri gansxvaveba, Tumca, Tu probl emas CavuRmavdebiT, konfl iqtis mTavari mizezi kapital isturi sazogadobis kl asobrivi dayofaa. rac ufro Rmaa kl asobrivi gansxvaveba, konfl iqtis monawile mxareebi miT ufro metad aRiqvam konfl iqtis, rogorc eTnikur, religiur, rasobrivi, TaobaTaSorisan seqsual ur jgufebis Soris dapirispirebad. am sakiTxs ufro Rmad mogvianebiT am TavSi gavaanal izebt, Tumca amjerad al baT sainteresoa gavaanal izoT funqional istebsa da konfl iqtis Teoriis mimdevrebs Soris arsebul i gansxvavebul i xedva erTsa da imave movlenaze.

erTi wuTiT warmoadgineT, rom Tqven brZandebiT erT-erTi didi saxel mwifo universitetis ganaTI ebis kol ejis dekanis. Tqven, rogorc kol ejis dekanma miiReT gadawyvetileba gaamakroT ganaTI ebis programaze Caricxvis kriteriumebi da procedurebi. Tqveni ganaTI ebis programa ukanasknel wl ebSi gaxda sakmaod mimzidvel i da prestiJul i da abiturientTa sakmaod didi raodenoba cdil obs am programaze moxvedras. Sesabamisad, Sesazl ebel i gaxda moTxovnebis gazrda studentTa Casaricxad da moTxovnebis gazrda ar gamoiwvevs msurvel Ta raodenobis Semcirebas. amastanave, mniSvnel ovania, rom Tqveni universitetis maswavl ebel Ta ganaTI ebis programa monawileobs maswavl ebel Ta ganaTI ebis

programis erovnul i sareitingo sistemaSi. Sesabamisad, moTxovnebisa da kriteriუმebis gazrdiT, Tqven gazrdiT am programis xarisxs da aiwevT ufro maRal safexurze erovnul sareitingo sistemaSi. ufro metic, sxva universitetebma ukve gazarde kriteriუმebi da moTxovnebi maswavl ebel Ta ganaTI ebis programaze Casaricxad, Sesabamisad, Tu Tqven anal ogiur gadawyvetil ebas ar miiRebT, savaraudod, Tqveni sareitingo adgil i daecema erovnul sareitingo sistemaSi. amasTanave, TqvenTvis mniSvel ovani stimul ia, Tu sareitingo siaSi geqnebaT maRal i adgil i, Tqveni kursdamTavrebul ebi advil ad dasaqmdebian da ipovnian sakuTar adgil s SromiT bazarze. anu, Tqven gaqvT uamravi mizezi, raTa gazar doT moTxovnebi Tqvens maswavl ebel Ta ganaTI ebis programaze studentTa Casaricxad. am gadawyvetil ebiT Tqven aimarI ebT avtoritets universitetis SigniT da, erovnul doneze, gaizrdeba xarisxi da msurvel i studentebis raodenoba, gaizrdeba Tqveni biuj eti, gazrdili biuj eti saSual ebas mogcemT, daiqiravoT saukeTeso profesor-maswavl ebl ebi. saukeTeso profesor-maswavl ebl ebis daqiraveba ufro mimzidvel s gaxdis Tqvens programaz 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 gaizrdeba da, Sesabamisad, Tqveni programis kursdamTavrebul ebi advil ad dasaqmdebian...

am wamosaxviT istorias da Tqvens gadawyvetil ebas, gazar doT moTxovnebi studentTa misaRebad maswavl ebel Ta ganaTI ebis programaze sxvadasxva interpretacias gaukeTeben funqcional istebi da konfl iqtis Teoriis momxreebi. funqcional istebi miiCneven, rom msgavsi gadawyvetil eba pozitivuria, radgan saj aro skol ebi uzrunvel yofil ni iqnebian ukeTesi sakadro resursiT da es moxdeba maRal i moTxovnebisa da xarisxis instituciurad gaumj obesebis xarj ze. studentTa SerCeვა moxdeba maRal i kriteriუმebiT, Tumca samarTI ianad da obieqturad da ar iqneba gaTval iswinebul i sxvadasxva faqtori (umciresobebis kvotebi, araobieqtური waxal ise ba xarisxisa da moTxovnebis dawebis xarj ze da a.S.. konfl iqtis Teoriis mimdevrebi ki Tqveni am gadawyvetil ebis absol uturad gansxvavebul interpretacias moaxdenen: maTi azriT, moTxovnebisa da kriteriუმebis gazrda gamoiwvevs, 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 Cabarebase. Zal ian warmatebul i saj aro skol ebi ki mdebareobs im ubnebSi, sadac mdidari adamianebi cxovroben, radgan skol ebi finansdeba qonebis gadasaxadiT da mdi-dar ubnebSi adamianebi mets ixdian da skol ebic, Sesabamisad, met Tanxas iReben. mdidari ubnis skol ebis moswavl eebis aqvT ukeTesi Sedegebi. garda amisa, Tu skol is moswavl es romel ime saganSi probl emebi aqvs, mis mdidar mSobel s aqvs saSual eba, is kerZo repetitorTan moamzados. risi Sesazl ebl obac Rarib moswavl eebis ar gaaCniaT. aRniSnul idan gamomdinare, mdidari adamianebis Svil ebi, ufro karga ganaTl ebas iReben skol aSi, vidre maTTan SedarebiT dabal i social uri statusis oj axebis moswavl eebi. konfl iqtis Teoriis mimdevrebi CaTvl ian, rom am gadawyvetil ebiT karebs uketaven dabal i social uri fenis moswavl eebis, rom maT SeZl on prestiJul programaze Cabareba, rac maTi momaval i warmatebis garantia iqneba. Sesabamisad, maTi azriT, es gadawyvetil eba emsaxureba mxol od da mxol od maRal i social uri statusis mqone jgufebis social uri dominantobis SenarCunebasa da gaZl ierebas.

aRniSnul i magal iTiT SegviZl ia konfl iqtis Teoriis ramdenime niSandobl ivi maxasiaTebel i gamovyot: (a) konkretul i gadawyvetil eebis motivi Sesazl ebel ia ar iyos garkveul i social uri jgufis diskriminacia da meore jgufis waxal isebe, es Sesazl ebel ia gaxdes Tanmdevi Sedegi. moyvanil magal iTSi, dekanis survil ia, gaizardos ganaTl ebis programaze Caricxvis kriteriumebi da moTxovnebi da universitetis konkurentunarianobisa da reitingis amaRl eba da ar moxdes daucvel i social uri jgufis studentebis programaze xel misawvdomobis 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 iTSic, dekanis gadawyvetil eba ar efuZneboda survil s, rom mas mizanmimarTul ad waaxal iseбина maRal i social uri statusis studentebi, anu Tavisi msgavsi social uri fenis warmomadgenl ebi.

konfl iqtis Teoriis mimdevrebi miCneven, rom ar aqvs mniSvel oba dominanturi kl asis interesebis gatareba mizanmimarTul ad xdeba Tu Tanmdevi Sedegia. isini miCneven,

rom funqional istTa Sexedul ebebi da Teoria emsaxureba dominanturi j gufis interesebs da amitom warmoadgens maTi kritikis sagans. Cven mier ganxil ul magal iTSi konfl iqtis Teoriis mimdevrebi dainaxavdnen mxol od Sedegs, rom mos-wavl eebS, roml ebnac ver SeZl es saTanado zogadi ganaTI e-bis miReba maTi social uri mdgomareobis gamo, prestiJul umaRI es saganmanaTI ebl o programaze moxvedris SesaZI eb-l oba SeeZRudaT. am sakiTxis praqtikul i magal iTi „Tanas-wori, magram gancal kevebul i“ SegiZl iaT ixil oT sax-el mZRvanel os merve TavSi. ganaTI ebis pol itikisa da re-formebis funqional istebis xedvis kritika yvel aze kargad da farTod warmocenil i konfl iqtis Teoriis erT-erT mim-dinareobaSi - marqsizmSi. swored marqsizmis Teorias gan-vixil avT momdevno qveTavSi.

marqsistul i Teoria

marqsistul i Teoriis kargad gasaazrebl ad mniSvnel ova-nia gavacnobieroT urTierTkavSiri adamianis qmedebebSa da adamianis figrs Soris. marqsistebi miicneven, rom adamianis azrovnebis mamozravebel i da ganmapirobebel i Zal a sazoga-doebaSi ekonomikuri keTil dReoba da ekonomikuri produq-tiul oba. marqsistebi Tvl ian, rom iseTi kategoriebi, rogo-rebicaa sikeTe da boroteba, kargi da cudi, mcdari da mar-Tal i - gamomdinareobs mxol oddamxol od ekonomikuri pro-duqtiul obis konteqstidan konkretul drosa da situacia-Si. amasTanave, mniSvnel ovania, rom marqsistebis Sexedul ebe-bi ar avurioT rel ativistTa Sexedul ebebTan. relativistTa Sexedul ebebs momdevno TavSi ganvixil avT. marqsistebisgan gansxvavebiT, relativistebi nebismier sakiTxS uyureben sa-kuTari kul turul i perspeqtivebidan gamomdinare da Sefase-bebic am kul turul i perspeqtividan keTdeba.

marqsistul i Teoriis il ustrirebisTvis kargi iqneba ga-vaanal izoT Cveni garemostvis iseTi mniSvnel ovani katego-riebi rogo-rebicaa dro da sivrce. magal iTad, ganvixil oT winadadebebi, romel Tac Cven viyenebT yovel dRIur cxovre-baSi: „gareT wvims“, „sal i depresiul xasiaTzea dRes“, an `skol a ar muSaobs zafxul Si“; es winadadebebi warmoadgenen swored drosTan an sivrcesTan dakavSirebul movl enebS.

yvel a adamianisTvis mniSvnel ovania dro da yvel a adamiani dros erTgvar kategoriebad yofs (dRe da Rame, zamtari da zafxul i da a.S.). anal ogiurad, sivrcec yvel a adamianisTvis mniSvnel ovani kategoria da misi diferenciaciac erTgvaria yvel a individisTvis (win, ukan, SigniT, gareT da a.S.).

dro da sivrce iseTi kategoriebia, roml ebic universaluria da amitom sazogadoebaSi urTierTgagebisa da ara gaurkvevl obis safuZvel i unda iyos. miuxedavad amisa, gansxvavebul ad fiqroben am sakiTxze marqsistebi. magal iTad, ganvixil oT sivrcis sakiTxi.

adamianebi obieqtTa adgil mdebareobis gansasazRvrad gamoiyeneben iseT kategoriebs, rogorebicaa aRmosavl eTi, dasavl eTi, Crdil oeTi da samxreTi. es kategoriebi sayovel - Taoa samyarosTvis. Sesabamisad, Tu adamiani ambobs: „niu-iorki bostonis samxreTITaa“ - es fraza gasagebi da advil ad aRsaqmel ia nebismier sxva adamianisTvis da, amasTanave, faqtobriv WeSmaritebas efuZneba. miuxedavad amisa, mniSvnel ovania aRiniSnos frazis - „bostonis samxreTITaa“ minisnebis urTierTkavSirze bostonsa da niu-iorks Soris. anu, Tuki adamians etyvi, rom „gaemgzavros samxreTIT“ - es ar niSnavs, rom is unda wavides niu-iorkSi. anu samxreTi aris abstraqtul i mcneba, maSin, roca niu-iorki aris konkretul i. Sesabamisad, samxreTIT wasvl a ar gul isxmobs konkretul ad niu-iorkSi wasvl as.

erTi wuTIT warmovidginoT sazogadoeba, romel sac jer ar gamougonebia iseTi kategoriebi rogorica Crdil oeTi da samxreTi, aRmosavl eTi da dasavl eTi. aseT SemTxvevaSi mimarTul ebis Cveneba moxdeboda mxol od konkretul i dasaxel ebebis gamoyenebiT: „wavideT did kl desTan“; „gahyevi dinebas“; „Sexede mdinares“, „Sevxdet gzis ganStoebasTan- da a.S. aseT sazogadoebaSi debul eba, rom raRac obieqti raRacis samxreTITaa - yovel gvar azrs mokl ebul i iqneba.

kacobriobis istoriaSi, sanam adamianebi geografiul i mimarTul ebebis saxel debas moigonebdnen, xdeboda obieqtebis martivad dasaxel eba. Semdgom adamianebs garkveul ma jgufma moaxdina geografiul i mimarTul ebebis dadgena da SemoiRes aRmosavl eTis, dasavl eTis, Crdil oeTisa da samxreTis cnebebi, roml ebic SemdgomSi mTel ma kacobriobam gadaiRo. am mimarTul ebebis gamomgonebl ebi namdvil ad gamorCeul ad niWieri adamianebi gaxl dnen, romel Ta azrovneba scdeboda Cveul ebrivi adamianebs mier dawesebul i azrovne-

bis CarCoebs. aq mniSvnel ovani sakiTxia, Tu rogor axerxeben es adamianebe iazrovnon CarCoebs miRma da gamoigonon da Seqmnan garkveul i siaxl eebi. amasTanave, mniSvnel ovani sakiTxia, Tu rogor xdeba, rom niWieri adamianebe gamogonebas iziarebs mosaxl eoba da is xdeba maTi azrovnebis da cxovrebebis nawil i garkveul droSi, Tumca, amasTanave, garkveul siaxl eebis ar iziarebs da uaryofs mosaxl eobis didi nawil i. al baT, saintereso am procesis axsna.

marqsistebi cdil oben, pasuxi gascen am kiTxvebs. marqsistebi, Tavistavad, mogviwodeben, gavcdeT zogadi azrovnebis CarCoebs da sxva kuTxiT SevxedoT sakiTxebis. magal iTistvis isev mivubrundeT geografiul i mimarTul ebebis sakiTxis. geografiul i mimarTul ebebis SemoReba sasargebl o aris Tu ara? Tu am SekiTxvas davsvamT dRevandel i gadmosaxedidan, al baT, adamianebebis umravl esoba ityvis, rom es iyo Zal ian pozitiuri movl ena kacobriobis ganvitarebisTvis. miuxedavad amisa, erTi wuTit SevxedoT am sakiTxis Zvel droSi mcxovrebe adamianebebis perspeqtiviT. Zvel kul turaSi es adamianebe cxovrobdnen izol irebul ad. maT hqondaT sakuTari saxl i da saWmel i da mSvidi da uzrunvel i garemo. konkretul i obieqtebebis saxel deba maT SesaZl ebl obas azl evda, sakuTar Tems SigniT ecxovraT da ar gascendenodnen am Temis sazRvrebs. geografiul i mimarTul ebebis saxel debam ki saSual eba gaaCina, rom isini gascendenodnen sakuTar sazRvrebs da dakavSirebodnen sazRvrebs miRma myof adamianebebis, roml ebTanac konfliqti, omi da gaugebrobebi xdeboda mudmivad. Tu am adamianebebis Tval TaxedviT SevxedavT am sakiTxis, SesaZl ebel ia geografiul i mimarTul ebebis dadgena arc ise pozitiurad iyos aRqmul i.

Crdil oeTis, samxreTis, aRmosavl eTisa da dasavl eTis mimarTul ebebis gansazRvram xel i Seuwyo uamrav pozitiur process. es iyo dasabami ganvitarebisTvis, radgan adamianebe gascenen garkveul sazRvrebs, maTi saWiroebebi Seicval a da saWiroebebebis dadgomastan erTad, ganaxl eba da axal i gamogonebebebis Seqmnac gardauval ia. Sesabamisad, kacobriobis ganvitarebisTvis geografiul i mimarTul ebebis dadgena umniSvnel ovanesia. Tumca, marqsistebi am sakiTxis dadebiT da uaryofiT aspektebebis ganixil aven, Tu ramdenad pozitiurad Seicval a konkretul i adamianebebis jgufis material uri mdgomareoba da keTil dReoba am aRmoCenis Sedegad im kon-

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

warmodgenil i magal iTi cxadyofs, rom sxvadasxva movl enaze gansxvavebul i interpretaciebis gakeTebaa Sesazl ebel i sxvadasxva istoriul monakveTsi. Tumca, mniSvel ovania, rom TviTon sazogadoebis SigniT, konkretul istoriul monakveTsi, sazogadoebis sxvadasxva fena nebismier sakiTxs gansxvavebul ad uyurebs. marqsisitebi miCneven, rom Cven gvaqvs kl asobrivi sazogadoeba da sxvadasxva social uri kl asi gansxvavebul ad aRiqvams procesebs, radgan am procesebs maTze gansxvavebul i zegavl ena da zemoqmedeba aqvs. Sesabamisad, marqsisitebi miCneven, rom TiToeul am social ur kl ass uyal ibdeba Sesabamisi „kl asobrivi cnobiereba“.

kl asobrivi cnobiereba, yal bi cnobiereba da hegemonia

marqsisitebis mixedvit, social uri kl asebis mixedvit sazogadoebis dayofa subieqturi da obieqturi kriteriumebiT xdeba. obieqturi kriteriumebiT sazogadoeba iyofa or nawil ad: erTi nawil i, romel sac gaaCnia qoneba da ekonomikuri warmoebisTvis saWiro kapital i da meore nawil i - mSromel Ta kl asi, romel sac ar gaaCnia sakuTari warmoebisTvis saWiro qoneba da kapital i da isini daqiravebul muSa-xel s warmoadgenen. daqiravebul i muSa-xel is kl asi Zal ian farTo da gansxvavebul ia. am kl asis SigniT gansxvavebebia rasis, eTnikuri warmomavl obis, rel igiuri aRmsareb- l obisa da mraval 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 kuTvnil ebis gacnobierebul i gaazreba. Tuki mSromel Ta kl asi SeZl ebs, gaacnobieros maTi saerTo interesi da SeZl ebs am interesis gasatarebl ad qmediTi RonisZiebebis gatarebas, maSin es obieqturad arsebul i mSromel Ta kl asi gardaiqmneba subieqtur mSromel Ta kl asad. profesiul i kavSirebi SegviZl ia ganvixil oT rogorc am procesis Sedegi, rodesac obieqturad arsebul i social uri kl asi qmnis garkveul erTobas,

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

marqsistebi miicneven, rom kl asobrivi cnobierebis Camoyal ibebas, Sesazl ebel ia, xel i SeuSal os TviTon sazogadoebam, rac ganapirobebs progresul i social uri cvl il ebebis ganxorciel ebis SeuZl ebl obas. marqsistebs SemoaqvT „yal bi cnobierebisa“ da „hegemoniis“ konceftebi social uri kl asis cnobierebis ganvitarebis dasaxasiaTebl ad. marqsistebi miicneven, rom xSirad dabal i social uri kl asis warmomadgenl ebi iReben im Rirebul ebebs da eTanxmebian im damokidebul ebebs, rac gaaCniaT el itarul i da gabatonebul i kl asis warmomadgenl ebs. amit isini iyal ibeben e.w. „yal b cnobierebas“. rodesac gabatonebul i social uri kl asi axerxebes, sakuTari azrovneba Tavs moaxvios sxva kl asis warmomadgenel Ta umravl esobas, am process marqsistebi gabatonebul i social uri kl asis „hegemonias“ uwodeben. hegemonia gul isxmobs, rom adamianebis garkveul j gufs an kl ass aqvs zegavl ena daqvemdebarebul i kl asis moqal aqeebis azrovnebas da qmedebaze. „yal bi cnobierebis“ naTel i magaliTebia, rodesac mona iRebs misi batonis mosazrebas da eTanxmeba, rom is warmoadgens monas da batoni, rogorc unda, ise moeqceva. an rodesac muSa iRebs Tavisi damqiravebl is yvel a pirobas da fiqrobs, rom is damqiravebel ia da yvel afris ufl eba aqvs masTan mimarTebiT.

marqsistebis azrit, „hegemoniis“ Seqmnas, arsebobasa da SenarCunebas, iseve, rogorc „yal bi cnobierebis“ Camoyal ibebas, xel s uwyoben iseTi institutebi, rogorbicaa media, ekl esia da skol a.

marqsistebi miicneven, rom sxvadasxva movl ena, romel ic progresul xasiaTs atarebda garkveul istoriul konteqstSi da gamarTl ebul i iyo misi progresul obiT adamiannuri ganvitarebis Tval sazrisiT, sinamdvil eSi xel s uwyobda „yal bi cnobierebis“ formirebas 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 uSl is adamianebis produqtiul obas, raTa maT xel i Seuwyon kacobriobis progresul

ganviTarebas. am sakiTxis naTI ad gasaazrebl ad, al baT, upriani iqneba konkretul i magal iTis il ustrireba.

erTi wuTiT warmovidginoT agrarul i sazogadoeba. am sazogadoebaSi ar arsebobs ekonomikuri zrdis, warmoebis da moxmarebis ganviTarebis perspeqtiva. sazogadoeba cxovrobs erT kargad Sekrul Temad. am sazogadoebaSi mevaxSeobis akrZal va mniSvnel ovania, radgan ekonomikuri ganviTarebis perspeqtiva ar arsebobs. Sesabamisad, erTi adamiანis gamdidreba mevaxSeobiT gul isxmobs meore adamiანis gaRatakebas val ebis gaustumrebl obis gamo. aseT sazogadoebaSi adamiანebi urTierTdamokidebul ni arian. am adamiანებს Sorisac xdeba Tanxis sesxeba, Tu es social uri saWiroebiT aris ganpirobebul i, Tumca Tanxis sesxebis es forma aviTarebs adamiანებს Soris megobrobas da Temis erTianobas, radgan Tanbxis sesxeba megobrobis gamoxatul ebaa da ara biznesi. am Temis wevrebis qmedebas ganpirobebs maTi moral uri xedva, rom RmerTma yvel a adamiანს mianiWa sakuTari rol i sazogadoebaSi da isini pirnaTI ad asrul eben am rol sa da funqcias.

aqve warmovidginoT, rom imave TemSi ukve gansxvavebul i dro da konteqstia. axal i dro da konteqsti iZl eva ekonomikuri ganviTarebis, warmoebisa da moxmarebis zrdis SesaZl ebl obebs. Tuki am axal i SesaZl ebl obebis xorcsesxma moxdeba, is uzrunvel yofs mTI iani sazogadoebis ganviTarebas, ekonomikur keTil dReobas da social ur simdidres. ekonomikuri ganviTarebisTvis mniSvnel ovania axal i sawarmoebis Seqmna, axal i teqnoლოგიების გამოSveba, sakvebisa da produqtebis Senaxvisa da gadamuSavebis axal i saSual ebebis gamogoneba da ganviTareba, gemTmSenebl obis ganviTareba, rac SesaZl ebl obas mogvcems, vawarmoot axal i gemebi. axal i da Tanamedrove gemebi ki saSual ebas iZl eva Soreul i teritoriebidan sakvebis, sxvadasxva produqtis, nivTebis, oqros da sxva mniSvnel ovani resursebis transportirebisaTvis da sazogadoebis dovl aTis dagrovebisTvis.

yvel a zemoCamoTvl il i saqmianobis gansaxorciel ebl ad mniSvnel ovania kapital is akumul ireba. aseve, mniSvnel ovania, rom adamiანებს hqondeT Tanxebi, raTa xorci Seasxan sakuTar ideebს da real urad moxdes sazogadoebis ganviTareba. am SemTxvevaSi adamiანებს, romel Tac SeuZl iaT axal i warmoebisTvis, axal i codnisTvis da sazogadoebis ganviTarebisTvis sxva adamiანებს asesxon ful i arian kargi biznesme-

nebi, roml ebic xel s uwyoben sazogadoebis ganviTarebas. Sesabamisad, mevaxSeobis akrZal va aseT sazogadoebaSi mxo- l oddamxol od axal i simdidris Seqmnisa da ekonomikuyri ganviTarebisTvis xel isSemSl el i faqtori iqneba. swored mevaxSeebis wyal obiT iqneba SesaZl ebel i didi da axal i proeqtebis ganxorciel eba, axal i warmoebebis dawyeba, mox- marebis donis gazrda da sazogadoebis ganviTarebisa da ke- Til dReobis miRweva. axal i ekonomikuri ganviTarebis kval - dakval ki aucil ebl ad moxdeba adaminebis fizikuri da ekonomikuri mobil obis gazrda, qal aqebis Seqmna da ganvi- Tareba da mmarTvel i kl asis Camoyal ibeba, roml is rigebsi iqnebian bankirebi da mevaxSeebi, mwarmoebl ebi da vaWrebi. amasTanave, axl ad aTvisetul i teritoriebidan saqonl isa da tvirtis gadazidvebis gasaadvil ebl ad mniSvnel ovani iqneba am teritoriebze kol oniebis daarseba da am kol oniebis efeqturad marTva sakuTari ekonomikuri keTil dReobis ga- saZl ierebl ad.

axal i teritoriebis aTvisebis kval dakval , axal i meqa- nizmebis amuSaveba iqneba mniSvnel ovani am teritoriebis sa- marTavad. upirvel es yovl isa, mniSvnel ovani iqneba ideis, l ozungis an misiis mofiqreba, rac gaamarTl ebs sxvis te- ritoriebze eqspansias. es eqspansia unda ganxorciel des ke- Til Sobil uri miznebis safarqveS. amasTanave, mniSvnel ovani iqneba saganmanaTl ebl o reforma. niWieri da perspeqtiul i kadrebis moqidva kol oniebidan, kol onist saxel mwifoSi momzadeba da Semdgom ukan gagzavna da garkveul maRal da Sual edur Tanamdebobaze maTi daniSvna. am gziT moxdeba ka- drebis momzadeba, roml ebic adgil ze Camooyal ibeben axal dominant social ur kl ass da ekonomikuri warmoebisa da ganviTarebisTvis saWiro samarTl ebriv, moral ur, Rirebu- l ebebisa da azrovnebis sistemas Seqmnan.

sazogadoebaSi procesebi am mimarTul ebiT warmarTvis SemTxvevaSi gaCnda axal i kl asi, ZiriTadad bankirebis, me- warmeebisa da vaWrebisa, roml ebic mxars dauWeren sazoga- doebaSi axal i moral uri, samarTl ebrivi da eTikuri norme- bis dafuZnebas. am axal social ur fenas eyol eba mowinaaRm- degeni, roml ebic moisurveben Zvel i normebis SenarCunebas. Zvel i normebis SenarCunebis mxardamWerTa Soris ZiriTadad agrarul i meurneobiT dakavebul i aristokratia iqneba. axa- l i normebisa dasanergad mniSvnel ovani iqneba Sors mimava- l i da mTel i sazogadoebisaTvis mniSvnel ovani miznis Seqm-

na, raTa mTel ma sazogadoebam daijeros, rom ganxorciel ebul i cvl il ebebi mniSvnel ovania ara konkretul i socialuri kl asisa da fenis warmomadgenl ebisTvis, aramed mTl ianad sazogadoebisTvis. amerikis SeerTebul i Statebis istorias Tu aviRebT, „sicocxl e, Tavisufl eba da bednierebisen swrafva“ gaxl daT is l ozungi, romel ic emsaxureboda mTel i sazogadoebis interesebis da ara romel ime socialur kl ass, miuxedavad imisa, rom amerikis SeerTebul i Statebis „damfuZnebel mamebs“ hqondaT sakuTari socialuri kl asis interesi, radgan isini warmoadgendnen monaTmfl obel ebs da qonebisa da sakuTrebis mfl obel ebs. aRniSnul i l ozungi, romel ic Camoyal ibda universalur ufl ebad da unda gavrcel ebul iyo sazogadoebis yvel a fenaze, warmoadgenda mniSvnel ovan taqtikur nabij s sazogadoebis yvel a fenis mxardaWeris mosapovebl ad. miuxedavad imisa, rom „sicocxl is, Tavisufl ebisa da bednierebisen swrafvis“ ideas monobis winaaRmdeg 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 isev Cvens magal iTs da am magal iTSi axl ad Camoyal ibebul 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 niWis Sesabamisad. es debul eba mTl ianad TanxvedraSia funqcional 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 mniSvnel ovan gansxvaveba funqcional istTa da marqsisTta Sexedul ebebs Soris am sazogadoebis Sesaxeb: funqcional istebi miicneven, rom adamianebi warmatebas aRweven sakuTari codnisa da niWis wyal obiT Tanamedrove sazogadoebaSi da es gaxl avT universaluri 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 principsiyenebs sakuTari dominantobis gasaZl ierebl ad da sxva socialur kl asze hegemonobisTvis, raTa am principis moSve-

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

am sakiTxebis gaanal izebis Semdeg, al baT saintereso mi-vubrundeT, meore TavSi ganxil ul i „mesame samyaros“ magal iTs. am magal iTSi ganaTI ebis pol itikis funcional isturi xedviT axсна iyo warmodgenil i. al baT, saintereso, igive magal iTs ganaTI ebis pol itikis konteqstSi rogor axsnidnen marqsisxebi, rogor gaanal izebdnen am magal iTs „hegemoniis“, „yal bi cnobierebis“ da social uri kl asebis separaciis konteqstSi.

marqsi zmi, neomarqsi zmi da ganaTI eba

marqsistebis 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 „dapirispirebul obis kanoni“. am kanonis mixedviT, nebismier fesvi Tu warmonaqmni tavi TavSi moicavs, rogorc misi ganvitarebisTvis da zrdisTvis aucil ebel el ementebs, agreTve misi ganadgurebisTvis saWirow nawil akebsac. kapital istur sazogadoebaSi, es „dapirispirebul 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 qmnian garkveul social ur kl ass. maT sapirispir od 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 yal libdeba maTTvis damaxasiaTebel i kl asobrivi cnobiereba. orTodoqsul i marqsizmis mimdevrebi miicneven, rom mSromel Ta kl asma, romel sac isini proletariats 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 gavirusvaT im faqts, rom orTodoqsul i marqsistebe miiCneven, rom sazogadoebis cvl il ebebis da ganviTarebisTvis mniSvnel ovania, rom arsebobdes garkveul i winaaRmdegoba sazogadoebaSi, romel ic uzrunvel yofs cvl il ebebs, sxva SemTxvevaSi mudmivad iqneba SenarCunebul i erTi kl asis dominantoba meore kl asze.

neomarqsistebis Sexedul eba gansxvavebul ia orTodoqsi marqsistebis Sexedul ebebisgan. neomarqsistebe sazogadoebis diferenciacias mxol od ekonomikur konteqstSi ar ganxil aven da yuradRebas amaxvil eben social uri urTierTobebis araekonomikur aspektebze. isini miiCneven, rom mxol od warmoebis saSual ebebze xel misawvdomoba ar aris usamar-TI obisa da social uri diferenciaciis safuZvel i da dominantobisa Tu daqvemdebarebis el ementebi unda ganvixil oT konkretul konteqstsa da viTarebaSi da is Sesazl ebel ia gansxvavebul i aRmoCndes. isini miiCneven, rom dRes uTanasworobis safuZvel i informaciaze da ara warmoebis saSual ebebze kontrol i SeiZl eba iyos. Sesabamisad, am axal konteqstSi skol a da media izenen gansakutrebul mniSvnel 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. neomarqsistebisadmi interesi ganapiroba funqcional istebis warumatebl obam ganaTI ebis pol itikis social uri efeqtebis gaanal izebis kuTxiT. funqcional istebma ver SeiZl es, kargad aexsnaT skol is roli sxvadasxva social ur konteqstSi. am mxriv aRsaniSnavia rendal kol insis funqcional listuri Teoriis kritika (aRsaniSnavia, rom rendal kol insi sakuTar Tavs ar Tvl is marqsistad, is sakuTar Tavs konfl iqtis sociol ogad moixseniebs). kol insi miiCnevs, rom arasworia funqcional istTa argumenti, rom teqnol ogiur zrdasTan erTad mniSvnel ovani xdeba ufro xangrZl ivi saskol o ganTI eba. misi azrit, ar arsebobs aranairi korel acia SromiT bazarze samsaxuris Sovnasa da saskol o ganaTI ebis xangrZl ivobas Soris. „amerikis SeerTebul StattebSi muSa-xel is ganaTI ebis done SeiCval a mxol od im do-

nemde ra donemdec saWiroa , rom maT SeinarCunon sakuTari adgil ebi axal i codnisa da unarebis moTxovnis kval obaze"¹.

funcional istebis mtkiceba, rom Tanamedrove samuSao Zal a saWiroebs ufro mraval wl ian saskol o ganaTI ebas, efuzneba preindustriul i periodis Sexedul ebeps. preindustriul periodSi samuSao adgil ebze iRebdnen adamianebs, romel Tac, Sesazl ebel ia, wera-kiTxva da el ementarul i aritmetikac ar scodnodaT. industriul periodSi moTxovnebi Seicval a da samuSao adgil ebis umetesobisTvis aucil ebel i iyo wera-kiTxvisa da aritmetikul i operaciebis mcode muSaxel i. Sesabamisad, muSaxel istvis wayenebul ma wera-kiTxvisa da aritmetikis codnis moTxovnebma xel i Seuwyves funcional istebis mosazrebis warmoSobas, TiTqos ufro xangrZI ivi saskol o ganaTI eba iyo saWiro Tanamedrove muSa-xel istvis, rac real obas ar Seesabameboda. moTxovnebis zrda Seexeboda mxol od wera-kiTxvisa da aritmetikis codnas anu saskol o ganaTI ebis sawyis etaps da ara mis momdevno etapebs.

funcional istebi agreTve miiCnevden, rom maTematikisa da zusti da sabunebismetyvel o mecnierebebis maRal doneze codna Tanamedrove maRal teqnol ogiuri industriis ertTertTi mTavari moTxovna iyo. kol insi ki miiCnevda, rom es ar dasturdeboda real uri viTarebiTa da konkretul i situaciiT. real uri viTarebiT dasturdeboda, rom ganviTarebul i teqnol ogiebi moitXovda arsebul i muSaxel istvis, raTa maT gaeumj obesebinaT sakuTari unarebi, ri Sedegadac SeZI eodaT muSaobis gagrZel eba, magram ar adasturebda, rom samuSao adgil ebis umravl esoba ufro maRal i donis teqnikuri ganaTI ebis muSaxel is moTxovnas ayenebda. aseTi SemTxvevebi Zal ian mcire aRmoCnda. kol insis mxridan funcional istebis winaaRmdeg wamoweul i argumentebs mxari dauWires sxva mecnierebmac, kerZod, hari breivmani amtkicebs, rom real urad samuSao adgil ebis did nawil ze vakansiebs moTxovnil i kompetenciebisa da unarebis xarisxi damsaqmebl ebis mxridan ki ar gaizarda, piriqIT - Semcirda. misi azriT, damsaqmebl ebi da menej erebi cdil oben maqsimal uri sargebl is miRebas samuSaos rutinizaciiT², rac gul isxmobs gansaxorciel ebel i saqmis garkveul yal ibsa da CarCoebSi Casmas, raTa misi Sesrul eba ufro advil i iyos. aRniSnul i midgoma damsaqmebl ebs da menej erebs saSual ebas aZI evT, advil ad Caanacvl on muSa-xel i da ar arsebodbden e.w. `Seuc-

vl el i adamianebi~, romel Tac moTxovna samuSao pirobebis gaumj obesebaze gazrdil i eqnebaT. ufro metic, rogorc kolinsi miicnevs, saerTod ar arsebobs urTierTmimarTeba muSaxel is ganaTI ebul obasa da mis produqtiul obas Soris³. SesaZl ebel ia piriqiTac iyos, 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 produqtiul obaze da aseTi rutinul i samuSaos Sesasrul ebl ad ufro ganaTI ebul i adamianebis moqidva araproduqtiul i Sedegebis momtania damsaqmebl ebisa da menejerebisTvis. am diskusiis gasagrZel ebl ad saintereso da relevanturi iqneba saxel mZRvanel os merve TavSi ganxilul i praqtikul i magal iTi „ganaTI eba samuSaosTvis“.

funqcional istebi miicneven, rom mesame samyaros ganvitarbadma qveynebma didi yuradReba unda miaqcion ganaTI ebis sistemis gziT samuSao Zal is kval ifikasiis amaRI ebas. miuxedavad am Sexedul ebebisa, am qveynebis did nawil Si muSaxel is „zedmetad“ ganaTI eba xel s uwyobs qal aqis dasaxl ebebSi umuSevrobis zrdas, radgan ganaTI ebamiRebul i muSaxel i zedmetad kval ificiuria im samuSao adgil ebisTvis, rasac SromiTi bazari sTavazobs. Sesabamisad, konfliqtis Teoriis mimdevrebi miicneven, rom funqcional istebma ver gaaanal izes aRniSnul i probl emebi da sazogadoebas sTavazoben ganaTI ebis politikis araadekvatur xedvas. Sesabamisad, mniSvnel ovania ganaTI ebis politikis axl eburi gaazreba da marqsistul i Teoria cdil obs am axl eburi gaazrebis SemoTavazebas.

kapital istur sazogadoebaSi saskol o ganaTI ebis neomarqsistul i gaazreba

saj aro skol ebi gaxl avT saxel mwifo dafinansebisa da saxel mwifos mier marTul i skol ebi. marqsistebe miicneven, rom skol ebis roli kapital istur sazogadoebaSi Semoifargl eba dominanti social uri jgufis daqvemdebarebul jgufze gavlenis Senarcunebisa da gazrdiT. es niSnavs, rom skol ebma unda moamzadon momaval i muSaxel i kapital isturi

sawarmoebisTvis. mniSvnel ovani sakiTxia, Tu rogor amzadeben skol ebi muSaxel s kapital isturi sawarmoebisTvis? es kiTxva umniSvnel ovanesia marqsistul i Teoriis mimdevrebisTvis, radgan funqional istebis Teoriis kritikisas isini asabuTebdnen, rom skol a warmoadgens mxol od umniSvnel o instruments Tanamedrove sazogadoebisTvis saWiro muSaxel is momzadebis procesSi da urTierTkavSiri saskol o ganaTI ebis xarisxis zrda da kval ificiur muSaxel ze moTxovnas Soris ar dgindeba. Sesabamisad, saintereso maTi xedva - Tu ras emsaxureba Tanamedrove skol a?

am kiTxvaze pasuxis gasacemad unda gavecnoT marqsistebis xedva, Tu rogor emsaxureba saxel mwifo mmarTvel el itas. saxel mwifos ekuTvnis monopol ia represiul Zal aufl ebaze. iseTi institutebi, rogorebicaa sasamarTI o, armia da pol icia - gamoiyeneba am Zal aufl ebis real izebisTvis. marqsistebi miiCneven: miuxedavad imisa, rom saxel mwifos gaaCnia mniSvnel ovani instrumentebi Zal aufl ebisTvis pol iciis, jarisa Tu sasamarTI os saxiT - es sakmarisi ar aris. am institutebma rom efeqturad imoqmedon, mniSvnel o- vania, sasamarTI oSi, j arsa da pol iciaSi mosamsaxure ad- mianebma, roml ebic ar warmoadgenen mmarTvel el itas, irw- munon, rom isini emsaxurebian marTebul da mniSvnel ovan saqmes. winaaRmdeg SemTxvevaSi, Zal a mmarTvel i el itis sawi- naaRmdegod SeiZl eba iqnes gamoyenebul i. swored am rwmenis Sesaqmnel ad mniSvnel ovania marqsistebi mier Semotanil i „yal bi cnobierebis“ Camoyal ibeba mSromel Ta da mosamsax- ureTa kl asSi, raTa isini emsaxuron kapital isturi saxel m- wifos mmarTvel el itas.

marqsistebi miiCneven, rom Zal ovani struqturabi mniSv- nel ovania mmarTvel i el itisTvis, Tumca mxol od maTze dayrdnoba arasaimedo. represiul ma manqanam SesaZl ebel ia adamianebi SeaCeros mmarTvel i el itis sawinaaRmdego qmede- bebisgan, Tumca is ver uzrunvel yofs mmarTvel i el itis sa- sargebl od adamianebis saqmianobas. Sesabamisad, mniSvnel o- vania sxva meqanizmebis amuSaveba da am meqanizmebs l uis al - tiuzeru uwodebs saxel mwifos ideol ogiur aparats (Ideolog- ical State Apparatuses, ISAs)⁴. saxel mwifos ideol ogiuri aparati moicavs sakomunikacio institutebs (gazeTebis, Jurnal ebs, radios, tel evizias da sxva mediasaSualebebs), kul turis sferos institutebs (xel ovneba, literatura, sporti), re- l igiur organizaciebs, oj axebs, pol itikur partiebs, prof-

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

neomarqsistebi ki miiCneven, rom skol a yvel aze mniSvne-
l ovani instrumentia saxel mwifos ideol ogiur aparatSi
Tanamedrove msofil ioSi. miuxedavad imisa, rom funqciona-
listebi amtkiceben, TiTqos 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 Ses-
saZl ebl obebis principi da Tanasworobis principi ar moq-
medebs umciresobaTa mimarT. amerikis SeerTebul StatebSi
afroamerikel ebi, l aTinoamerikel ebi da sxva umciresobaTa
warmomadgenl ebi ar arian Tanasworni dominantur j gufTan
SedarebiT mxol oddamxol od eTnikuri da rasobrivi warmom-
mavl obis gamo. amasTanave, mniSvnel ovani probl emebia da-
savl eTis qveynebsi qal Ta da mamakacTa Tanasworobis mimar-
Tebi Tac. Sesabamisad, funqcional istTa mtkiceba Taname-
drove samyaroSi SeZenil i unarebisa da codnis safuZvel ze
waxal isebis da Tanabari Sesazl ebl obebis arsebobis Sesaxeb
xSirad kiTxvis niSnis qves dgeba.

Zal ian mniSvnel ovani kvl eva Caatares amerikis SeerTe-
bul StatebSi samuel bauele sma da herbert jintisma. maT
daadgines, rom Tanasworobis da Tanabari Sesazl ebl obebis
probl ema dgas ara mxol od umciresobebTan da qal ebTan mi-
marTebaSi, aramed zogadadac. maT gamoikvl 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 Soris⁶. msgavsi kvl ebebi adasturebs, rom
social ur-ekonomikuri, oj axuri, rel igiuri Tu eTnikuri
warmomavl oba kvl av mniSvnel ovan rol s TamaSobs sazoga-
doebaSi ekonomikuri keTil dReobisa da social uri benefi-
tebis miRebis procesSi.

rogorc vxedavT, funqcional istebis Sexedul eba, rom
karierul i winsvl a da warmateba, iseve, rogorc ekonomikuri
da social uri keTil dReoba, damokidebul ia individual ur
codnasa da unarebze da ara warmomavl obaze - real obaSi ar

muSaobs-. miuxedavad am real obisa, xal xi fiqrobs, rom Tanamedrove sazogadoeba meritokratul i sazogadoebaa da yvel aferi damokidebul 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 sa- j aro zogadi ganaTI eba da danarCeni ukve maTzea damokide- bul i. bael si da jintisi, 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 daarwmunos sazogadoeba, rom Tanabari SesaZI ebl obebis principi real urad muSaobs, radgan sazogadoebas aqvs saval debul o sa j aro zogadi ga- naTI ebis miRebis SesaZI ebl oba.

damatebi T saki Txavi I i t e r a t u r a

arsebobs araerTi saintereso wigni da publ ikacia, romel ic farTod ganxil avs marqsistul Sexedul ebeps ganaTI ebis pol i- tikis sakiTxebze, 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 wignebsi avtori neomarqsistul i perspeqtiviT ganxil avs kl asis, genderis, Zal aufl ebisa da hegemoniis sakiTxebs.

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 SesaZI ebl obl o- bebi individual uri zrdis, Tanabari SesaZI ebl obebis Seqmnis da mSromel Ta Zal aufl ebis ganviTarebis Tval sazrisiT. avtorebi ganxil aven da aanal izeben sakiTxs, Tu rogor uwyobs skol a xel s uTanasworobas.

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

avtori aRwers sakuTar wigni erebis programas ganviTarebad 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 of Conflicting research Programs. New York: Routledge, 1989

wignSi Sedarebul ia skol isa da sazogadoebis l iber al u-ri/funqional isturi da marqsistul i Sexedul ebebi. avtori miic-nevs, rom marqsistebis kritika sakmaod mizanimarTul ia, magram, amasTanave, avtori mkveTrad uWers mxars samarTI ianobisa da ga-naTI ebis l iber al ur demokratiul principebs.

Tavi V

ki dev erTxel farul i kurikul umis Sesaxeb

funcional izmis gacnobisas Cven davinaxeT, rom farul i kurikul a gvexmareba ukeT avxsnaT is arapirapiri gzebi da mimarTul ebebi, roml ebic saswavl o procesSi moswavl eebis Tanamedrove, industriul i sazogadoebis Rirebul eebbsa da normebTan social izacias emsaxureba. aseTi qcevebia, magaliTad, rigSi Cadgoma, aqtivobebis dagegmva saatebis mixedvit, maswavl ebl is yuradRebis mopovebisaTvis Sejibri da damoukidebel i muSaoba. es qcevebi miRebul ia, rogorc mniSvel ovani mosamzadebel i saswavl o el ementebi Tanamedrove sazogadoebaSi muSaobisaTvis. marqsistebi aseve amtkiceben, rom skol a avitarebs im damokidebul eebbs, roml ebic saWiroa Tanamedrove sazogadoebaSi muSaobisaTvis. miuxedavad amisa, marqsistebisa da funcional istebis Sexedul ebebSi arsebiti gansxvaveba arsebobs. funcional istebi sakuTar ideas, rom skol a Tanabari SesaZl ebl obebis Sansebs zrdis, sxva aucil ebel pirobasac amateben. isini Tvl ian, rom kurikul umi maSinaa samarTl iani, Tu is saSual ebas izl eva Sromiti Zal is sxvadasxva sferoebis Soris arCevani gakeTdes. Sesabamisad, isini farul i kurikul umis koncefcias imgvarad ayal ibeben, rom es ukanasknel i guli sxmobs kurikul umiss identurobas bavSvebis yvel a jgufisaTvis. marqsistebi aRiareben farul i kurikul umis sargebl obas. funcional istebisagan gansxvavebit, isini figroben, rom farul i kurikul umi gasxvavebul gavlenas axdens gasxvavebul i social uri fenisa da warmomavl obis bavSvTa jgufebze. Sesabamisad, isini skeptikurad arian ganwyobil i im postul atis mimarT, rom yvel a skol a yvel asaTvis Tanabar SesaZl ebl obebs qmnis. isini ar eTanxmebian varauds, rom farul i kurikul umi yvel a bavSvisaTvis erTnairad aris miwodebul i da arc im mtkicebul ebis momxreeebi arian, rom yvel a bavSvi erTnairiad iRebs mas.

erT-erT kvl evaSi jen enioni eyrdnoba marqsistul i tradiciebis aspeqtebs imisaTvis, rom Seiswavl os farul i kurikul umis funcionireba¹. man xuT sxvadasxva skol aSi

Caatara mexuTe kl asebis kvl eva da aRmoaCina, rom yvel a skol is SemTxvevaSi absol uturad gansxvavebul ad miwodebodaT moswavl eebS Sromis, sakuTrebis SegrZnebis, wesebisa da gadawyvetil ebis miRebis koncefciebi farul i kurikul umis saSual ebiT. xuTidan oTx skol aSi sxvadasxva social ur fenisa da warmomavl obis moswavl eebi iyvnen warmodgenil ni. pirvel da meore skol aSi moswavl eebi muSaTa fenis, mesameSi skol aSi saSual o, meoTxeSi maRal i-saSual o da mexuTeSi ki, "eqskl uziuri elitis" popul aciisgan Sedgebodnen. enionma aRmoaCina, rom TiToeul sakvl ev skol aSi gansxvavebul i pedagogiuri stil is practicareba xdeboda. amasTan, miuxedavad imisa, swavl ebis stil i yvel gan gansxvavdeboda, sagnis doneze is sakmaod erTnairi iyo. nebismieri sagnis SemTxvevaSi, iqneboda es aritmetika, enis xel ovneba, mecniereba Tu sazogadoebrivi sagnebi, farul i kurikul umi erTgvarovnad iyo warmodgenil i muSaTa kl asis moswavl eebiT dakompl eqtebul skol ebSi da es kurikul umi gansxvavdeboda sxva danarCen skol ebSi warmodgenil isgan. enoinma aseve aRmoaCina, rom nebismieri skol is magal iTze farul i kurikul umi warmoadgenda muSaobis, sakuTrebis SegrZnebis, wesebisa da avtoritetis konkretul koncefcias. es koncefciebi 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 eebS 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 miznebs, rogor ukavSirdeboda es daval ebebi sxva daval eebS da arc imas ganmartavda, zogadad ra mniSvnel oba hqonda da Sedegebi SeiZl eba moetana maT muSaobas². wesebi bavSvebs miwodebodaT nabij -nabij, procesis paral el urad, es wesebi mudam unda Sesrul ebul iyo da arasodes Secvl il iyo. es principi dacul i iyo im SemTxvevaSic ki, Tu bavSvs daval ebis Sesrul ebis ufro efeqtiani midgoma SeiZl eba SemoeTavazebina. enionma sakuTari dakvirvebis il ustrireba maTematikis gakveTil idan motanil i saubrit moaxdina:

erT-erTi maswavl ebel i bavSvebs rigi aqtivobebis ganxorciel ebas aval debul ebda. maT erTi santimetr is sigrZis

xazi unda daexataT furcl ebze. maswavl ebel i arc ki ux-
nida moswavl eebis, rom isini santimetriz sigrZis xazs av-
l ebdnen da rom es xazi Skal is Sesaswavl ad iyo saWiro. mi-
si swavl eba Semdegi frazebiT mimdinareobda: `aiReT saxaza-
vebi! dadeT is furcl is zeda mindorTan! gaavl eT niSnul i
saxazavis yovel i xazis gaswrviv! axl a ki moatrial eT Tqve-
ni saxazavi TaviT qveviT...~ am sakiTxTan dakavSirebiT 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!³

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 puqtuaciis niSnebis meqanikur
swavl ebas. arsebobda TiToeul i da yovel i punqturaciis
niSnis swavl is garkveul i wesi, roml is gverdis avl a da
Secvl a arasdros iyo gamarTi ebul i. avtobiografia auci-
l ebl ad iwereboda special uri grafebis gaswrviv pasuxis
SevsebiT, xol o grafebi ki Sedgeboda imgvari kiTxvebiT,
rogoricaa magal iTad "sad daibade" an "romel ia Seni sayva-
rel i cxovel i?"⁴ 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
gamoeyenebinaT gadawyvetil ebis miRebis dros. nivTebic ki
sakl aso oTaxSi aRqmul i iyo rogorc maswavl ebl is piradi
sakuTreba da moswavl eebis isini swored imgvarad unda ga-
moeyenebinaT, rogorc maT maswavl ebel i ukarnaxebda. sakl a-
so oTaxze kontrol i pirdapiri instuqciebisa da gankargu-
l ebemis saSual ebiT xorciel deboda. es instruqciebi ki
Semdegnairi iyo: "gadaSal eT wignebi," "siCume!"

mdidrul i, maRal i saSual o fenis warmomadgenel Ta
skol a Zal ian kontrastul i iyo muSaTa sazogadoebis sko-
l isgan. aq farul i kurikul umi gansacvifrebl ad gansxvave-
bul konfecciebs warmoadgenda wesebis, ufl ebamosil ebisa
da sakuTrebis Sesaxeb. enis xel ovnebaSi aqcenti kreatiul
weraze iyos gakeTebul i. punqtuaciis principebi aqac iswav-
l eboda, oRond bavSvebs aswavl idnen, rom sasveni niSnebis
gamoyeneba imazea damokidebul i, Tu risi gadmocema surT
maT. sasveni niSnebis sworad gamoyeneba ki sakl aso ganxil-
vebis sagans warmoadgenda. sakl aso oTaxisa da swavl is
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.

enionis mier gaanal izebul i skol ebis magal iTi Tval saCinod warmoaCens, Tu rogor xdeba marqsistebis xedvis ganzogadeba farul i kurikul umis koncefciasTan mimarte-biT. amgvari ganzogadebis saSual ebiT marqsistebi aCvene-ben, Tu rogor viTardeba skol ebis fargl ebSi arsebul i urTierTdamokidebul ebebi farul i kurikul umis saSual ebiT. enioniseul i kvl eva gvaCvenebs, rom muSaTa kl asis skol is moswavl eeb aswavl ian SromiT sferoSi monawil eobas producirebis yvel aze umniSvnel o, dabal safexurze. maT aswavl ian imgvari wesebis morCil ebas, roml ebic arc ki es-miT. am moswavl eeb imgvari saqmis keTebisaTvis amzadeben, romel sac aranairi mniSvnel oba maTTvis ar gaaCnia. moswavl eebi momaval Sic unda usityvod unda daemorCil on gankargul ebebs, roml ebsac gareSe ufl ebamosil i piri gascem-s. maRal i-saSual o fenis moswavl eeb skol aSi aswavl ian rogor unda Caerton SedarebiT maRal i safexuris SromiT sferoSi. maT aswavl ian damoukidebl ad muSaobas da uviTareben anal izisa da daskvnis unars, Tu ramdenad Seesabameba konkretul i wesi mocemul daval ebasTan dakavSirebul grZel vadian da ara myisier amocanebs. am fenis skol is moswavl eeb aseve aswavl ian simbol oebiT manipul irebas sakuTari survil isa da Sexedul ebebis mixedviT, gamoumuSaveben Sinagan discipl inas da amzadeben maT ufl ebamosil pirTan Tanaswor pirobebSi mol aparakebebisaTvis. enionis kvl evaSi saSual o kl asis skol ebis magal iTi gansxvavebul i suraTs warmoaqmni maRal i el ituri skol isagan. maRal el itur skol aSi kidev sxva tipis wesebi da ufl ebamosil ebaa war-modgenil i. saSual o fenis skol ebSi moswavl eeb aswavl ian qcevas da damokidebul ebebs, roml ebic gul isxmobs arsebul i wesebis miyol as da `swori pasuxebisa da gadawyvetil ebebis" povnas arsebul avtoritatul mocemul obaSi. maRal i el itarul i kl asis skol ebSi moswavl eeb aswavl ian im situaciebis marTvas, roml ebzec isini Tavad arian pasuxismgebel ni.

el ionis kvl evis sazRvrebi sakmaod mokrZal ebul ia. bol osdabol os, kvl evis obieqti mxol od ramdenime iSviaTad homogenuri skol is mexuTe kl asebia. TumcaRa, am kvl evis sawyisi imperiul i Sedegebi gaziarebul ia sxva kvl eevSic, roml ebic neomarqsistul i tradiciebis miRma Catarebul a. magal iTisaTvis, rei maqdemotma (misi moRvaweoba wignis Semdeg nawil Si ufro detal urad iqneba ganxil ul i) kl asebis qcevis sakuTar mikroanal izSi aRmoaCina, rom kiTxvis Zl ieri j gufis moswavl eebi bevrad ufro xSirad awyvetineben an

erTvebian maswavl ebl is saubarSi im periodSi, rodesac is kiTxvis sust j gufTan muSaobs. amavdroul ad, kiTxvis susti j gufis moswavl eebi bevrad iSviaTad gadakveTen im sivrces, sadac kiTxvis Zl ieri j gufi muSaobs da maswavl ebel s ar awyvetineben saubars an saqmianobas. makdemoni pirdapir ar ukavSirebs am da sxva, msgavsi kvl evebis Sedegebs moswavl eTa socio-ekonomikur warmomavl obas. Sesabamisad, misi kvl evebi acdenilia marqsistul koncefcias. TumcaRa, es Sedegebi aZl ierebs xedvas, rom rom farul i kurikul umi gansxvavebul gavlenas axdebs moswavl ebaT gansxvavebul j gufebze.⁵ makdermotis msgavsad, rie ristma, romelic sakmaod gansxvavebul tradiciebs eyrdnoba, aRmoaCina, rom maswavl ebl ebi skol aSi moswavl eebis kl asifikacias adreul i asakidan axdnen. es kl asifikacia/dayofa ar aris dafuznebul i akademiur moswrebase, aramed imgvar maxasiaTeb ebeze, rogoricaa magal iTad moswavl is tansacml is sisuftave. maswavl ebl ebis swored am kl asifikaciis Sesabamisad eqcevian moswavl eebis. amastan, maswavl ebl ebi bevrad ufro metad urTierToben im moswavl eebTan, vinc kargad gamoiyureba, movl il ia da maT akademiur moswrebasac met yuradRebas aqceven.⁶ makdermotis msgavsad, ristic ar asabuTebis, rom produciirebis urTierTkavSirebis ganvitareba zemoT aRweril kl asifikaciis l ogikur axsnas warmoadgens. misi kvl eva ki aseve marqtistul i tradiciebis miRmaa. TumcaRa enioni absol uturad daufaravad da naTl ad amtkicebs, rom kapital istur sazogadoebaSi produciirebis urTierTkavSirebis ganvitarebis aucil ebl obaa gansxvavebul i formis farul i kurikul umis arsebobis mizezi. es ukanasknel i ki, miuxedavad imisa, rom gvaCvenebs skol is farul kurikul asa da kl asis mSobl ebis social ur statuss Soris korel aciis arsebobas, ar gul isxmobs mizezobrivi kavSiris arsebobas. korel acia apriori ar gul isxmobs kauzal ur kavSirs. da mainc, anionis kvl eva gvawvdis im saintereso Sedegebs, rom l ebic skol ebis funcional istebiseul i xedvis xel axal i Sefasebis safuzvel s gvaZl evs. al baT moindomebT qeisis "sakl aso subieqtivizmi" gacnobas, romelic me-8 TavSia mocemul i da saSual ebas iZl eva mocemul i sakiTxebi kidev. ufro detal urad ganixil oT.

kul turul i reproducirebis Teoria

savaraudod yvel aze sworad SemuSavebul i Teoriul i na-
Sromi ganaTI ebis reproducirebis sakiTxebis Sesaxeb or
frang mkvl evars - pier bordes da Jan-kl od paseronis
ekuTvnis. mkl evrebi nawil obriv marqsistul trandiciebs
eyrdnobian da amtkiceben, rom saskol o swavl eba warmoSobs
mkafio da Rrmad gamj dar rwmenasa da aRqmas, romel ic
j gufabis subordinaciis regul irebis saSual ebas izl eva.
swored amgvari gaazreba da aRqmadoba aniWebs dominant
kl ass imis saSual ebas, rom sakuTari statusi fizikuri an-
gariSsworebisa da Zal datanebis gareSe SeinarCunos. sxva
sityvebiT, is, rasac mkvl evrebi "simbol ur Zal adobas" uwo-
deben, praqtikul ad fizikuri Zal adobis Camnacvl ebel ia.
"simbol uri Zal adoba" erTi j gufhis mier meoreze Tavsmox-
veul i sistemuri xedvaa. mkvl evrebi am Rrmad da safuZve-
lianad gamj dar rwmenasa da aRqmadobas, roml ebic procese-
bis mimdinareobisTan erTad ganmtkicdeba, "habitu" (habitus)
uwodeben. habitusi gagebisa da aRqmis el ementebia, roml ebic
Taobidan Taobas gadaecema, adamianta konkretul kul tur-
rul j gufebs aertianebs da sxva kul turul i j gufabisgan
ganasxvavebs. maSin, rodesac habitusi kul turul i j gufebs
ertaneTisgan mij navs, imavdroul ad is dominanti kul ture-
bisaTvis damaxasiaTebel i simbol oebis l egitimaciasac em-
saxureba. skol a upirvel esi instituciaa, romel ic am l egi-
timacias ayal ibebs. es procesi viTardeba daqvemdebarebul i
kul turebis mier distancirebul i pativiscemis gamoxatviT
im mouvdomei i sagnebisa da simbol oebisadmi, roml ebic
dominanturi kul turis nawil ia. amgvari sagnebi da simbo-
l oebi ki ganTavsebul ia imgvar instituciebsi, rogorebicaa
magal iTad muzeumebi da sakoncorto darbazebi. skol ebi
ertgvar arapol itikur da neutral ur forums warmoadgenen.
borde da paseronis Rrma rwmeniT, am fonze, daqvemdebare-
bul i kul turis warmomadgenl ebi eTanxmebian gacxadebul
pretenzias dominanturi kul turis gansakuTrebulo bisa da
prioritetul obis Sesaxeb. es gancxadeba ki, Tavis mxriv do-
minanturi kul turul i simbol oebis aRiarebisaTvisaa Seqm-
nil i. daqvemdebarebul i kul turul i j gufebi swavl oben sa-
kuTari Tavis dadanaSaul ebas `kul turul arasensitiuroba-

Si". skol ebi aviTareben konkretul xedvas, romel ic tipi-
 uria pirovnebisatvis misi kl asobrivi warmomavl obidan ga-
 momdinare. es xedva moicavs erTi mxriv im perspektivas, ro-
 mel Sic adamianebi aRiqvamen dominanturi kul turis simbo-
 l oebisa da mniSvnel obas, xol o meore mxriv ki, maT pozi-
 cionirebasa da adgil s sazogadoebriv struqturaSi. borde
 da paseronis mtkicebiT saskol o procesis neutral uri da
 apol itikuri SerCevis meqanizmebi kargad niRbavs gamefebul
 subieqtivizms sel eqciis procesSi da garegnul ad samar-
 TI ianobisa da obieqturobis imijs 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 ume-
 tesi wil i dafuznebul ia jansaR, sayovel Taod miRebul dak-
 virvebebzec. magal iTisaTvis, skol is samarTI iani da obieq-
 turi bunebis Sesaxeb mosazrebis qomagebi xSirad apel ireben
 satesto sistemaze, romel ic moswavl is Sefasebisa da erTi-
 dan meore kl asSi an safexurze gadasayvanad gamoiyeneba.
 amis sapirispirod, borde da paseroni xazs usvamen, rom mo-
 zardebis absol uturi umravl esoba arasdros fl avdeba im
 formal ur `konkursebSi, roml ebic maTi prestiJul i sas-
 wavl o dawesebul ebebidan garicxvas gamoiwvevda. metic, sa-
 konkurse periodis dadgomamde bevrad adre moswavl eTa did
 nawil s ukve gaangariSebul i aqvT sakuTari warmatebis San-
 sebi. am Sansebs isini sakuTari social ur-kl asobrivi war-
 moSobis gadmosaxedidan afaseben da rig SemTxvevebSi saer-
 Tod uars amboben konkursSi monawil eobaze. xol o, is mos-
 wavl eebi, roml ebic konkursebSi monawil eoben da vinc met-
 nakl 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 ebebi
 STanbeWdav anal izs gvTavazoben reproducirebis procesis
 Sesaxeb, am kvl evebs uamravi nakl ic gaacnia. pirvel yovl i-
 sa, maTi naSromebi nakl ebad gamoavl ens kul turul gansxva-
 vebebs, roml ebic maT mier ganxil ul sxvadasxva kul turul
 qve-j gufebis Soris arsebobs. ufro metic, isini Tvl ian, rom
 nebismieri gansxvaveba, romel Ta aRmoCena da danaxvaa SesaZ-
 l ebel i, mxol od konkretul i kul turul i j gufis dacil e-
 bis xarisxa da donezea damokidebul i dominanturi kul -
 turul i simbol oebis formebsagan. maTi anal izi gvaCvenebs,

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

ase, magal iTad, bordes cal keul i naSromebi iZl eva sxvadasxva j gufebis mier kul turul i instituciebis gamoyenebis 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 formebi metwil ad gamoiyeneba im individebis mier, roml ebic kul - turul i prezentaciebis principebs icnoben da am principebis gaSifvra SeuZl iaT⁷. anal izSi sakiTxi erTmniSvnel ovnad ar dgeba, iswavl eba amgvარი principebis amoxsna skol aSi Tu ara. ufro metic, ara skol a, aramed oj axi SeiZl eba DSeiZl eba warmoadgendes 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 mniSvnel ovanisaa, rom skol ebi aswavl ian moswavl eebS TviTdamokidebul ebisa da pozicionirebis Sefasebas material uri kul turis principebis amoxsnis sakuTari SesaZl ebl obebidan gamomdinare. Sesabamisad, rTul ia gaanal izeba, ramdenad sworia mecnierta argumentebi sxvadasxva kul turul i qvej gufebis zedmiwevniT kargad codnisa da gaazrebis gareSe. aseverTul ia gaanal izeba, Tu mecnierta mosazrebebi sworia, ra kuTxiT da ra xarisxiT SeiZl eba amis damtkiceba.

bordes namuSevrebisa da zogadi dakvirvebis safuZvel ze Cven viciT, rom maRal i kul turul i formebis moxmareba ufro sxvebze xSirad prestiJul i j gufebis mier xdeba. miuxedavad amisa, Cven ar viciT, ra unda vigul isxmOT am moxmarebaSi. koncertze wasvl is aqtivoba WeSmaritad kul - turis am formiT aRtacebas ukavSirdeba? Tu is ubral od saSual ebas warmoadgens sazogadoebis mol odinebis gamartl 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 aZl evs. es debul eba marTebul ia cal keul i individebis, magram ara yvel as mimaRT. Sesabamisad, swored aseTive Secdomaa bordes daskvnebis mixedvit ufro dabal i fenis warmomadgenel Ta Sefasebac. borde asvnis, rom kul turul i for-

mebis ufro iSviaTi gamoyeneba niSnavs, rom aRtacebisaTvis saWiropi principebi ar aris nacnobi da xel misawvdomi am j gufebis warmomadgenl ebisaTvis. Tumca Cven namdvil ad ar viciT, ras niSnavs sxvadasxva 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 sxvadasxva kul turul RonisZiebebze daswrebi mniSvel obis Sesaxeb. es ki imas niSnavs, rom Cven ar varT gaTviTcnobierebul i am subkul turul i j gufebis Tvisebebisa da xasiaTis Sesaxeb. borde Zal ian martivad msjel obs, rom principebi dominanturi kul turis amoxnisatvis ar aris xel misawvdomi am j gufebis warmomadgenl ebisaTvis. is arc ki uSvebs im variants, rom SesaZl ebel ia, es principebi kidevac xel misawvdomi iyos maTTvis, Tumca sxvadasxva piradi da konkretul i mizezebis gamo, am j gufebma gadawyvites principul ad ar Seeswavl aT isini.

rodesac saqme midis reproducirebasa da rezistenciu obamde, amgvare zerel e damokidebul ebebi da Cavardnebi mniSvel ovan gavlenas axdens anal izis WeSmaritebaze. Tu subkul turul j gufebis CavTvl iT dominanturi kul turis umniSvel o gamoxatul ebad, romel Ta sakuTari kul turul i mTI ianoba sustia, nebi smieri tipis SewinaaRmdegebis perspeqtiva dominantur an Tavsmoxveul kul turis mimarT imTavitve 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 sxvadasxva kul turul i qvej gufebis perspeqtivebis anal izisatvis. am seriozul i nakl is gaTval iswinebiT, is praqtikul ad ver warmogvidgens argumentirebul mizezebs Cvens dasarwmunebl ad imaSi, Tu ramdenad SesaZl ebel ia mier aRweril i kul turul i dominirebis formebs rRveva romel ime, mniSvel ovani saSual ebisa Tu mimarTul ebis gamoyenebi T.

moswavl is subkul tura da muSaTa kl asi

reproducirebis aq̄tural uri procesi da producirebis urTierTobebis l egitimizacia bevrad ufro mniSvnel ovani da kompl eq̄suria, vidre marqsizmis mimdevari mkvl evrebis warmodgenil magal iTebSia 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 struqtu-rebTan interaq̄ciis procesSi. mkvl evris mier warmodgenil i suraTebi cxadyofs, rom muSaTa kl asis warmomadgenel moswavl eebi sakuTari bedisweras Tavad gansazRvraven da am procesSi bevrad ufro aq̄tiurad 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 amtkiceben, rom muSaTa kl asis warmomadgenel studentebi ubral od gauazrebl ad da pasiurad reagireben maT garSemo moq̄med Zal ebze. bordesa da paseronis mixedviT, 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 asidan wamosul i moswavl eebis mier muSaTa samuSao adgil ebi dakavebisas rTul ia imis axsna, ratom iZl evian moswavl eebis Tavad amis saSual ebas.⁸" mecnieris mier sakiTxis dasmis me-Todi gvaZl evs saSual ebas gaviTval iswinoT, 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 e-bi" vuwodoT. biWebi arasel eq̄ciur 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 warmoq̄mnian. isini sakuTar TavS formal uri skol isa da danarCeni moswavl eebis opoziciad miiCneven. sxva moswavl eebis isini "yuris xvrel s" (Ear' oles) uwodeben da skol is pol itikis mimaRT damjer konformis-tebad aRiqvamen. vil isma biWebze dakvirveba damamTavrebel i

kl asis meore semestrSi daiwyo da skol is damTavrebis Semdeg SromiTi cxovrebis dawyebidan biWebs eqvsi Tvis manZil ze akvirdeboda. vfiqrobT, rom aucil ebel ia vil isis kvl evis detal uri aRwera, romel ic amomwurav informacias iZl eva da Sesabamisad, saSual ebas gvaZl evs mkafiod Sevicnot is sakl aso cnobiereba, romel ic saskol o swavl ebis periodSi formirdeba.

hol i aRwers, rogor upirispirdebian erTmaneTs ymawvil ebis araformal uri kul tura da skol is formal uri struqtura. ymawvil ebi uwyveti winaaRmdegobis reJimSi imyofebian gadaWarbebul i kontrol isa da Zal aufl ebis winaaRmdeg. skol a warmodgenil ia rogorc kargad organizebul i formal uri institucia. mas gaaCnia kargad gansazRvrul i struqtura, mkafio ierarqia da SemuSavebul i aqvs wesebis paketi⁹. ymawvil ebi nonkonformistebi arian da xSirad arRveven wesrigs. vil is aRweris mixedvit, ymawvil ebis mier gaweul i winaaRmdegobis l ogikuri Sedegi ki isaa, rom ymawvil ebi skol as daamTavreben dabal an naxevradkval ificiuri muSakebi. muSakebis, roml ebic momzadebul ni arian arasasiamovno, rutinul i da mZime yovel dRiuri samuSaos Sesasrul ebl ad. arsobrivad, vil isis kvl eva gvaCvenebs 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 gaaCnia sakmarisi fizikuri resursebi sakuTari damsjel obiTi Zal aufl ebit wesrigis SenarCunebl ad. skol a metwil ad damokidebul ia sakuTar moral ur avtoritetze da am avtoritetis aRiarebaze moswavl eTa umravl esobis mier. rogorc vil isi ganmartavs, "maswavl ebl ebis avtoriteti mopovebul unda iqnes da SenarCundes ara izul ebiti, aramed moral uri safuzvl ebis saSual ebit. es ki swavl ebis procesSi SeTanxmebis saSual ebit unda xdebodes".¹⁰ moral uri avtoriteti yal ibdeba moswavl eTa umravl esobaSi maSin, rodesac isini iziareben im ZiriTad urTierTgacvl ebis principebs, roml ebsac maT maswavl ebel i sTavazobs sxvadasxva saSual ebebit. is rom maswavl ebel sa da moswavl eebis Soris arsebobs Tval saCino garigeba, cxadad SevigrZnobT momdevno winadadebebis yuradRebit gacnobistanave. Tu moswavl eebi pativiscemas gamoxataven maswavl ebl isadmi, maswavl ebel i maT sapisuxod mniSvel ovan codnas gadascems, romel ic moswavl eebisaTvis

efeqtur mandats warmoadgens pativsacemi, dafasebul i samu-
Saos mosapovebl ad. da maSin, rodesac moswavl eebis umrav-
l esoba aRiarebs da eTanxmeba garigebis am formas, ymawvi-
l ebi ase ar iqcevian. isini uaryofen moral ur avtoritets,
romel zecaa damokidebul i skol is formal uri struqtura.
ymawvil ebis winaaRmdegoba da skol is wesebis uaryofa efuZ-
neba ymawvil ebis warmatebis Sansebis gonivrul gamoTvaze da
samuSao tipis moTxovnebis real istur Sefasebaze. saubaria
im konkretul i tipis samuSaoze, romel ic didi al baTobiT
maTTvis xel misawvdomi iqneba. vil i dakvirvebis Sedegad aR-
moaCens, rom uaryofis procesi moicavs aseve ymawvil ebis
ganviTarebis processac. am dros ymawvil ebi qmnian sakuTar
kul turul CarCos da skol is mier warmoadgenil i mesijebis
kreaitul reinterpretacias gvTavazoben.

maSin, rodesac ymawvil ebis winaaRmdegoba kontrproduq-
tul ia Soreul i perspeqtividan, is imavdroul ad efeqturia
mokl evadiani gadmosaxedidan. ymawvil ebi sakuTar winaaRm-
degobriv kul turul fons qmnian skol aSi da, imavdroul ad,
isini kargad arian momzadebul ebi saamqros an saxel osnos
cxovrebisatvis. sakuTriv es uaryofa da skol is mesijebis
reinterpretacia aZl evs maT saSual ebas, iarsebon samuSao
bazris komfortul zonaSi, rac miuRwevel ia "yuris xvrel e-
bisaTvis". maTi perspeqtivebis gaTval iswinebiT, es ar aris
seriozul i da mniSvnel ovani samuSao. samuSao ar iTval is-
winebs maTi individual izmis xazgasmas da ar uzrunvel yofs
maTTvis gansakuTrebul i, damoukidebul i statusis Seqmnas.
am tipis samuSao aseve ar amaRl ebs maT TviTsefasebas, ro-
gorc amas saSual o fenis kul tura cdil obs Caunergos maT.
es samuSao maT ufro metad uzrunvel yofs xel fasiT, ro-
mel ic maT samuSaos gareT Tavisufl ebas aniWebs da saSua-
l ebas aZl evs akeTon is, rac surT. imis Sansi, rom ymawvi-
l ebi swored imgvari uperspeqtivo samsaxuriT daasrul eben,
rogoric Tavad warmoudgeniat, maRal ia. TumcaRa, maTi sa-
kuTari aRqma damatebit gavl enas axdens da xel s uwyobs 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 miniWebi aRiarebul ia rogorc garkveul i
tipis mniSvnel 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 mecnierebebis Teoriul codnas. amgvvari codna ki absol uturad ararel evanturia saamqroSi saWiro praqtikul i `nou-hau" saqmianobisaTvis. ymawvil ebi-saTvis Teoriul codna qal ur sawyisTan asocirdeba, maSin rodesac nou-haus isini WeSmarit mamakacur codnad miCneven. skol is mier SemoTavazebul i codnis uaryofis fonze, absol uturad bunebrivi Semdgomi nabijia, rom ymawvil ebi arakanonierad da Zal datanebiT val debul ebad miCneven maswavl ebl is mier moTxovnil pativiscemas. es wesi maTTvis formal uri skol is kul turis dausabuTebel da iZul ebiT Tvisabad 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 mZl avri komponentebia rogorc seqsizmi, aseve rasizmi. saamqroebSi kacebi pativs scemen praqtikul s da aknineben Teoriul s. xol o gonebrivi samuSaos daknineba am adaminebs aZl evs l icenzias, erTgvar saSvs SeewinaaRmdegon saamqros ufrosis Zal auflebas. es SewinaaRmdegeba Zal ian axl osaa skol aSi maswavl ebl ebis Zal auflebasadmi gaweul winaaRmdegobasTan, sadac ymawvil ebs swored iseve miecaT saSvi amgvvari moqmedebisaTvis. gonebrivi samuSao qal uri, nazi da ganebivrebul i adaminebis saqmea; is aSkaraa, martivad dasanaxi da ar ganixil eba, rogorc pativsacemi saqmianoba, romel ic misabaZia.

Sesabamisad, ymawvil ebis subkul tura maT kargad amzadebs im gamocdil ebisaTvis, romel ic maT saamqroebSi daxvdebaT. miuxedavad amisa, SeiZl eba gaCndes kiTxva: rogor moqmedebs amgvvari momzadeba saamqroebis mfl obel ebze? am kiTxvaze pasuxis gacemisaTvis aucil ebel ia mxol od gavixsenoT samuSaos tipi, romel i saamqroebSi srul deba da is SezRudul i perspeqtiva, romel ic ar iZl eva Tavis daRwevis an vertikal uri mobil urobis saSual ebas. metic, ymawvil ebi ara mxol od uaresisTvis arian momzadebul ebi, aramed erTgvari yoyoCobiT, TavmomwoneobiTac ki iReben amgvar situacias. maS ra SeiZl eba kidev arsebobdes, rasac saamqros bosu eZebs sakuTar muSakebSi? "yuris xvrel ebisgan" gansxavebiT, ymawvil ebs ar aqvT imis mol odini, rom isini sakuTar

identobas ipovnian samuSaoSi. isini ar el ian dawinaurebas saukeTesod Sesrul ebul i saqmisaTvis da "yuris xvrel ebisgan" gansxvavebiT arasodes gaucruvdebaT gul i da daecemian sul iT, rodesac msgavsi tipis jil doebis perspeqtiva ar iarsebebs.

mokl evadiani perspeqtividan ymawvil ebis subkul tura Zal ian kargad amzadebs maT im samyarosTvis, romel sac isini saamqroebSi Sexvdebian. rasakvirvel ia, maTi sakuTari perspeqtiva da antagonisturi struqtura aseve winaRobas warmoadgens maTTvis nebismieri sxval al ternativisken swrafvisaTvis da Sesabamisad, ukeTesi cxovrebis povnisaken. Tanabari Sesazl ebl obebisa da vertikal uri mobil obis ideebi anarekl ia l liberal uri, funqcional uri, individual isturi l ogikisa. es l ogika ki vil isisa da ymawvil ebis mier sxvadasxvagvarad uaryofil ia. kapital izmi saSual ebas azl evs zogierT pirovnebas Tavi daaRwios sakuTar kl asobriv warmomavl obas da maRal samsax poziciur da dajil doebiT principze dafuznebul i samsaxuri moipovos. maRal i xel fasebi, roml ebsac adamianebs profesiul sports uxdiان kargi, Tumca eqstremal uri magal iTia. rwmena imisa, rom es Sesazl ebel ia, aseve sasargebl oa Tavis daRwevis ganxorciel ebisaTvis. TumcaRa es is al ternaticaa, roml isganac sargebel s mxol od cal keul i individebi iReben. rwmena sistemis is rgol ia, romel ic adamiანs warmatebisaTvis ganawyobs. Tumca, igi aranairad ar aris garantia da adamiანTa umravl esobisaTvis ar aris sakmarisi faqtori. ymawvil ebi kargad aRiqvamen, rom rwmena mizanSewonil ia mxol od individual isturi l ogikis gadmosaxedidan. individTa jgufis perspeqtividan is aranair al ternativas ar uzrunvel yofs. ymawvil Ta perspeqtividan, maTi gadawyvetil eba Camoayal ibon da gaiazron sakuTari cxovreba formal uri Sromisa da skol is situaciis gareT, ar aris azrs mokl ebul i. vil is termins Tu gamoviyenebT, ymawvil ebi namvil ad Rrmad wvdebian da Seicnoben kapital izmis sistemis bunebasa da l ogikas.

miuxedavad imisa, strategia, romel ic amarTI ebs Tavis TavS mokl e vadiani perspeqtiviT, arc individual ur da arc jgufur SemTxvevaSi ar aris produqtiul i grZel vadiani gadmosaxedidan. vil isi aRniSnavs, rom samsaxuri ymawvil ebis uzarmazar sixarul s iwvevs, radgan is uecari Semosavl is gaCeniT xasiaTdeba. samsaxuri ymawvil ebs pirdapir akavSi-rebs maskul inur SromiT samyarosTan. es samyarო ki maTi

saskol o kul turis ZiriTadi sawinaaRmdego komponentia. TumcaRa, grZel vadian perspeqtivaSi, es strategia ar aris momgebiani arc individis da arc mTI ianad social ur kl a-sisaTvis, radgan dRidan dRemde ymawvil ebi erTi da igive rutinul samuSaos asrul eben erTi da igive uazro, primitiul i meTodebiT. amasTan, ymawvil ebs ar aqvT Camoyal ibe-bul i naTel i warmodgena im Zal ebis Sesaxeb, roml ebic maTwnexis qveS amyofebs da abeCavebs. isini verc al ternatiul gzas xedaven, romel sac SeiZl 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 izaciisken swrafva arsebobs. udavoa, rom ymawvil ebi erTvarad SezRudul ebi arian sakuTari seqsizmisa da rasizmisagan. isini aseve arian SezRudul ebi mZime, rutinul i erToblivi Sromis aRiarebisa da am SromiT Tavmomwoneobis mizeziTac. met-ic, vil is xedviT, SromiT i kl asis kul turis amgvvari safuZ-vl iani Seswavl a da gacnoba saSual ebas iZl eva naTel i mov-finoT kreatiul i winaaRmdegobis potenciur mimarTul ebebs, im mimarTul ebebs roml ebic udavod unda iqnes gamoyenebul i progresul i da kol eqtiuri cvl il ebebs daCqarebisaTvis.

ymawvil ebi warmocndebian tragikul gmirebad. rogor SeZl ebda fundamental isti, aexsna maTTvis is ziani, romel -sac isini sakuTar Tavs ayeneben? rogor unda moxdes skol is struqturis marTebul ebis dasabuTeba? kriticizmi? rogor moaxerxebda marqsisti ymawvil ebisaTvis maTi sakuTari situaciis ganmartebas? da Tu SeZl ebda, ra tipis rCevas mis-cemda ymawvil ebs an maswavl ebl ebs marqsisti imisaTvis, raTa daxmareboda maT real uri da WeSmaritad cnobierebis ganviTarebisaTvis saWiro mimarTul ebis danaxvaSi? am kiTx-vebze pasuxebis Semdeg SesaZl ebel ia, Tqven mogindeT ganix-il 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?

Tavsat exebi, probl emebi da Sansebi

marqsisitebi funqcional izms damcinavi, kritikul i Tval iT uyureben da ganxil aven mas, rogorc arsebiTad ideol ogiur pozicias, romel sac mecnieri mxol od Tanamedrove sazogadoebaSi arsebul i instituciebis marTebul obis dasamtkicebl ad mimarTavs. amasTan, isini ver Tanxmdebian, kriticizmis romel i aspeqtia yvel aze metad seriozul i. wadmoadgens Tu ara ZiriTad probl emas is, rom funqcional izmi arsebiTad ideol ogiuria, maSin rodesac marqsizmi - ara? Tu gansxvsveba iqidan momdinareobs, rom funqcional izmi ideol ogiaa, romel ic emsaxureba Tanamedrove sazogadoebrivi instituciebis marTebul obis dasabuTebas, xol o marqsizmi ki asevea ideol ogiaa, oRond is Tanamedrove instituciebis kriticizms isaxavs miznad? im SemTxvevaSi, Tu bol o variantia swori, maSin marqsizmis mimdevrebma unda SeimuSaon special uri kriteriუმები, romel ic ideol ogiis gamijvnas SeZl ebs mecnierul i poziciidan. faqti isaa, rom amgvარი kriteriუმების Camoyal ibeba dRemde ver gaxda SeSaZl ebel i verc marqsisitebis da verc aramarqsisitebisatvis. meore mxriv ki, Tu probl ema ara ideol ogiisa da mecnierების dapirispirebaSia, aramed Tavad funqcional istebis ideol ogiis xasiaTsa da miznebSi, maSin marqsizmis mimdevrebma unda SeimuSaon mkafio formul ireba, romel ic saSual ebas mogvcems, SevafasoT dapirispirebul i ideol ogiebi mkafiod Camoyal ibebul i normativebis mixedviT. marqsisitebma Tavi aarides msgavsi tipis formul irebis SemuSavebas da amisi mizezi savaraudod maTi ideol ogiuri poziciaa. am poziciis Tanaxmad ki, normebi pirovnebis kl asobriv poziciastan urTierTmimarTebiT unda iqnes ganxil ul i. asea Tu ise, marqsisitebis uunaroba SeemuSavebinaT normatiul i pozicia marqsizms uxerxul obamde axl os ganaTavsebs funqcional izmTan da masTan asociirebul probl emebTan. funqcional izmis gideniseul i kriticizmis ganxil visas, amas kidev ufro Tval sačinod davinaxavT.

maSin, rodesac funqcional istebi saskol o praqtikas ganxil aven rogorc sazogadoebis, rogorc mTli anobis, da mis saWiroebebze morgebul Rirebul ebas, marqsisitebi am praqtikas kapital isturi kl asis interesebis gamtarebl is

funqcias aniWeben. niSnavs ki es, rom kapital isturi kl asis interesebi warmoadgens saskol o praqtikis gamomwvev mizezs? Tu es marTI ac asea, maSin gideniseul i funqcional izmis kriticizmi Tanabrad rel evanturi marqsizmisadmi. am SemTxvevaSi gamodis, rom marqsizmma winaswar ivaranda 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" arasworad aris gamoyenebul i Tu ar vaRiarebT, rom sistemas swirdeba savarauldo moTamaSeebis survil ebis gaTval iswineba".¹¹ gamodis, rom misi mosazreba kargad aRwers Cvens mier ganxil ul situaciasac. nebismier social ur kl ass aucil ebl ad esaWiroeba gamoicnos mis real obaSi arsebul moTamaSeTa survil ebi.

amis garda, arsebobs kidev sxva probl emebi im mtkicebul ebasTan dakavSirebiT, rom is mixedviT ac saskol o swavl ebis struqtura kapital izmis interesebTan aris uSual od dakavSirebul i. pirvel rigSi aucil ebel ia im faqtis gaTval iswineba, rom amerikis SeerTebul i Statebi ar aris erTaderTi kapital isturi sazogadoeba msofl ioSi. miuxedavad imisa, Statebsa da sxva qveynebis, rogorebicaa magal iTad iaponia, safrangeTi, ingl isi an taivani, ekonomika sakmaod erTgvaria, qveynidan qveyanaSi skol ebs Soris bevri mniSvel ovani gansxvavebaa. es arc aris gasakviri, radgan zog qveyanaSi, rogorebicaa ingl isi an safrangeTi sadac social isturi tradiciebi ufro metad aris ganvitarebul i (Tumca es ar niSnavs, rom dominanturia). Sesabamisad, skol ebi ufro metad ierarqiul ia, vidre StatebSi, romel sac SezRudul i social isturi tradiciebi gaaCnia. vil isis kvl eva xom bol os da bol os ingl isis muSaTa kl asis skol ebze iyos fokusirebul i. metic: saskol o swavl ebis iseTi specifikuri sakiTxebi, rogorebicaa magal iTad sazafxul o ardadegebis periodi da xangrZl ivoba, amerikis SeerTebul StatebSi nakl ebadaa dakavSirebul i kapital izmTan. sazafxul o ardadegebis konkretul i praqtika ki ufro adekvaturad ukavSirdeba agrokul turul i sazogadoebis saWiroebebs, romel ic jer kidev 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 dakavSireba moxerxebul ia kapital izmis interesebze referirebiT, arsebobs bevri iseTi praqtika, romel Ta gaazreba da ganxil va gansxavebul i mimarTul ebiT unda moxdes. kapital izmis interesebze apel ireba konkretul moral ur Zal ebs moicavs, radgan is uwyvetad da l ogikurad upirispirdeba sxva opoziciur, ufro gamarTI ebul interess, romel ic bavSvis humanur ganaTI ebas gul isxmobs. marqsistebS ki j er kidev ar daumuSavebiaT koncefcia sakuTari opoziciuri interesis Sesaxeb, romel ic pozitiuri debul ebis saxiT iqneba gadmocemul i ganaTI ebisa da pedagogikis prioritetul i mimarTul ebebis Sesaxeb.

vil isis kvl eva erTgvari gamonakl isia yvel a zemoT moyvanil i SeniSvnebisgan. vil isi ar gvTavazobs gansakuTrebul instruqtaJs pozitiuri pedagogikis ganviTarebisatvis. 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 warmomdgenel Ta survil ebze gavliT. vil isis konkretul SemTxvevaSi sxva kl asis warmomadgenl ebi arian ymawvil ebi, muSaTa kl asis kul turis Svil ebi, romel Ta gavliT kauzal uri j aWvi warmoqmneba. am j aWvis efeqti ymawvil ebisatvis is Rirebul ebebi, Sexedul ebebis da qcevebis ganviTarebaa, roml ebic moiTxovebaT warmoebis procesis yvel aze dabal safexurze saqmianobisatvis.

vil isis kvl evis danarCeni marqsistul i formebi winaaRmdegobaSia funqcional istTa Sexedul ebebTan. is eWvqveS ayenebs rwmenas skol is mier uzrunvel yofil i universal uri da obieqturi standartebis paketis Sesaxeb. es standartebi ki niWis identificirebas, ganviTarebas da dajil doebas gul isxmobs. vil isi Segvaxsenebs, rom skol ebi CarTul ebi arian erTi mxriv samuSao Zal is ganviTarebaSi, romel ic industriul i ierarqiis bol o, yvel aze dabal safexurze sam saxurisatvis aris gamiznul i, da amavdroul ad zrdian `gonebriv avtoritets" igive industriebis mwverval ebisatvis.

Tumca, vil isis kvl eva Zal ian aris dakavSirebul i marqsizmis tradiciul formeBTan, amavdroul ad is bevr aspeqtsi winaaRmdegobaSi modis im ideebTan, roml ebic marqsizmitan asociardeba. imis magivrad, rom ganviTarebis universal ur kanonebze moaxdinos fokusireba, funqcional isti da

orTodoqsi marqsisitebis kval dakval , vil isi aRiarebs da eTanxmeba cvl il ebebis ufro Ria da araprognozirebad xedvas. imis magivrad, rom mkl evarma ekonomikuri struqtura cnobierebisa da Segnebis safuZvl ad ganxil os, misi namuSevrebis saSual ebas gvaZl evs gaviazroT, rogor funqcionirebs cnobiereba da Segneba izul ebiTi ekonomikuri struqturigan Tavis dacvis mizniT. es funqcionireba muSaTa kl asis zogierT segments exeba. imis magivrad, rom mkvl evarma fokusireba erTmniSvnel ovdad farTo ekonomikur da pol itikur struqturebze gaakeTos, radgan swored es sferoebia anal izis erTeul ebi, vil isi subkul turebis mniSvnel obis sistemasa da l okal uri survil ebze akeTebis aqcents. swored amis gamoa, rom misi kvl evebi ufro metad da cxadad Sromis reproducirebis kauzal ur ganmartebazea 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 Zal ian umniSvnel o nawil s warmoadgens da monacemTa general izebis marTebul obas kiTxvis niSnis qveS ayenebs. TumcaRa, vil isis kvl eva sakmaod mkafio warmodgenas izl eva ymawvil ebis mniSvnel obaTa sistemisa da im saSual ebebis Sesaxeb, roml is saSual ebiTac es sistema gardaisaxeba mesij ebSi. am mesij ebs Tavistavad skol a gzavis. amastan, mkvl evris naSromi ar gvaZl evs saSual ebas gaviazroT, ramdenad xel i migviwdeba Cven, an igive ymawvil 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 ganxil ul i mkvl evrebis naSromebi, rogor ebicaa, magal iTad, borde an vil isi gvaZl evs saSual ebas davaskvnaT, rom jer kidev sabWoTa kavSiris daSl amde marqsi zmma uari Tqva mkacrad gansazRvrul ekonomikuri determinizms CarCoebze. maT SromebSi yuradReba gamaxvil ebul ia im procesze, roml is drosac konkretul i j gufebis mier re-

producirebul i arsi kl asobriv pozicionirebasa da ierar-
qiis gaZl ierebazea fokusirebul i.

arssa da mis reproducirebazea fokusirebul i aseve ara-
marqsishtul i mimdinareobis warmomadgenel i mecnieri - miSel
fuko. fuko ganekuTvneba konfl iqtol og-Teoretikosta mim-
dinareobas, Tumca, amgvare mikuTvneba arasakmarisad dagva-
naxebda misi ideebis kompl eqsurobas. misi namuSevrebi swav-
l obs da warmoaçens diskursul social ur praqtikas, ro-
mel ic humanisturi sagnebis formirebis dros Cndeba. me-
cnieri gvaçvenebs procesebsa da mimarTul ebebs, roml is dro-
sac kontrol is gare meqanizmebis danergva xdeba. konfl iq-
tol ogi mkvl evrebisgan gansxvavebiT, fuko miCnevs, rom Cven
vswavl obT Sida meTval yureobis normebs gaTavisebas da,
Sesabamisad, sakuTari Tavis kontrol sac. magal iTad, so-
cial uri arsis mixedviT normad miCneul i movl enebi da sag-
nebi Cvenç gvaizul ebs daveTanxmOT umravl esobis mosazre-
bebs da gaviTavisOT sazogadod aRiarebul i qcevis normebi.

fuko ar iyo ganaTl ebis Teoretikosi. miuxedavad amisa,
misi mosazrebebi kargad gvaçvenebs skol is gavl enas. is, Tu
rogor gansazRvavs skol a seqsual urobas, siamovnebas da
ra kanonier qmedebebs ganapirobebs studentebis mier am moq-
medebebis normad miCneva. sakuTar naSromebsi fuko gviCve-
nebs, rom adamienebi SeiZl eba daiçagron an piriqit - moZa-
l 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 danarCenebi-
sa - qcevebis `marginal izaciaa`. warmoidgineT, magal iTad,
ezos Cveul i xumrobebi, ras hyvebian adamienebi homoseqsua-
l ebze, an ras l aparakoben biWebi gogonebis Sesaxeb da go-
gonebi - biWebze. yvel a es qceva seqsual obis da genderis
miRebul i da aRiarebul i normebs. am procesebSi zogierTi
adamienebi sazogadoebis centri aRmoCndeba, maSin rodesac
sxvani kuTxeebSi arian miyuJul ebi. amgvare pozicias adami-
nebi sxvebis izul ebiT an sakuTari nebiT ikaveben. sxvadasx-
va tipis praqtika normal izebas ganicdis. amisi cxadi maga-
l iTebia Cven mier heteroseqsual ur wyvil s Soris urTier-
Tobis aRqma. an is privilegia, romel ic Cvens TeTrkanianad
dabadebas ukavSirdeba. msgavsi praqtika, yovel gvare kriti-
kis gareSe, standartad miCneva an asociardeba `swor` yo-
fasTan da qmedebasTan. amgvare standartebis sapirispinod,
arsebobs garkveul i praqtika, romel ic imTavitve margina-

I izacias ganicdis. magal iTad, homoseqsual uri kavSirebi an yofa, romel ic romel ime umciresobis mosaxl eobasTan asocirdeba, normisgan gadaxvevad an safrTxed aRiqmeba. fukosTvis gamowvevas ar warmoadgens mxol od is SezRudvebi, roml ebsac umciresobis j gufebi SeiZl eba ganicdides an is privil egiebi, roml ebic umravl esobis j gufebs gaaCniaT. is eWvqveS ayenebs mTlianad identurobis sistemas, romel ic msgavsi tipis kl asifikaciebs ayal ibebs da maT waaxal isebs. is cdil obs dagvanaxos, ramdeni el ementarul i mosazreba da fiqri, ramdeni kategoria, roml is mixedviTac vcdil obT sakuTari cxovrebis organizebas, social urad winaswaraa konstruirebul i. es ki imas niSnavs, rom Cven yovel Tvis imgvarad ar aRviqvamdiT da vanawil ebdit samyaros, rogorc amas axl a vakeTebT da droSi dabruneba rom SegveZl os, davinaxavdiT: adre adamianebs Cvengan radikal urad gansxvavebul i Sexedul ebebi hqondaT. gal perinis mixedviT¹², romel ic fukos mimdevaria, adamianebi yovel Tvis ar azrovneben terminebis - homoseqsual izmisa da heteroseqsual izmis mixedviT. is aRniSnavs, rom termini `homoseqsual izmi" pirvel ad oqsfordis ingl isuri enis l eqsikonSi gamoCnda 1892 wel s da arseboben iseTi sazogadoebebi, sadac amgvარი l eqsikoni ar Seqmnil a. `homoseqsual izmi" da `heteroseqsual izmi" gal perinis mixedviT dakavSirebul ia Rrma kutl urul "seqsual urobis" qcevasTan.

seqsual urobis garCeva ar xdeba qal sa da mamakacs Soris biol ogiuri gansxvavebis mixedviT. is saSual ebaa, romel ic individebis identificirebas axdens rigi qcevebis mixedviT, roml ebic sazogadoebaSi "normad" aris damkvidrebul i. sxva sityvebiT rom vTqvaT, seqsual uroba ideol ogiuri kategoria ufroa, vidre biol ogiuri. da yovel Tvis, rodesac nebismieri Cvengani sakuTar seqsual obaze fiqrobs `kacis" an `qal is" poziciidan, Cven myisierad viwyebT sakuTari qcevis anal izs dawesebul i "standartebis" gadmosaxedidan, romel ic Cveni sqesis pirebisaTvis aris SemuSavebul i. am dros Cveni individual oba yal ibdeba da warmoSobs Sida kontrol is meqanizmebs, roml ebic TanxvedraSia gare praqtikasTan. skol ebi udavod erT-erTi umniSvnel ovanesi adgil ebia, roml ebic pirovnebis individual urobasa da identurobas ayal ibebs. maswavl ebl ebi xSirad el ian, rom biWebi mtkice, amtani da Jinianebi arian. gogonebisagan ki imis mol odini arsebobs, rom isini pasiurebi, emociurebi da

konkurenciisTvis moumzadebl ebi unda iyvnen. xSiradve mas-wavl ebl ebi sakl aso oTaxis imgvarad gadaawyoben, rom maTi mol odinebi kidev ufro ganmtkicdes. imisaTvis, rom naTI ad davinaxoT, ramdenad mniSvnel 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. ramdenad Segizi iaT Tavad simReraze gadarTva manam, sanam momRerl is sqess ar daadgenT? icvl eba Tu ara Tqveni Sefasebebi momRerl is xmasTan dakavSirebiT, Tu mas Tavdapirvel ad kacad miicnevT da mere aRmoCndeba, rom Turme qal ia? dakvirvebixarT Tu ara, rogor ibneviT, Tu maSinve ver axdent pirovnebis sqesis identificirebas. rogor gafacicebiT muSaobs Tqveni tvini, rom daadginos pirovnebis sqesi? fuko am movl enas Seafasebda, rogorc Cveni cxovrebis wesis gamoZaxil s, roca Cven vswavl obT garkveul i kategoriebis normad miRebas da daJinebiT moviTxovT yvel asgan ama Tu im konkretul kategoriaSi TavSdebodes.

marqsisdebisagan gansxvavebiT, fuko ar cdil obs Cagvris probl ematikas CauRrmavdes, sadac sazogadoebis erTi kl asi cdil obs meoris Sromis misakuTrebas. is ufro im Zal aufli ebis ganxorciel ebis, zewol is probl emis wamowevas cdil obs, romel ic dakavSirebul ia adaminebis gawvrtnasa da SeCvevaze `daarwmunon sakuTari Tavi, rom isini gansakuTrebul i Tvisebebis matarebel ni arian¹³. am tipis Zal aufli ebis ganxorciel ebis amocanaa Cveni identurobis SemWidroveba da dapataraveba Cveni survil ebisa da aRqmis Sencirebisa da formis Secvl is saSual ebiT. im survil ebisa da aRqmisa, rogorc Cven samyaros vxedavT da aRviqvamT. konol i kargad gadmogvcems am process:

`adamiანი sawyisi, Tavisi arsiT arasrul yofil ia sazogadoebrivi formis gareSe; saerto ena, instituciuri wyoba, rigi tradiciebi da politikuri forumi, roml ebic sazogadoebriv ganzraxvebs warmoaCenen, srul aucil ebl obas warmoadgenen individual obis SesaZenad da qmnian im erTobl iobis SegrZnebas, romel ic aucil ebel ia cxovrebiSATvis. TumcaRa sazogadoebrivi srul yofisa da keTil dReobis nebismieri forma ucil obl ad Seicavs Cagvras da sisastikes sakuTar TavSi^{14A}

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

veba isaa, rom maTi azriT revol uciuri mniSvnel obis eko-
nomikuri cvl il ebebis ganxorciel eba am probl emas aucil
l ebl ad gadaWrida. fuko ar aris ase optimisturad ganwyo-
bil i absol utur da gardauval liberal izaciasTan dakav-
SirebiT. iqamde, sanam sazogadoebrivi diskursebi grZel deba
da social uri instituciebi ki ganagrZoben funqcionirebas,
Zal aufl ebis ganxorciel ebis sakiTxi aqtual uri iqneba. am
SemTxvevaSi ki probl ema gzebis da saSual ebebis gamonaxvaa
standartul i praqtikisa da sazogadod gamefebul i arsis
gavl enis Sesasustebl ad da aRmosafxvrel ad. es aseve yve-
l aze mtkivneul i adgil ebis moZiebasac moicavs.

erTi SexedviT, fukos namuSevrebi, rogoricaa, magal i-
Tad, Sesaval i hermafroditis dRiuridan¹⁵ an komentarebi me-
19 saukunis masiuri mkvl el is qeidan sqesobrivi scenebis
Tval Tval is el ementebs Seicaven. Tumca, misi naSromebis
amocana ara mgrZnobel obis gaRviZeba, aramed samedicino
diskursis anal izia, romel ic im adamiანების kontrol isTvis
aris Seqmnil i, vinc sazogadoebisgan aSkarad marginal ize-
bul ni arian. es kvl evebi kargad exmianeba mocul obiT Teo-
riul i kvl evebs, roml ebic Tanamedroveni instituciebs, ma-
gal iTad TavSesafrebs, kl inikebs da cixeebs aanal izeben.
aseve maTi anal izis sagans warmadgens fsiqol ogiuri da
seqsual uri 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 adamiანების `norma-
l izebisaken" da maTi subordinaciisaken codnisa da Za-
l aufl ebis konkretul i reJimebis mixedviT. rogorc Cans,
fukos homoseqsual is statusi mas gansakuTrebiT mgrZno-
biareb xdis am diskursis mimarT. fuko yuradRebas amaxvi-
l ebs uamrav saSual ebasa da mimarTul ebaze, Tu rogor ai-
Zul ebs sazogadoeba adamiანებს, daaskvnan moqmedebisa da
azrovnebis romel i konkretul i mimarTul ebaa normal uri.
amavdroul ad sazogadoebis mier xdeba yvel a im adamiანის
marginal izacia, vinc gansxvavebul ad moqmedebs an azrovnebs.
aseve cxadia, rom fukos mier marqsizmisgan zurgiT Se-
trial eba gamowveul ia didi pol itikuri movl enebiT. zus-
tad igive simZafriTaa gamowveul i marqsizmis uaryofa mi-
kro-movl enebiT, roml ebic mezobl is Robes momij nave sac-
xovrebel oTaxebSi an sakl aso oTaxebSi xdeboda. fukos

Sromebi, miuxedavad maTi Teoriul i¹⁶, istoriul i¹⁷ xasiaTi-
sa da imisa, rom isini marginal izebul i adamanis perspeqti-
vidanaa mocemul i, Cveni sakuTari diskursis sarkes warmoad-
gens. is warmoadgens diskursis im aspeqtebs, roml ebic kar-
gad iTaviseben Zal aufl ebaTa damokidebul ebebs, axdenen
gansxvavebul is marginal izacias da niRbaven al ternatiul i
individual izmis formirebas¹⁸.

fuko namuSevrebSi kargad warmoaçens im aspeqtebs, rom-
l ebzec man mtkice uari ganacxada. ufro konkretul ad ki,
man uari Tqva nebismieri gegmis uzrunvel yofaze subieqtebis
ganviTarebisaTvis. TumcaRa, fukosTvis prioritetul i iyo,
rom adaminebi ufro mgrZnobiareni yofil iyvnen individu-
al izmis aspeqtebtan mimarTebiT. im aspeqtebis, roml ebsac
isini RvTisgan saCuqrad boZebul ad aRiqvamen. misi mtkice
uari ki absol uturad l ogikuria fukos SeSfoTebis fonze,
romel ic Cvens mier uamravi gzisa da saSual ebis povnas
ukavSirdeba zewol isa da kontrol is Semsuqebisa da Sewy-
vetisTvis. Tu fuko Cven gverdiT gaCndeboda da Cvens indi-
vidual izms sxvebze metad ganviTarebda, maSin igi sakuTari
ufl ebamosil ebis marTI madidebl obisaTvis gadacemisa da
Sesabamisad, zewol isa da kontrol is axal i formebis war-
moSobis did safrTxes Seqmni da.

interesi, Camoyal ibdes ufro swori gaazreba individu-
al izmis RvTis mier boZebul i aspeqtebisa, da amastan imis
axsnis gareSe, individual izmis romel i axal i formebi
SeiZl eba iqnes miRebul i, Zal ian mniSvnel ovan gavl enas ax-
dens ganaTI ebaze. is gansakuTrebiT mniSvnel ovania im ada-
mianevisaTvis, roml ebic sqesobrivi ganaTI ebis kurikul umis
Sesworebaze muSaoben. Sesworebul ma saswavl o gegmam saSu-
al eba unda misces skol ebs daarRvion is siCume, romel sac
homoseqsual i an seqsual urad aqtiuri studentebi xvdebian
sakl aso oTaxebSi. Sesworebul ma saswavl o gegmam efeqturad
unda upasuxos am moswavl eebis interesebs da amavdroul ad
gaiTval iswinos mSobel Ta da sazogadoebis l iderTa inte-
resebi, roml ebic TavSekavebas uWeren mxars¹⁹.

maSin, rodesac fukos uari, SemogvTavazos individua-
l izmis romel ime prioritetul i forma, misi siZl ierea, is
imavdroul ad probl emebsac qmnis. gavixsenoT konol is sity-
vebi: `adamanuri sawyisi arasrul yofil ia sazogadoebrivi
formis gareSe. saerTo ena, instituciuri wyoba, rigi tra-
diciebi da pol itikuri forumi, roml ebic sazogadoebriv

ganzraxvebs warmoaċenen, srul aucil ebl obas warmoadgnen individual obis SesaZenad da qmian im erTobl iobis SegrZnebas, romel ic aucil ebel ia cxovrebisaTvis." miuxedavad imisa, rom fuko (da konol i) gvaxseneben, rom Tu am formeBTan srul identificirebas movaxdenT, Cven safrTxis winaSe davdgebiT 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 SesaZl ebl obas virĊevT arsebul ebs Soris. fuko am arĊevanis Semxsenebl ad gvevl ineba, Tumca, sakmarisad ar gvaĊvenebs gzas imisaTvis, rom kargad gaviazroT, rogor SevZl oT swori arĊevanis gakeTeba.

fukos gavl ena Tanamedrove sċial ur moZraobebze udavod mniSvnel ovania. bevr sxva sakiTxTan erTad, is gvexmareba davinaxoT Tu rogor iċagrebian Zal aufl ebis ganxorciel ebisa da zewol isagan is j gufebi, roml ebic marqszimiseul kl asifikaciaSi zustad ver Tavsdedian. marqszimiseul i politikuri reJimis Secdomebisa da mmartvel obis formis cvl il ebebis gaTval iswinebiT aRmosavl eT evropaSi, yofil sabWoTa kavSirsa da ĆineTsi, aucil ebel ia gvaxsovdes, rom Zal aufl ebis ganxorciel eba da zewol a bevrad ufro met aspekts moicavs, vidre kl asobriv Ćagvras an mTavrobibis reglamentacias. am anal izTan erTad fukom aseve ganavitaragarkveul i instrumentebi, roml ebic axal moZraobebssaSual ebas aZl evs ganTavisufl dnen marqszimis koncepciebsa da warmodgenebze zedmeti damokidebul ebisa da gavl enisagan. amas ki gansakuTrebul i mniSvnel oba eniWebas, Tu mxedvel obaSi miviRebT im dramatul cvl il ebebs, roml ebic saerTasorisopolitikur sivrceSi ganxorciel da sabWoTakaVSiris dacemisa da Ćinetis ganvitarebis Semdeg. swored am periodSi gaizarda feministuri Teoriisa da praqtikis roli da mniSvnel oba.

feminizmi, rogorc konfliktis Teoriis forma

feminizmsa da marqszims Soris urTierTmimarTeba yovel Tvis martivad ar iyo warmodgenil i. erTi mxriv, marqszimma bevrad gauswro sxva mimdinareobebis, roml ebic qal is daqvemdebarebul pozicias aRiarebda. meore mxriv ki, marq-

sizmi am pozicias asabuTebda producirebis mniSvnel obiTa da 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 moZraoba miznad yvel a qal is l iberal izacias. fukom aRmoaCi na, rom Cagvra da Zal aufl ebis ganxorciel eba kl asobrivi formirebis miRma warmoiSoba. am dakvirvebis safuZvel ze man sxvebTan erTad marqsizmis winaSe mdgari yvel a qal is l ibe ral izaciis probl emis gadaWras Seuwyo xel i.

feminizmis zogadi forma warmoadgens pol itikur, so cial ur, intel eqtul ur da artistul moZraobas, romel ic, jagaris ganmartebiT, qal is daqvemdebarebis Sesamcirebl ad warmoiSoba²⁰. feministebis mosazreba gansxvavdeba marqsiste bisagan rogorc minimum ori mniSvnel ovani aspeqtiT. pirvel i, feministebi aRiareben, rom arsebobs Cagvrisa da Zal aufl ebis ganxorciel ebis kidev sxva ganzomil eba, romel ic cdeba kl asobriv diferenciacias. es ganzomil ebaa sqesob riv i 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 ma 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 ZiriTadad 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 gadavWraT Cagvris probl ema, aucil ebel ia gavcdeT Sromis kl asobriv diferenciacias da ganvixil oT sakiTxi sqesob riv i diferenciaciis kuTxiTac.

marqsistebi xSirad ver xedaven Sromis sqesobriv dayof as da Tvl ian, rom am aspeqtis amosaval i wertil i bevrad ufro Rma da kompl eqsuria Tavisi bunebiT. marqsi, romel ic aseve aRiarebda kapital izmis nakl ovanebebs, oj axs iye nebda srul yofil i sazogadoebis metaforad. Tumca, femi nistebi Tvl ian, rom safuZvel i oj axis kritikul i ganxil vis sagnidan amoRebisaTvis praqtikul ad ar arsebobs da Zal a dobrivi kavSirebi oj axSic iseve SeiZl eba warmoaSvas, ro gorc samuSao adgil ze. metic, probl emebi, roml ebic Sromis sqesobriv dayofasTan asociardeba bevrad ufro Tval naTel i da gavr cel ebul ia, vidre kl asobrivTan asociirebul i. kl a-

sobrivi dayofisagan gansxvavebiT, sqesobrivi dayofa ara mxol od samuSao adgil ebze xdeba, aramed saxl Sic. feminis-tebi 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 gavr cel ebul i magal iTia uxal iso, uenTu-ziazmo damokidebul eba qal is samuSaoze ayvanis an misi dawinaurebis mimarT. amgvari damokidebul eba xSiria im SemTxvevebSic 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 SeiZl 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 SeiZl eba nakl eb dainteresebul i da CarTul i iyo kompaniaSi mimdinare procesebiT. kompaniebma aseve SeiZl eba CaTval on, rom oj axi mTI ianad aris damokidebul i mamakacis Semosaval ze, xol o qal is ki mxol od damatebiTia. kidev erTi mizezi SeiZl eba iyos is, rom oficrebis umravl esoba mamakacebi arian da maT SeiZl eba mamakacebis garemocvaSi muSaoba ufro komfortul ad eCvene-bodeT. 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, romelic mamakacis upiratesobas gul isx-mobs qal ze, didi gavl ena aqvs ganaTI ebaze. imdenad ramde-nadac, mol odini, rom qal ebi mniSvnel ovan poziciebs daika-veben sakuTar saxl s miRma ar arsebobs, saganmanaTI ebl o mol odinebic gogonebsa da biWebs Soris gansxvavebul ia. ma-gal iTisaTvis, bevrad nakl ebia im gogonaTa ricxvi, roml eb-ic umaRl esi maTemakisa da mecnierebis programebSi arian gaerTianebul i. gogonebi bevrad nakl eb kiTxvebs smeven, vi-dre biWebs da zogadad, nakl eb agresiu l ebi arian. am qcevi-dan gamomdinare ki, seqsistebi akeTeben daskvnas, rom gogo-nebs nakl ebi unari gaaCniaT, warmatebul ebi iyvnen da maRal i maCvenebl ebi aCvenon maTematikasa da sxva zust mecnierebaSi. amgvari daSveba ki rogorc Cans ara mxol od masvavl ebl ebi-sa da administratorebis muSaobas ganapirobebs, aramed aseve moqmedebs Tavad gogonebis TviTidenturobis garkvevasa da survil ebzec. gogonebma SeiZl eba ar arasakmarisad daa-fason sakuTari bunebrivi niWi da midrekil ebebi maTemati-

kuri sagnebisa da mecnierebebisaken, 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 SesaZl ebl obebi mamakacebisa da qal ebisaTvis, sxvasxva kurikul umi biWebisa da gogonebisaTvis skol aSi, maswavl ebl ebisa da skol is administraciis seqsisturi daSvebebi gogonebisa da biWebis niWsa da SesaZl ebl obebis Sexasheb, gogonebis dabal i akademiuri TviTsefaseba da uambicioba erTmaneTze axdens zegavl enas da aZl ierebs saerTo efeqts. erT faqtorSi arsebul i situaciis Seavl a ki SesaZl oa cvl il ebebis ganxorciel ebas iTxovdes yvel a danarCenSi.

Tumca, saqme isaa, ras unda niSnavdes, rom erTi faqtoris Seavl a yvel a faqtoris Seavl as SeiZl eba moITxovdes? modiT, msjel oba daviwyoT SromiT i samyarodan. bevri feministi darwmunebul ia, rom ubral od samarTliani procedurabis dadgena kadrebis SerCevisaTvis sul ac ar aris sakmarisi. arc isaa sakmarisi, rom kval ificiur qal s micema SesaZl ebl oba aCvenos sakuTari upiratesoba mamakactan SedarebiT Tanaswor pirobebSi da daamarcxos igi. damatebit im is gaTval iswinebacia saWiros, rom samuSao rol i, poziciuri val debul ebebi mamakacis mier aris dagegmil i da kargad aris morgებul i mamakacis xasiaTTan. rogorc maqkinoni aRniSnavs, poziciebis umravl esoba, ramdenadac genderul ad neutral uri ar unda iyos mocemul i samuSao aRweril oba, ar aris mowyobil i pirze, roml ebic upirvel esad bavSvis momvl el i da aRmzrdel ia²¹. SemTxvevitia, Tumca maqkinonis dakvirveba xazs usvams funqcional istebis poziciis erT-erT seriozul nakl ovanebas. erTmaneTTan dakavSirebul i praqtika da gamocdil ebebis srul i kompl eqti SeiZl eba efeqturad funqcionirebdes, Tumca isini mainc ar iyos bol omde gamarTli ebul i eTikuri perspeqtividan.

Sesabamisad, probl emebi, roml ebic mamakacisa da qal is kandidaturebis samarTli an arCevas ukavSirdeba ar aris Semofargl ul i mxol od samuSao sivrciT. is bevrad Rmad aris gamj dari kul turul rwmenasa da gamocdil ebaSi, romel ic saxl is cxovrebas, bavSvebis aRzrdas da qal is Tavisufli ebas ukavSirdeba. es rwmenebi da maTi gavlenebi, roml ebsac gansakuTrebit Raribi qal ebi ganicdian, Zal ian mkafiod aqvs gadmocemul i nensi freizers²². is asabuTebis, rom

social uri daxmarebis formebi erTob diskriminaciul ia qal ebisa da mamakacebis saWiroebebTan mimarTebiT. amgvani varaudebi ki sabol oo j amSi daxmarebis aRmoCenis absol uturad gansxvavebul sistemebis ayal ibebis. mamakacebis umravl esobisaTvis amgvani daxmarebis gaweva xdeba umuSevrobis dazRvebis formiT. es daxmareba ful is miRebas gul isxmobs da saSual ebas aZl evs mimRebs ise moixmaros es Tanxa, rogorc mas moesurveba. Sesabamisad, social uri daxmarebis sistema mamakacisaTvis varaudoobs, rom mimRebs aqvs ufl eba daxmareba daxarjos Sexedul ebisamebr da saxel mwifo amasar unda akontrol ebdes. qal ebis umravl esobisaTvis situacia bevrad gansxvavebul ia. mTel i istoriis ganmavl obaSi, qal is SemTxvevaSi, daxmareba modis damokidebul i bavSvebis an gansxvavebul ad kvebasTan asocierebul i daxmarebis formiT. am tipis daxmareba ki Zal ian zRudavs qal s da pirdapir gansazRvra, risi gakeTebis ufl eba aqvs qal s am daxmarebit da ris - ara. metic, amgvani daxmareba pirdapir izl eva instruqciebs, rogor unda iqceodes qal i da rogor - ara. xSir SemTxvevaSi, qal s, romelic bavSvis daxmarebas an TavSesafars iRebs, akrZal ul i aqvs, hyavdes Tanamcxovrebi mamakaci.

am SemTxvevaSi, ara mxol od Rarib qal ebze axdens gavlenas, Tu rogor gankargavs sazogadoeba saj aro da pirad sferoebis SromiT bazris sqesobrivi diferenciaciis Sesabamisad. yvel a fenisa da kl asis warmomadgenel qal ebs SezRudul i aqvT absol uturad yvel a Sesazl ebl oba, garda erTisa. es erTi Sansi ki maT biol ogiur Sesazl ebl obas - bavSvebis gaCenas ukavSirdeba. bevri feministi aRiarebs sqesTan Soris arsebul im uzarmazar gansxvavebas, romelic sazogadoebam unda miRos mxedvel obaSi samuSaosa da ganaTl ebis dagegmvis procesSi. Tumca, es gansxvaveba ar unda iyos aRqmul i imgvarad, rom qal ebisTvis gadaiketos CarTul obis yvel a mniSvel ovani saSual eba, romelic saxl is fargl ebs gareTaa moqceul i. es gansxvaveba aseve ar unda qmnides winaRobebs mamakacisaTvis, gaaumj obesos sakuTari rol i bavSvis aRzrdis saqmeSi an saxl is saqmeSi. ufro metic, aucil ebel ia imis gaazreba, gansxvavebebi, roml ebsac mamakacsa da qal s Soris gansazRvra, ar aris ucil obl iv sqesobrivi Taviseburebebeze mibmul i gansxvavebebi, aramed statostikurad saSual o, normal uri monacemebi. monacemebi, romelic xSirad social uri tradiciebisa da praqtikis se-

riozul , mZime gavl enas ganicdis. magal iTisaTvis, Tu saSu-
al o statistikuri monacemebis mixedviT, qal ebi ufro metad
mzrunvel ebi arian da nakl ebad agresiuL ebi, arseboben ua-
mravi mamakavebi, roml ebiC mzrunvel ebi arian da uamravi
qal ebi, roml ebiC agresiiT gamoirCevian. Sesabamisad, sakmao
sifrTxil ea saWiro, sanam mocemul sqess raime Tvisebas an
maxasiaTebi ebs miwawerdeT.

zemoTaRniSnul is kval dakval , bevri feministi sakmaod
sworad aRniSnavs seqsisti sazogadoebis arasaTanado dafa-
sebas, romel ic qal ebiS gansakuTrebul , gamorCeul gam-
Wriaxobisa da saTnoebas gamovl enas ukavSirdeba sxvadasxva
situaciebSi. magal iTad, ganaTI ebiS mkvl evrebi karol gi-
ligani²³ da nel nodingsi²⁴ amtkiceben, rom gansakuTrebIT
didi yuradReba eTmoba samarTI is Zal asa da Rirsebas da
Zal ian mcire zrunvis efeqts. gil igani Tval saCinos xdis,
Tu ramdenad aris fokusirebul i moral uri ganaTI ebisa da
moral uri ganviTarebis kvl eva cal saxad biWebze. am kvl e-
vebSi metwil ad ganxil ul ia mamakacebis saqmianoba samar-
TI is sferoSi da, amavdroul ad, srul iad ar aris ganxil
ul i gogonas rol is mniSvnel oba. im rol isa, romel ic
zrunavs da inarCunebs kavSirebs. jer kidev cota xnis win es
gansxvaveba arasworad iqna aRqmul i. mamrobiT bibehavioris-
tebs absol uturad mcdari mosazreba hqondaT da Tvl idnen,
rom gogonebi ikaveben moral uri ganviTarebis ufro dabal
safexurs, vidre biWebi. patriarqal uri sazogadoeba ki go-
gonebs mxol od qorwinebis, saxl is saqmisa da dedobis kon-
teqstSi ganxil avda.

mas Semdeg, rac Cven sqesTa Soris gansxvavebas feminiz-
mis konteqstSi gaviazrebT, konteqstis, romel ic aRar cnobs
tradiciul patriarqal ur rol Ta gadanawil ebas, rogorc
bunibriv movl enas, Cven mzad varT saskol o ganaTI ebiS
procesebi gavaanal izoT da masSi miviRoT monawil eoba.
skol ebisa, roml ebiC ar gamoiyeneba qal Ta da mamakacebis
gadaxarisxebisaTvis winaswar dadgenil i social uri rol e-
bis mixedviT. amgvar skol ebSi gogonebis CarTul oba maTema-
tikisa da mecnierebebis programebSi, maTi Sesazl ebl obebis
maqsimal uri warmocineba waxal isebul i unda iyos. gogonebi
sakuTar Sesazl ebl obebis erTmaneTis sazrdod unda iyenebd-
nen da erTad qmnidnen TanamSroml obiT saswavl o garemo. am
garemoSi dawinaurebis Sansi yvel as Tanabrad unda hqondes,
xol o biWebi ki gagebiT da gul isxmirebiT unda ekidebod-

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

feminizmi SeiZl eba ganvixil oT, rogorc konfl iqtis Teoria an am Teoriis ganviTareba. miuxedavad amisa, feminizmi SeiZl eba TanxvedraSi modiodes funqcional izmis garkveul formeBTanac. magal iTisaTvis, funqcional istebS SeiZl eba miaCndeT, rom samuSaos sqesobrivi dayofis garkveul i praqtikebi gamarTI ebul ic ki SeiZl eba yofil iyo SezRudul i teqnoL ogiebidan, industriul i Sromis simZimidan, dabadebis kontrol is primitiul i meqanizmebidan da a.S. gamomdinare. Tumca isini feministebSac unda eTanxmebodnen imaSi, rom msgavsi praqtikebi aRaraa aqtual uri, rac samecniero da teqnoL ogiuri codnis ganviTarebam, winsvl am gamoiwvia. daveTanxmebiT konfl iqtis Teorias, funqcional izmisa Tu romel ime sxva model s, yvel a SemTxvevaSi feminizmi cvl is Cveni yuradRebis fokuss da moiTxovs Cvengan samuSao strukturis an samuSaos danawil ebis miRma ganvixil oT sakiTxebi. Cven fxizl ad unda gveWiros Tval i social ur mniSvnel obebisa da varaudebis cvl il ebebze, rasac sxvadasxa praqtikebi da gamocdil ebebi iwvevs. Semdeg TavSi Cven mivubrundebiT mniSvnel obis/arsis sakiTxs da vimsjel ebT, Tu rogor viazrebT Cven sakiTxebs, sagnebs da ras vgul isxmobT interpretaciis gadmocemaSi.

damatebiTi informaciis mosapovebl ad ix.:

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nawil i IV

**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. funkcional istebi amtkiceben, rom skol ebi yvel aze mniSvnel ovan instituciebs warmoadgenen teqnoI o-giuri ganviTarebisken swrafvis, material uri keTil dReobisa da demokratiis xel SewyobisaTvis. marqsisitebi skol as ganxil aven, rogorc umTavres instruments erTi jgufis mier meoreze dominirebis uzrunvel sayofad da amgvari damokidebul ebis I egitimaciisaTvis. am mosazrebebis sapaSuxod, 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 kavSirs sazogadoebasTan da, Sesabamisad, mogviwevs mesame, Sej erebul i mosazrebis Camoyal ibebasTan dakavSirebiT mkiTxvel s mol odini gavucruoT.

Cveni amgvari aRiarebis mosmenis Semdeg, Tqven SeiZl eba sakuTar Tavs uTxraT: `im SemTxvevaSi, Tu avtorebi ver Tanxmdebian, Tu romel i mosazrebaa ufro metad gamarTI ebul i, gamodis, rom pasuxebi kiTxvaze skol is rol is Sesaxeb sazogadoebaSi mxol od da mxol od am rol is interpretaciis, anal izis sagania.~ da Tu Tqveni mosazreba swored ase Camoyal ibda, maSin principul sakiTxebze Cvenc unda dageTanxmoT. TumcaRa, Cven ver dageTanxmebiT Tqven mier Camoyal ibebul koncefciaSi terminis - `mxol od da mxol od-gamoyenebis marTebul obasTan dakavSirebiT. amgvari termini amcirebs gaanal izebis, interpretirebis procesis mniSvnel obas. Tundac imitom, rom erTi mosazreba da anal izi garkveul situaciEbTan dakavSirebul faqtebs ukeT miesadageba, 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. funkcional istebisa da marqsistebisgan gansxvavebiT, interpretivizmi ar warmogvidgens gl obal ur politikur argumentebis im rol is Sesaxeb, romel sac skol a TamaSobs sazogadoebaSi. interpretivizmis xedvis mixedviT, arsebobs uavravi gansxvavebul i rol i, romel sac skol a TamaSobs sxvadasxva, gansxvavebul garemoSi. interpretivizmi *gl obal urze* metad *l okal ur* mimarTul ebazea fokusirebul i. interpretivizmi metad amaxvil ebs yuradRebas konkretul i skol is kul turul urTierTkavSirebiT CarCoze, individebis qcevasa da mosazrebaze, mocemul konkretul social ur garemoSi, vidre zogadi kanonis misadagebasa da yovl ismomcvel i garmartebebis uzrunvel yofaze. interpretivizmis ideebis gamziarebl ebi skol as ganixil aven, rogorc adgil s, sadac xdeba j gufebisa da individebis urTierToba adgil obrivi, yvel as mier gaziarebul i `TamaSis wesebis- mixedviT. Sesabamisad, isini sakuTar TavS moiazreben mkvl evrebad, roml ebic arweren movl enebis konkretul i skol is magal iTze. amgvari midgoma ki moiTxovs skol ebSi adamianebis mosazrebebisa da ideebis, maTi moqmedebis anal izsa da interpretacias.

sara l ourensis mier Catarebul i kvl eva `kargi umaRI esi skol a- interpretivistul i kvl evis Tval saCino magal iTs warmoadgens. TavS naSroms sara l ourensi metad Sesafiris qvesaTaurus aZl evs: `xasiaTisa da kul turis portretebi-. igi miiswrafvis gamoarkvios, Tu ra ganapirobebs 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 skol is studentebis, maswavl ebl ebisa da administraciis yovel dRiur cxovrebase da cdil obda, rom Camoeyal ibebina skol ebis imgvari portretebi, sadac yvel a maxasiaTebel i, romel ic TiToeul i skol isaTvis individual uri da gansxvavebul ia, skol ebis am individual ur portretebSi gaertiandeboda. isini, visac Cven ubral od karg adamianebad miviCnevT, erTnairad ar gamoiyurebian da arc moqmedeben. kvl evam warmoaCina, rom TiToeul skol as aqvs kargi maxasiaTebl ebis spesifikuri naerTi, roml ebic erTobl iobaSi efeqturad muSaobs imisaTvis, rom skol a unikal uri da gansakuTrebul ad kargi gaxados. adamianebis msgavsad, am skol ebsac aqvT

sakuTari nakl ovanebebi da probl emebi; miuxedavad amisa, saerTo suraTi, romel ic Seswavl il dokumentaciasa da skol ebis SemuSavebul portretebs eyrdnoba, mkvl evris azriT, TiToeul i skol isaTvis damaxasiaTebel i individual uri `sikargis- arsebobas usvams xazs.

cxadia, rom yvel a mxatvari gansxvavebul ad daxatavs erTi da imave skol isa Tu adamianis portrets. Sesabamisad, ar arsebobs erTi romel ime portreti, romel ic garkveul pirovnebasa Tu romel ime skol asTan mimarTebiT swori an WeSmaritia. swored amgvarad, interpretivistul i kvl eva cal saxad gansxvavdeba funqcional isturi da marqsistul i kvl evisagan, radgan ar eyrdnoba erT universal ur, pol itikurad marTebul Teorias an ganmartebas, aramed iswrafvis social uri real obis zedmiwevniT aRwerisaken. Sesabamisad, interpretivistebis aRwera anal itikuri da interpretivistul ia.

savaraudod, Tqven ukve gaziareT, rom Cveni aRiareba l ogikuria im Tval sazrisiT, rom Znel ia imaze SeTanxmde, Tu romel i xedva aRwers da miesadageba ukeT faqtebs gansxvavebul garemosi. Tqven Cvens mosazrebas im SemTxvevaSi daeTanxmeT, Tu Tqvens Tavs uTxariT: `nebismeri xedva, pirvel ia is Tu meore (andac Tundac mesame), aucil ebl ad sworad da marTebul ad unda aRwerdes skol is raobasa da mniSvnel obas.~ Tu Tqveni mosazreba amgvaria, maSin gamodis, rom Tqven is mniSvnel ovani detal i dainaxeT, romel ic orives - funqcional izmisa da orTodoqsul marqsizmis mieraa gaziarebul i. Sesabamisad, Cveni msjel oba interpreta ciisa da anal izis Sesaxeb saerTo sawyisebidan SegviZl ia daviwyoT. es ki imas niSnavs, rom Cven SegviZl ia davuSvaT: arsebobs mxol od erTi swori aRwera skol is kavSirisa sazogadoebasTan. xol o mogvianebiT ki amgvari daSveba davu- pirispiroT interpretivistul Sexedul ebas.

gavixsenoT, rom oriveni, funqcional istebic da orTodoqsi marqsistebic, aRiareben, rom social uri qcevac mkafi od Camoyal ibebul i kanonebis Sesabamisad imarTeba, fizikuri da bunebrivi samyaros msgavsad. orive mimdinareobas miaCnia, rom Tu social ur cxovrebas mecnierul i kuTxiT ganvixil avT, Cven SevZl ebT garkveul i universal uri ganzogadebis gakeTebas, romel ic zedmiwevniT zustad aRwers da marTavs humanisturi sazogadoebis ganvitarebas. rasakvirvel ia, funqcional istebi da marqsistebi ver Tanxmdebian

am mkafiod Camoyal ibebul i kanonebis gavl enisa da Sedegebis Taobaze. magal iTad, funqcional iste bi miiCneven, rom Tanamedrove sazogadoebaSi arsebobs ZI ieri moZraoba, romelic il aSqrebs miweril i Rirebul ebis safuZvel ze dajil doebisa da Tanamdebobebis ganawil ebis winaaRmdeg. es moZraoba miRweul i Sedegebis safuZvel ze dajil doebis momxrea. Tavis mxriv ki, orTodoqsi marqsiste bi qmnian mtkicebul ebebs, roml is safuZvel ze miiCneven, rom dajil doebisa da Tanamdebobebis ganawil ebis saukeTeso axsna kl asebs Soris konfliqtiT SeiZi eba aixsnas da is gansxvavebul i urTierTobebi, roml ebic gansxvavebul kl asebs Soris arsebobs, Sedegebis mniSvnel obas xsnis. TumcaRa orive mimmidinareoba iziarebs Sexedul ebas, rom social uri faqtebis adekvaturi axsna sabunebismetyvel o mecnierebe bTan asocierebul ganmartebes unda asaxavdes, maTi adekvaturoba ki obieqtur mtkicebul ebe bze dafuZnebul i social uri real obis marTebul aRweras gul isxmobdes.

swored zemoT CamoTvl il i mizeze bi dan gamomdinare, funqcional iste bi da orTodoqsi marqsiste bi sifrTxil iT unda ekidebodnen Sexedul ebas, roml is warmodgenasac Cven vapirebT. isini erTobl ivad unda amtkicebdnen, rom l egitimuri axsna-ganmartebis rol is dakninea da anal izisa da interpretirebis mniSvnel obis wamoweva eWvqveS ayenebs Sefasebis strandartul formas axsnisa da ganmartebis sisworis gadamowmebis meqanizmebis arseboba-ararsebobasTan dakavSirebiT. oriveni, funqcional iste bic da marqsiste bic unda amtkicebdnen, rom amgvari standarti arsebobs. am standartis mokvl eva sabunebismetyvel o mecnierebe bis mier Camoyal ibebul i Teoriebis, kanonebisa da hipoteze bis gansamtkicebel model ebSi unda xdebodes. amgvari standarte bi unda warmoSobdes mkafio mtkicebul ebebs erTi Teoriisa Tu ganacxadis WeSmaritebasTan dakavSirebiT sawinaaRmdego mtkicebul ebe bis ararsebobis fonze. imis saTqmel ad, rom konkretul i Teoria Tavisi bune biT mxol od interpretacias warmoadgens, aucil ebel ia imis aRniSvna, rom Teoria TanxvedraSi ar modis standartTan. ironiul ia, rom oriveni, fundamental iste bic da orTodoqsi marqsiste bic, aRiareben amgvari standartis arsebobas, Tumca cal-cal ke TiToeul i maTgani uaryofs meore mimarTul ebis mier standartis qonas. orive warmoadgens mtkicebul ebebs standarte bis arsebobis dasamtkicebl ad da, amavdroul ad, orive cdil obs mtkice

kontrargumenti Camoayal ibos mowinaaRmdegis xedvis gasaba-Til ebl ad. TiToeul i miiCnevs, rom misi xedva mecnierul ia, Tumca xazs usvams, rom mowinaaRmdegis xedva ideol ogizebul ia da pol itikurad motivirebul interpretacias, anal izs warmoadgens.

arsebobs uamravi gansxvavebul i strategia am winaaRmdegobriv TeoriebSi arsebul i danakl isebisa da nakl ovanebebis aRmosafxvrel ad. miuxedavad imisa, rom verc funqcional 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 gaazrebebsadmi swrafva. am Teoriebis srul ad ugul vebel yofa ar aris gamarTI ebul i SemTxvevaSic ki, Tu es Teoriebi imgvar universal ur standartebis ver efuZneba, rac mecnierul ad dasabuTebul axsna-ganmartebis uzrunvel - sayofadaa aucil ebel i. is faqti, rom am Teoriebis WeSmari-tebis dasamtkicebl ad j er 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 mizanSewonil ia funqcional isturi da marqsistul i mimarTul ebebis mier wamoweul i social uri cxovrebis axsna-ganmartebis aRiareba, Tu es axsna-ganmartebibi WeSmari-riti mecnierul i mtkicebul ebebiT ar aris gamyarebul i. es acdena ki imiTaa gamowveul i, rom WeSmari-riti mecnierul i mtkicebul eba yovel Tvis unda efuZnebodes raime tipis interpretacias da, Sesabamisad, warmoadgendes subieqtur mo-sazrebas. Sesabamisad, imis daSveba, rom obieqturi social uri mecnierebis ganviTareba SesaZI ebel ia, srul iad sa-fuZvl ianad SeiZI eba uarvyoT.

al baT ar aris gamarTI ebul i, rom daviwyoT funqcional istebisa da marqsistebis axsna-ganmartebaTa sisworis Sefaseba an imis dadgena, Tu ramdenad SesaZI ebel ia social uri mecnierebis arseboba zogadad. bevrad swori iqneba, Tu ubral od uarvyofT orive mimdinareobis mier gaziarebul daSvebas. am daSvebebis mixedviT, sazogadoebriv mecnierebebs SeuZI iaT imgvari model is uzrunvel yofa, romel ic sazogadoebrivi cxovrebis srul ad gaazrebas da anal izs SeZI ebs. msgavsi uaryofa ar unda gul isxmobdes imas, rom humanuri cxovrebis gageba da gaazreba absol uturad SeuZl ebel ia. es mxol od imas niSnavs, rom social uri cxovreba

svadasxva sawyisidan unda iqnes danaxul i da ganxil ul i. Tanamedrove mecnierებასი sakmaod bevri mkvl evari cdil obs, SeimuSaos meTodol ogia social uri samyaros sakvl evad da gasaazrebl ad imgvari meTodol ogiuri instrumentebis gamoyenebiT, roml ebic mxol od sabunebismetyvel o mecnierebis instrumentebis imitacias ar gul isxmobs. Sesabamisad, arsebobs mecnierul i mimarTul eba da am mimarTul ebisaTvis damaxasiaTebel i Sedegebi, roml ebic saSual ebas izl eva, ganaTI ebis social uri funqciebi ukeT gaviazroT. swored am funqciebis zogad gaazrebas SevecdebiT wignis Semdegi qveTavis `interpretivistul i Sexedul ebebis- fargl ebSi. swored es Sexedul ebebi amagrebs im Tanamedrove mimarTul ebebs ganaTI ebis kvl evaSi, romel Tac Tvisebrivi, interpretivistul i da konstruktivistul i kvl evis meTodebs vuwodebT.

argumentebi interpretivistul i Sexedul ebebis gansamtkicebl ad

erTerTi kontrargumenti social uri kvl evis sabunebismetyvel o mecnierეების safuZvel ze model irebis aramarTebul obis Sesaxeb britanel i fil osofosis peter vincis mier Camoyal ibda da gaZl ierda. vincma gul dagul Seiswavi a, kritikul i kuTxiT gaaanal iza da daupirispirda arguments, roml is Tanaxmadac, social uri qceva imgvarad unda iqnes gaazrebul i, rogorc is sabunebismetyvel o mecnierეების mier aris danaxul i. rogorc ukve visaubreT, sabunebismetyvel o mecnierეები qcevas fizikuri movl enas ukavSireben. Aam nabijiT mecnierma praqtikul ad uaryo mosazreba, roml is Tanaxmadac, social uri mecnierebis ganvitareba universal uri kanonzomierebis armoCenis safuZvel zea SesaZl ebel i da romel ic amtkicebs, rom es universal uri kanonzomierebebi, Tavis mxriv, adamianta `nedl qcevaze- dakvirvebis safuZvel ze yal ibdeba. im qcevebisa, romel Ta mastimul irebel i social uri movl enis interpretireba j er arc ki dawyebul a.

vinci sakuTar mosazrebas interpretirebisa da anal izis Sesaxeb amtkicebda dakvirvebis warmoebis safuZvel ze. misi azrit, nebismieri tipis gaazreba, sabunebismetyvel o mecnierეების mier warmodgenil ic ki, moicavs imis unars, rom ganisazRvros, Tu rodis SeiZl eba, arsebul i movl enis msgavsi movl enebi warmoisvas. Mmecnieri pirvel rigSi svams

kiTxvas, Tu ra warmoSobs kanonzomierebas da kiTxvas Tavadve pasuxobs: kanonzomiereba identuri movl enebis identur garemosa da situaciaSi dausrul ebel i ganmeorebiT warmoiSoba. mecnieri ganavrcobs azrs da amatebs, rom sxvasdasxva 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 mixedviTac sazogadoeba axdens msgavsebebisa da gansxvavebaTa dadgenas.

vecdebiT, ramdenime magal iTi moviyvanoT da ufro naTl ad warmovadginoT britanel i mecnieris mosazreba. amerikis SeerTebul StatebSi qorwineba Semdgarad iTvl eba, Tu oficial uri ceremoniis fargl ebSi, roml is kul minaciasac partniorebis sityvebi `diax, Tanaxma var~ an `me virTav mas col ad (qmrad)- an msgavsi tipis frazebi warmoadgens. yvel a amgvvari fraza, sabol oo j amSi, erTsa da imave saqmes emsaxureba - is or adamians qorwinebis kavSiriT aerTebS. TumcaRa, gansxvavebul situaciaSi Sesazl ebel ia, rom orma adamianna warmotqvas tradiciul i sityvebi, magram miuxedavad amisa ar daqorwindnen. magal iTad, SeiZl eba es adamianebi speqtakl Si konkretul rol s TamaSobdnen. amavdroul ad, zogierT StatSi qorwineba SeiZl eba Sedges wyvil is mier yovel gvvari erTgul ebisa da qorwinebis ficis dadebis gareSec. qorwinebaSi imyofebian adamianebi 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, saidan vigeBT amis Sesaxeb? cxadia, ara situaciis identurobisa da msgavsebisagan. amis gaazreba garkveul i gaziarebul i enobrivi maxasiaTebI ebisa da social uri samyaros saerTo Semecnebis safuZvel ze xdeba.

moviyvanoT kidev erTi magal iTi kontrastul obis ukeT dasanaxad; konkretul i `nedl i qceva- SeiZl eba ganvixil oT, rogorc social uri konteqstidan amogl ejil i movl ena. Tumca, sxvasdasxva social ur garemosi mas gansxvavebul i mniSvnel oba SeiZl eba mieniWos. Tqven aiwiet xel i. erT, konkretul situaciaSi, es SeiZl eba megobris misal mebas niSnavdes, meoreSi ki - maswavl ebl is Tqvendami yuradRebis miqcevis saSual ebas. mesameSi SemTxvevaSi Tqven am JestiT vinmes sasargebl od xmas aZl evT. TavisTavad, xel is awevis qcevas, cal ke aRebul s, aranairi mniSvnel oba ar gaaCnia, garda imisa, rom kunTebis muSaoba da sxgul is moZraoba yvel a situaciisaTvis praqtikul ad erTnairia. xel is awevis mniSvnel oba ganisazRvrebA am moqmedebis Semsrul ebel i pirovnebisA da mis garSemo arsebul i sazogadoebis mier moqmedebis interpretirebis safuZvel ze, romel ic garkveul ga-

remoSi xdeba. qveviT moyvanil i amonaridi naTI ad warmoadgens anTropol ogis - kl iford geertzis mosazrebas mniSvnel obis gansazRvrebis kompl eqsurobasa da mraval waxnagovnebasTan dakavSirebiT. Ees gansazRvreba val iduria erTi SexedviT martiv formis qcevasTan mimarTebiTac.

`warmoidgineT... ori biWi swrafad axamxamebs marjvena Tval s. erT SemTxvevaSi es unebl ie moZraobaa, Tval is xamxami, xol o meore SemTxvevaSi ki - konspiraciul i signal i megobrisaTvis. sxeul is es moZraoba orive SemTxvevaSi identuria, Tu mas fotokameris `fenomenal uri- dakvirvebis gadmosaxedidan SevafasebT da adamiani, romel ic fotos uyurebs, ver ityvis, romel ma biWma ubral od daaxamxama Tval i da romel ma ki - Tval i Caukra megobars. verc imis Tqmas moaxerxebes, orive biWma daaxamxama Tval i Tu orivem Caukra erTmaneTs. Tumca, real obaSi, arafotografiul i xedviT, Tval is daxamxamebasa da Cakvras Soris uzarmazari gansxvaveba arsebobs vizual uri Tval sazrisiTac. Tval is Cakvra - komunikaciis formaa, Tanac komunikacia sakmaod naTI ad da mkafiod myardeba: Tval s vukravT: (a) gamiznul ad, (2) konkretul i pirs, (3) informaciis gadacemisaTvis, (4) social urad Camoyal ibebul i normis/wesis Sesabamisad, (5) konkretul garemoSi arsebul i adamianebis saqmis kursSi Cayenebis gareSe. biWma, romel mac Tval i Caukra megobars, ori sxvadasxva moqmedeba ar ganaxorciel a - mas cal ke Tval i ar Caukravs da cal ke ar dauaxamamebia, maSin rodesac Tval is daxamxamebisas biWma mxol od erTi gamiznul i moqmedeba Seasrul a. Tval is swrafad daxuWva da gaxsna gamiznul ad, im sociumSi, sadac es miRebul i konspiraciul i signal ia, yvel afers erTad moicavs: Tval is Cakvraa qcevis detal i, kul turul i tradicia da, bol osdabol os, mimika.

es imitom xdeba, rom kul tura bevrad ufro farTo konteqstual uri sivrcis arsebobas uzrunvel yofs, romel Sic adamanTa 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 ur movl enad aRiqmeba, SeiZl 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 universal uri kanonebis aRmoCena. imgvari kanonebisa, roml ebic erTnairi warmatebiT SeiZl eba nebismier kul turas moergos. social uri mecnierebis daniSnul ebad ufro metad im specifikuri CarCoebis aRmoCena warmoadgens, roml ebic gansazRvraven konkretul i social uri jgufis kul turul i cxovrevisaTvis damaxasiaTebel wesebsa da mniSvnel obebs.

rome haresa da paul sekordiseul i `social uri mecnierebebis- xedva am mimarTul ebiT kidev metad aris win wasul i. maTi mtkicebiT, maSin, rodesac sabunebismetyvel o mecnierebebi savaraudod da absol uturad l ogikurad efuZnebian movl enaTa axsnis material istur, meqanikur da Sedegobriv (kauzal ur) model s, social uri mecnierebebis dafuZneba mxol od amgvar model ebze SeuZl ebel ia. am koncefciaze muSaobisas mecnierebi aseve fiqrobdnen, unda gaemij naT Tu ara mecnierul i mosazrebebidan is faqtorebi, roml ebic mkafiod humanisturia da roml ebic ganmartaven humanistur qcevebs - social uri situaciebis imgvar formebs, romel Ta arsi da mniSvel oba adamianebebis mier zogadad gaziarebul ia. social uri qceva rol ia da rol isgan gamomdinare qcevaa. TumcaRa, amgvar qcevaSi Cveni CarTva meqanikurad ar xdeba. amgvari qceva adamianebeisgan organizebas, interpretirebas, gaazrebas da monitorings moiTxovs, (gaixseneT ori biWis da Tval is Cakvris istoria geertsis magal iTidan). kidev ufro mniSvel ovani CvenTvis ki imis aRiarebaa, rom am tipis social uri qceva aqtorisaTvis gamoricxul ia `social uri TamaSebis- wesebis codnis, maTi swavl is gareSe. qorwinebisa Tu xmis micemis `wesebi-, azrTa gacvl a imasTan dakavSirebiT, Tu ras niSnaven esa Tu is sagnebi da movl enebi - saSual ebas gvaZl even, Cvenc gavxdeT am qcevebis Tanamonawil eni. TuTiyuSis naTqvami, `diax, Tanaxma var~, ar niSnavs, rom is qorwindeba, xel is aweva ki maswavl ebl is yuradRebis mipyrobisTvis xdeba... social izacia intepretivistisTvis imis kvl evaa, rogor ganvmartoT, gavaanal izoT da rogor miviRoT monawil eoba `TamaSebSi-, roml ebsac adamianebebi TamaSoben da `TamaSebSi-, roml ebsac sazogadoeba TamaSobs. TumcaRa, social izaciis procesi ar aferxebs Cvencs sxva moqmedebebs da arc am `TamaSebis- Sedegebis dadgomis process uSl is xel s. haresa da sekortis mixedviT, pirovnebebs kvl avac gaaCniaT arCevanis Tavisufl eba gadawyvitos, Tu romel i `TamaSis- wesebis mixedviT unda rom imoqmedos da ra gaakeTon pirovnul i gadawyvetil ebis safuZvel ze TamaSis procesSi. amasTan, imis winaswar interpretireba da gaanal izeba, Tu ra SeiZl eba SemdegSi moxdes, sakvanZo, erTerTi yvel aze mniSvel ovani unaria. am unaris arsebobas moiTxovs yvel a formis social izacia. ufro metic, social uri mimarTul ebis mecnierebs qcevis interpretireba, analizi unda SeeZl oT. mecnierebs unda SeeZl oT CarTul pirTa 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 SegviZl ia axl odan SevxedoT interpretirebis sakvanZo aqtivebebs.

azrovnebis aqtiuri xasiaTi

interpretirebis, rogorc aqtivobis saWiroeba yvel aze mkafiod maSin dgeba, rodesac warmoiSoba gaugebroba da orazrovneba, romel sac garkveva sWirdeba an rodesac gvaqvs mkafiod aRsaqmel teqstTan, rogoricaa l eqsi, piesa an romani, romel sac ganmarteba, anal izi sWirdeba. TumcaRa, interpretirebis aucil ebl oba sxva situaciebSic SeiZl eba Seiqmnas da yvel aze martivi situaciebis gaazrebiTvisac 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 gaazrebaTan dakavSirebiT gveqmneba, misi danaxvis or gansxvavebul gzas gul isxmobS. kerZod ki, suraTzea, erTi mxriv, Tasis, xol o, meore mxriv ki, ori erTmaneTs dapirispirebul i saxeebis gamoxatul eba. (Tu aqamde ver SeamCnieT gamosaxul ebis orsaxovneba, gaagrZel eT naxatis mzera manamde, sanam igi TqvenTvis mkafiod gamoxatul i ar gaxdeba. Tu mainc gagiWirdaT naxatis orsaxovnad aRqma, sTxoveT vinmes, rom Tasis an saxeebis konturis moxazul oba gaCvenoT imgvarad, rom Tqven misi xel is moZraobisaTvis Tval is gayol eba SeZl oT). gamomdinare im real obidan, rom Cven naxatis ori, gansxvavebul i mimarTul ebiT danaxva SegviZl 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 mniSvnel ovani Tavad danaxvis unaria, aucil ebel ia vaRia-roT aqtiuri azrovnebis roli interpretivistuli aRqmi-saTvis. naxatze ar icvl eba TeTri da Savi konturebi. icvl eba mxol od figurebis Cveneuli interpretacia Tassa da or saxes Soris. Cven naxatze `vkiTxul obT- `mtkicebul ebas-, romel ic gansxvavebuli vizualuri `hipotezis- gansamtkicebul ad gvWirdeba. rasakvirvel ia, kamaTis sagania, vuwodebT Tu ara am savarj iSos interpretacias, am sityvis pirdapiri mniSvnel obiT. TumcaRa, am mcire magaliTiT Cven ukve gamovavl ineT is ori aucil ebeli el ementi, romel ic interpretivistuli aqtivobis Tanamdevia. pirveli el ementia - azrovnebis aqtiurad CarTva imisaTvis, rom raRac konkretuli `wavikiTxoT- an konkretuli `azri davinaxoT-. meore el ementi ki erTi misaRebi, sando informaciidan sxvaze gadarTvas gul isxmobs.

interpretaciis roli socialur mecnierებაში

axla, rodesac Cven ukve ganvixil eT aRqmadobaSi interpretaciis el ementebi, Tavisufl ad SegviZi ia igive procesebi warmoqmnili socialuri situაციების interpretaciis magaliTze gavavrcot. daviwyoT yvel aze mkafio magaliTebiT, roml ebic gansakutrebiT usvams xazs im gansxvavebebs, roml ebic socialur mecnierებაში Cven mier ganxil ul or sxvadasxva xedvasi arsebobs. pirveli xedva, romel sac funkcionalistebi da ortodoqsi marqsistebi iziareben, ambobs, rom socialuri mecnierების mizანი კანონზომიერების დადგენაა, რომl ebic monacemTa sistemური Segrovebisa da raodenobrivi kvl evebis Sedegebis safuzvel ze dasturdeba. es midgoma meoce saukunis ganaTl ebis kvl evebisTvisac upirates formas warmoadgens. meore xedvis mixedvit ki - socialuri mecnierების mizანია sazogadoების დანიშნული ebiti sistemis gansazRvra interpretivistuli Cartul obasa da ganmartebze dafuznebuli kvl evebis saSual ebiT. es ganaTl ebis Tvisibrivi kvl evis Tanamedrove xedvaa.

modiT, pirveli rigSi, warmoidgineT, rom Tqven tradiciuli xedvis socialuri mecnieri xarT da pirveli ad moxvdiT amerikis SeerTebul StatebSi. Tqven samecniero granti gaqvt miRebuli imisaTvis, rom amerikis kul tura Seiswavl ot.

Tqven agixsnes, rom frenburTi is umniSvnel ovanesi TamaSia, romel ic amerikul i cxovrebis zedmiwevniT kargad gagebisa da gaazrebisaTvis gasaRebs warmoadgens. aq Tqven ukve awydebiT 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 gansxvavebebis zogad aspeqtebs, TumcaRa j er ver moaxerxeT im specifikuri gansxvavebebis danaxva, roml ebic am Tqvens kul turas absol uturad mijnavs amerikul isgan. erTerTi mkafio da gansakuTrebul i gansxvaveba, romel ic Tqvens kul turaSi ar devs, amerikel i xal xis mier sportis Sesaxeb Camoyal ibebul i koncefciaa. amgvari damokidebul eba sportisadmi ar gvxdeba Tqvens kul turaSi. es moicavs amerikul i `sanaxaobrivi sportis- koncefciasac, romel ic amerikel sportis moyvarul TaTvis Cveul ebriv movl enadaa aRqmul i, xol o Tqven ki srul ebiT ar icnobT amgvar damokidebul ebas. es ar niSnavs mxol od imas, rom Tqven ar icnobT amerikel ebis mier gaziarebul `sanaxaobrivi sportis- ideas. ufro mniSvnel ovani am garemoebaSi isaa, rom Tqven verc ki warmoidgenT, rom amgvari koncefcia arsebobs da is SeiZl eba adamianta j gufis mier iyos gaziarebul i. Tqvens sakuTar kul turaSi sporti moiazreba, rogorc mxol od Sejibrebis principze agebul i TamaSi. amasTan, navaraudebia, rom yvel a CarTul i mxare TamaSis monawil ea da marTl ac, yvel a mxare, varaudis Sesabamisad, monawil eobs. `sanaxaobrivi sportis- absol uturad araTavsebadia Tqveni kul turisaTvis da metic, winaaRmdegobaSia masTan.

amerikaSi vizitis dros, Tqven sTxovT Tqvens maspinZel s, rom frenburTis matCze wagiivanoT. Tqven gindaT, rom am matCs mkvl evris Tval iT SexedoT da Seiswavl oT. amasTan, Tqven gaqvT survil i, rom Tqveni kvl eva ar `gafuWdes- Tqveni winaswari, subieqturi damokidebul ebebis gamo da amitom maspinZel s sTxovT, rom ar man gagacnoT TamaSis wesebi da maxasiaTebl ebi. Tqven gindaT, rom TamaSi obieqturad Seiswavl oT da daskvnebic absol uturad miukerZoebi ad gamoitanoT. rogorc es social uri mecnierebis tradiciul midgomebze aRzrdil mkvl evars Seefereba, romel ic cdil obs, rom movl enebisa da faqtebis universal uri ganzogadeba moaxdinoT. Aam ganzogadebisTvis ki apirebT, rom sistematuri dakvirvebebi awarmoot da amisaTvis konkretul i movl enebisa da faqtebis Tanmimdevroba da monacvl eobis sixSire

gazomoT. am gziT Tqven cdil obT daadginoT SesaZI o ko-
 rel aciebi da argumentirebul i mizezebi ganzogadebisaTvis
 (es midgoma aseve aqtual uria im ganaTI ebis mecnierisaTvis,
 romelic cdil obs, rom dainaxos mizez-Sedegobrivi ur-
 TierTmimarTeba iseT cvl adebs Soris, rogorebicaa, maga-
 l iTad, IQ qul ebi, social ur-kl asobrivi warmomavl oba da
 saskol o moswreba). TumcaRa, monacemTa Segrovebis dawyebis
 Semdeg, procesSi garkveul i probl emebi iCens Tavs. gamomdi-
 nare iqidan, rom Tqven ar iziarebT `sanaxaobrivi sportis-
 koncefcias, Tqveni mxedvel obidan aridan aucil ebl ad ga-
 mogrCebaT sportTan dakavSirebul i sxva koncefciebic, ma-
 gal iTad `xal isis- an `mxardaWeris- koncefciebic. ufro
 metic, gamomdinare iqidan, rom Tqvenma maspinZel ma ar agixs-
 naT TamaSis wesebi, Tqven ar gaqvs warmodgena im koncef-
 ciebze, roml ebic specifikurad frenburTisTvis aris damax-
 asiaTebel i. `moTamaSis gadaweva-, `Serkineba-, `pasis gamaz-
 va-, `burTis Casma- ar aris Tqveni konceptual uri CarCos
 Semadgenel i nawil i. xol o am koncefciebis arcodnis gareSe
 imis gaazrebac ki Znel deba, Tu romel i movl ena da aqtivoba
 iTvl eba mniSvnel ovnad TamaSisaTvis da, Sesabamisad, rome-
 l 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 koncefciebis `sanaxaobrivi sportis-
 Se-
 saxeb da, Sesabamisad, verc iazrebT, rom fundamenturi
 probl ema imis arcodnaSia, rac praqtikul ad Tval saCinoa,
 pirdapir zedapirze devs. yvel aze saintereso ki isaa, rom
 ar aris gamoricxul i, Tqven aanal izebdeT mTavars: ar ic-
 nobT beisbol is TamaSis wesebs.

Tqven verc ki acnobierebT im faqts, rom Tqven mier
 `sportis" aRqma radikal urad gansxvavdeba amerikis
 mkvidrTa aRqmisgan da, Sesabamisad, Tqvens kvl evas im amosa-
 val i wertil idan iwyeBT, rom adamanis sportSi CarTul oba
 mis uSual o monawil eobas gul isxmobs sportul TamaSSi.
 bunebrivia, Tqveni dakvirvebis dros sportSi CarTul i ada-
 mianebi moicaven maT, visac amerikel ebi `fanebad- da `moTa-
 maSeebad- mij naven. am Zal ian mniSvnel ovani detal is arcod-
 nis gamo, Tqven Tval win ganvitarebul i movl enebi Zal ian
 ucnaurad geCveneBaT. mindorze ganuwyvetl iv isvrian da iWe-
 ren 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 - daCoqil ia. danarCenebi ki ise moZraoben, TiTqos mimaval manqanas unda daemgzavron an bal axi akurTxon... kidev sxvebi cdil oben, imdeni l udi CanTqan, ramdenic CaetevaT mucel Si...

Tu kargad CauRrmavdebiT, am ucnauri scenis specifiku-ri maxasiaTebi ebi TqvenTvis metad gasagebi gaxdeba. Tqven SeamCnevT, rom is jgufi, 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 l udi moitanos. am dros Tqven iwyeBT imaze fiqrs, rom am or movl enas Soris raime saxis kavSiri unda arsebobdes... magram rodesac daiwyeBT kavSiris gazomvas am or movl enas Soris, nel -nel a acnobie- rebT, rom korel acia am or ukanasknel s Soris aseve dakav- Sirebul ia sxva movl enebTan, roml ebic imavdroul ad mimdi- nareobs, rodesac `l udis msmel ebi~ da `gadamsxdomebi~ moq- medeben. magal iTad, Tqven xvdebiT, rom aseve arsebobs ur- TierTkavSiri drois monakveTebS Soris, rodesac fexze mdgom bitian moTamaSes SeuZl ia, rom burTs daartyas maSin, rodesac `gadamsxdomebisa~ da `l 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 `l u- dis msmel ebi~ mihyvebian. Tumca korel acia absol uturia im sami SemTxvevis dros, rodesac `damgzavrebis moyvarul i- manqanis gasaCerebel moZraobas akeTebS, yviris `gareT~ da `gadamsxdomebi~ moZraobas iwyeben. aseve, srul i korel aciaa `damgzavrebis moyvarul Ta~ moqmedebasa da l udis smis in- tensivobis momatebas Soris. Sesabamisad, Tqven askvniT, rom imdenad, ramdenadac ar SeiZl eba, rom pirdapiri korel acia `gadamsxdomebsa~ da `l udis msmel ebs~ Soris arsebobdes, korel acia am or moqmedebas Soris arapirdapiria. da am arapirdapir korel acias `damgzavrebis moyvarul ebi~ iwveben.

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 stiliT TamaSis Sesaxeb aRmoaCineT da gaigeT. Tqven kargad aanal izebT, rom j er ki- dev aris dro da saSual eba, rom ganmartebebis 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 Sesaxe-eb."

da Tqveni maspinZl is komentari absol uturad sworia. Tqven TamaSis azri gamogeparaT. miuxedavad imisa, rom Tqveni statistika STambeWdavia, Tqven ver `dainaxeT- Seswavl i- l i movl enebis ukan mdgari mizezebi. Tqven ver SeZel iT, erTad SegekraT da gagemTI ianebinaT is gegmebi da miznebi, roml ebic, erTi mxriv, `WeSmarit moTamaSeebS-, xol o, meore mxriv ki, mayurebl ebs amoZravebdaT. metic, Tqven ver SeniSneT 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 iqmneba frenburTi. am TamaSs aseve gaaCnia `dauwerel i wesebi TamaSis fanebisa 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 poziciidan, Tqven isev da isev unda gaigoT ori urTierTdakavSirebul i wesi: pirvel ia, rom Tqven unda gaiazroT individebis gegmebi da amocanebi im mTI iani `TamaSis- wesebis konteqstSi, romel sac isini TamaSoben da meore - Tqven unda gaigoT moTamaSis Tu TamaSis fanis `TamaSis wesebi-. `TamaSis wesebSi-arsebul i anal ogiebis ufro dakvirvebiT Seswavl is SemTxvevaSi, GTqven SeZl ebT gaiazroT is faqtorebi, roml ebic social uri movl enebis interpretirebisa da gasaanal izebl ad dagWirdebaT - ar aqvs mniSvnel oba, es frenburTis TamaSsa

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

sanam win waviwevT, yuradReba SevaCeroT im gaugebro-
baze, romel ic frenburTis magal iTma dagvanaxa. pitCersa da
baterze (Tavdamsxmel i) urTierTkavSirze dakvirvebis pro-
cesSi, romel sac Cveni vizitori social uri mecnierebebis
mkvl evari awarmoebda, mniSvnel ovan konceptual ur Secdomas
moicavda is ganzraxvebi, roml ebic, erTi SexedviT, moTamaSe
mxareebis moqmedebas uwevda stimul acias. pitCerisa da ba-
terisa ganzraxvebi sakmaod damabnevl ad gamoiyureboda.
Cvenma mecnierma daaskvna, rom pitCeri cdil obda, biti bur-
TisTvis gaertya, xol o bateri ki cdil obda, rom es dartya
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 pitCeri ki - bitisaTvis. sxva sityve-
biT rom vTqvaT, erT SemTxvevaSi frenburTi iTamaSeba, xo-
l o meore SemTxvevaSi ki - ara. dakvirveba da moqmedebebis
Tanmimdevrobis korel acia, cal ke aRebul i, verafers ambobs
movl enis gagrZel ebisa da ganviTarebis Sesaxeb.

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

TumcaRa, cal keul i moTamaSeebis ganzraxvebis codna
jer kidev ar aris sakmarisi. warmovidginoT, rom erTi pi-
rovneba ekiTxeba meores: `ratom iqnev am bitas?- rasac mohy-
veba pasuxi: `imisaTvis, rom burTs movartya.~ am pasuxis
miuxedavad, Cven mainc ar viciT, ras akeTebis es moTamaSe, Tu
ar gvaqvs informacia im konteqstis Sesaxeb, romel Sic es
moTamaSe bitis burTisaTvis gartyas apirebs. bitis mortyma
burTisaTvis frenburTSi ar hgavs Cognis mortymas burTi-
saTvis CogburTSi an magidis CogburTSi. moTamaSis ganzrax-
vas, rom bita 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 Seiqmnas 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 igive SeiZl eba iTqvas swavl is proceszec. tel eviqtorinaSi swori pasuxis gacema kiTxvaze ar aris igive, rac sakl aso oTaxSi swori pasuxis gacemis mcdel oba, sadac swori pasuxi Semdeg sa-fexurs warmodgens swavl isaTvis. sxva sityvebiT rom vTqvaT, ganzraxva, romel ic individis moqmedebis ukan imal eba, mniSvnel obas iZens gazirebul i wesebiTa da miznebiT dat-virTul konteqstSi, sadac individis moqmedeba SeiZl eba im aqtivobad miiCnes, risi ganzraxvac am individis gaaCnia. bur-TisTvis bitas gartyma im kul turaSi, sadac frenburTs ar icnoben, SeiZl eba sxvagvarad iqnes aRqmul i, magal iTad Cog-burTisTvis an nadirobisaTvis varj iSad, an agresiiis gadmo-safrqev qmedebad. Mmokl ed, yvel afrad, magram ara - fren-burTad.

frenburTis magal iTis kompl eqsuroba gvexmareba, kargad gavaanal izoT nebismieri social uri konteqstis mniSvnel o-baTa kompl eqsuroba. interpretivistisaTvis, mniSvnel oba ar aqvs mxol od imas, rac viRacas TavSi utrial ebs da arc im-as, rac raRac movl enis mixedvit SeiZl eba rom amovikiT-xoT... interpretivisti aanal izebs, rom im adami nebs, rom- l ebic social uri cxovrebis sxvadasxva aqtivobaSi arian CarTul ebi, gaaCniat gaziarebul i, saerto xedva mizezebisa am aqtivobebTan mimarTebiT. maT ician, ra aris nebadarTul i da ras moel ian maTgan. warmoidgineT, rom midixarT ekl e-siaSi an taZarSi, skol aSi andac sul ac koncertze. is, rac TqvenTvis da sxvebisTvis TiToeul am adgil s gansakuTre-bul s xdis, warmoadgens gaziarebul codnas imisa, Tu ra unda gaakeToT Tqven erTad am konkretul adgil as. adamia-nebs unda SeeZl oT mosal odnel i movl enebis interpretireba imisaTvis, rom maTi monawil eoba sxvadasxva aqtivobebSi l ogikuri, garkveul i iyos rogorc maTTvis, aseve sxvebisat-vis. sxva SemTxvevaSi, isini iseve dabneul ebi da dakargul ebi aRmoCndebian yovel dRiur social ur cxovrebaSi, rogorc Cveni gamogonil i mecniერი damkvirvebel i aRmoCnda frenbur-Tis matCis dros.

axl a dadga is dro, rodesac SeiZl eba kiTxvis dasma: da mainc, ra aris is `raRac~, rac adami nebm a ician, iziareben, da rac maT saSual ebas aZl evs adekvaturad imoqmedon da adekvaturi reagireba gaakeTon saj aro garemoSi? ra unda icodes social uri mecnierebebis an ganaTl ebis mecnierma imisaTvis, rom adami anTa qcevebi gaiazros? Cven ukve vnaxeT,

rom aucil ebel ia im aqtivobis amosaval i wertil is codna, romel Sic adamianebi arian CarTul ebi, frenburTis moTama-Seebi cdil oben, rom moigon; fanebisTvis ki frenburTi xalisi 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 mizani moswavl eebisatvis sagnis atvisebaSi maqsimal uri daxmarebaa, 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 aRiarebul i, l egitimuri monawil e. aseve gwirdeba imis codna, Tu ra aris is pirobebi, rac monawil eobis ufl ebas da safuZvel s iZl eva. kol ej Si siarul is amosaval i wertil i, savaraudod, ganaTl ebis miRebaa. erTma studentma SeiZl eba amisatvis 4 wel i kol ej is bibl ioTekaSi gaataros kiTxvaSi, Tumca, es srul ebiTac ar Caetvl eba mas universitetis sxvadasxva kampusSi registraciad. meore pirovnebas ki, romel ic cdil obs, frenburTis matCi moigos, SeiZl eba azrad mouvides, rom miznis misaRwevad mowinaaRmdegis gundis wevrebs gul isrevis gamomwvevi saReWi reziniT gaumaspinZl des. aseT SemTxvevaSi, Cven aRar gvaqvs saqme frenburTis TamaSTan. arsebobs mxol od garkveul i moqmedebebi, roml ebic garkveul i TamaSis nawil ad iTvl eba - dartyimis ganxorciel eba, gaseirneba, TviTmfrinaviT gangzavreba, 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 ian 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, mwvrtnel i, studenti Tu sxva vinme varT Cven da romel ic ganapirobebs gundur muSaobas, sportul nakrebs, kol ej is programis efeqturobas. mniSvnel ovania vicodeT, rom amgvari `TamaSis wesebi~ SeiZl eba mkafioc iyos da Seferil ic, da warmoadgendnen 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, pitCeroba niSnavs `mcdel obas, aicil os bateri-. sxva ZiriTadi wesi ki moicavs uamravi tipis il eTs imisaTvis, rom bateri airido, manZil s pitCeris `saxl sa- da pl eiTs Soris da ase Semdeg. is wesebi, roml ebic pitCings aregul ireben, aseve moicaven pitCeris fands, romel ic burTis gadacemis motyuebiT el ements moicavs da a.S.

wesebis nawil i, TamaSis procesis regul aciisaTvis, (samarTavad) gamoiyeneba, xol o nawil i ki, TamaSSi daSvebul i aqtivoebebisa da RonisZiebebis gansazRvrebisaTvis. aqedan gamomomdinare, TamaSis wesebis Cven mxol od imas ar gveubneba, risi gakeTebis ufl eba gvaqvs TamaSSi da risi ki - ara. isini aseve gvauwyeben, 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 axsnil i. `dartymas- frenburTSi sxva mniSvnel oba eniWebi, vidre, magal iTad, pol itikaSi. `krediti- kol ej Si sxva ramaa, vidre, magal iTad, maRaziis ganyofil ebaSi. Cven ki terminebi - `dartyma- da `krediti- im wesebTan mimarTebiT unda ganvixil oT, roml ebisganac `TamaSi-, rogorc mTl ianoba, Sedgeba. sxva sityvebiT rom vTqvaT, arsebobs cirkul arul i urTierTkavSiri im wesebs, roml isganac 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, moTxovnil i l eqsikoni da imisaTvis, rom Ggvesmodes, ras unda moicavdes es l eqsikoni, Cven unda gvesmodes wesebi.

cirkul arul i kavSiri moiTxovs gansakuTrebul i tipis gaazrebas, roml is Sesaxebac Cven saubars maSin daviwyebT, rodesac ganvixil avT hermenetivtikas. TumcaRa, is faqti, rom individs unda esmodes wesebi, l eqsikoni, garemoebebi da TamaSis amosaval i wertil i imisaTvis, rom man TamaSi SeZl os, Tavistavad amtkicebs, rom social uri qcevis misaRebi anal izi moiTxovs amgvარი sakiTxebisadmi adekvaturi yuradRebis gamaxvil ebas. wesebi da l eqsikoni ar arsebobs damoukidebl ad, abstraqtul , arapersonal izebul real obaSi. isini unda gaiatron maT, vinc CarTul ia am aqtivobebSi. es, cxadia, ar niSnavs, rom TiToeul ma adamanma an Tundac ada-

mianebis garkveul ma j gufma wesebis citireba unda SeZl os. es imas niSnavs, rom individma da j gufebma unda SeZl on imoqmedon da il aparakon imgvarad, rom maT mier wesebis komunikaciis saSual ebiT SesaZl ebel i gaxdes maTi saqmianobis mniSvnel obis gaazreba. frenburTSi, magal iTad, es im wesebis implicisturi gaazrebaa, romelic Cven saSual ebas gvaZl evs, davinaxoT kavSiri burTis darty masa da mindorze sirbil s Soris. skol aSi, l eqciebis mosmenasa da gamocdebis Cabarebas Soris. am kavSirebs Cven kidev axal i, sakvanZo faqtorebisen mivyavarT social uri qcevebis anal izSi - im individTa ganzraxvebi da miznebi, roml ebic konkretul qmedebebSi/aqtivobebSi arian CarTul ebi. Cven unda gvesmodes, rom agentis ganzraxvebi erTgvari kanonzomierebiTaa Camoyal ibebul i, rac gamowveul ia wesebis konkretul i el elementebis erTobl iobiT. amasTan, agents aqvs Tavisufal i arCevnis gakeTebis saSual eba wesebiT gaTval iswinebul alternativebs Soris. magal iTad, rodesac hiteri iqnevs bits, Cven unda vicodeT, ristvis akeTebis igi amas. imistvis, rom bazaSi Casvas burTi, miexmaros Tanagundel s sakuTari pl eitis miRwevaSi, Tu es orive ganzraxva erTad aqvs. rodesac sakl aso oTaxSi bavSvi xel s iwevs, misi ganzraxvaa, rom igi maswavl ebel i gamoiZaxebs an mas imedi aqvs, rom xel ebis tyeSi mis aweul xel s veravin SeniSnavs da is gadarCeba sircxvil s aRiaros, rom pasuxi ar aqvs? me-8 TavSi mocemul ia `axal i studentis- istoria, sadac maswavl ebel i cdi- l obs gaarkvios is social uri wesebi, roml ebic axal moswavl es ar aZl 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 warmodgenil i. orive forma Zal ian mWi-drod aris dakavSirebul i frenburTis magal iTTan. EerT-erTi maTgani swavl obs individebis ganzraxvebsa da mize-zebis sakl aso garemoSi. meore forma ki yuradRebas amaxvi-l ebs saerTo sistemaze skol is fargl ebSi. Cven ukve davi-naxeT, rom monawil is mniSvnel obis anal izi da interpreta-cia erT-erTi umniSvnel 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 iswinebs ymawil is in-terpretivistul CarCos. is gvexmareba, rom swavl ebas ymaw-vil is Tval iT SevxedoT da misi gadmosaxededan gavakeToT swavl ebis interpretireba. qvemoT Cven ganvixil avT naSroms, romel ic marqsistul i CarCosgan damoukidebl ad Camoyal ib-da da romel ic warmogvidgens mniSvnel ovan interpretivis-tul xedvas swavl ebis, rogorc social uri aqtivobis gaaz-rebisaTvis.

anTropol ogias, rogor discipl inas, gansakuTrebul i mniSvnel oba eniWeba interpretivistul i kvl evis programebis ganxorciel ebisaTvis ganaTI ebis sferoSi. social uri an-Tropol ogebi da eTnografebi xazs usvamen studentebis, maswavl ebl ebis da sxva danarCeni monawil eebis perspeqtivis gaazrebas saganmanaTI ebl o dawesebul ebebSi. eTnografebi, roml ebic sakl aso oTaxSi arsebul qcevas swavl oben, gansa-kuTrebiT kategoriul ad iTxoven mkvl evrebisagan, rom maT mier ar moxdes sakuTari Sexedul ebebis miwera sakvl ev ob-ieqtebze. interpretivistul i kuTxiT danaxul i ganaTI ebis kvl eva orientirebul i unda iyos sxvadasxva mniSvnel obisa 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. funciona-l istebisgan gansxvavebiT, interpretivistebi ar unda iyvnen midrekil ebi swavl ebis Sefasebisaken, rac raime tipis cod-nis progressa da ganvitarebas gul isxmobs. marqsistebisgan gansxvavebiT, interpretivistebi ar unda amtkicebdnen, rom nebismieri tipis saganmanaTI ebl o aqtivobis axsna kl asSi arsebul i dominanti mimarTul ebebis gaTval iswinebiT unda

moxdes. faqtobrivad, interpretivisti unda Seaxsenebdes marqsistebsa da funqcional istebs, rom sakl aso cxovrebis maTeburi xedva mxol oddamxol od erT-erTia mraval WeSmarit interpretacias Soris, roml ebic swavl ebis social urpol itikur mimarTul ebebTan dakavSirebiT arsebobs.

rei makdermoti, interpretivisti eTnografi, romel ic sakl aso qcevas ikvl evs, l uis 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 ganixil avs, rogorc adgil s, sadac statusi da mniSvel obebi ganuwvyvetel 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 urrol s TamaSobs am gansazRvrul i wesebis fargl ebSi. xol o TamaSis wesebi ki ganisazRvrebaxvadasxva mxareebis interaqciis pirobebSi.

makdermotis mier gamoyenebul i midgomis Zal ian mkafio magal iTs warmoadgens dawyebiTi skol is yvel aze danal i donis mkiTxvel Ta jgufze miseul i dakvirveba. sawyis etapze nebismier damkvirvebel s xvdeba Tval Si dabal i donis mkiTxvel TaTvis tipuri aqtivobebi sakl aso oTaxSi; aforiaqebulli, dabneul i bavSvebi, roml ebic xmamaRal i kiTxviT cdi l oben Secdomebis dafarvas.. miuxedavad amisa, mkiTxvel Ta jgufis situaciis makdermotiseul anal izSi yuradReba gamaxvil ebul ia mkiTxvel i bavSvebis jgufisaTvis 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 dainaxa, rom bavSvebi araswori tipis aqtivobaSi iyvnen CarTul ebi. erTi SexedviT, bavSvebi sakmaod yuradRebiT ekidebodnen mocemul daval ebas, romel ic, mkvl evris dakvirvebiT, ufro metad warmoadgenda `TamaSs, romel sac Cven yovel Tvis vTamaSobT kiTxvis gakveTil is dros-, vidre `kiTxvis swavl as-.

`TamaSi- is jgufuri gamocdil ebaa, roml is drosac maswavl ebl isa da moswavl eebis qcevas orive mxare warmarTavs. jgufis muSaoba ki dafuZnebul ia aqtivobaze, roml is dro-

sac TiToeul i moswavl e xmamaRI a kiTxul obs teqstis monakveTs. rogorc ki erTi bavSvi waikiTxavs Tavis monakveTs, sxva bavSvebi xel s iweven, rom gaagrZel on xmamaRI a kiTxva Sewyvetil i adgil idan. maswavl ebel i ki erT-erTs asaxel ebs da isic agrZel ebs Semdegi monakveTis kiTxvas. Zal ian primitiul i iqneboda, davyrdnobodyT 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 ukan mkveTrad ixreba, meoreni ki Tavebs megobrebis mxrebs ukan mal aven, rom maswavl ebl is mzera airidon. yvel aze SemaSfoTebel i ki isaa, rom es srul iad mkafiod 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 Tavis xasiaTiT maswavl ebl is Tanmimdevrul i instruqciebidan absol uturad gamijnul ia. metic, am tipis kontrol s SeCveul ia j gufis yvel a wevri, bavSvebi erTmaneTis gavl enis qveS imyofebian da kargad pasuxoben erTmaneTis qcevas.

bavSvebis moZraobis amgvvari harmoniul oba ar aris miCvevis Sedegi. rodesac saerto qceva icvl eba sakl aso oTaxis romel ime nawil Si, bavSvebi da maswavl ebel i erTmaneTs uyureben, imisaTvis, rom gansazRvron, Tu rogori iqneba j gufis sapasuxo moqmedeba. am damokidebul ebis yvel aze kargi gansazRvrel ia, rom yvel a moTamaSe j gufis gamocdil ebasTan aris Sexmatkbil ebul i da imgvarad asrul eben sakuTarol ebs, rogorc es j gufis interaqciis fargl ebSia gansazRvruul i. ufro metic, dakvirvebis procesi winaswar arsebul mol odinebze Tu xdeba j gufSi (magal iTad, daskvnis gakeTeba, rom kiTxva yvel as mier gaziarebul i aqtivobaa), ar aris swori. dakvirveba unda amowmebdes daval ebas im momentisTvis, rodesac j gufi mas gansazRvravs.

konkretul i magal iTis saSual ebit am pozicia bevrad ufro mkafiod SeiZl 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 erTi bavSvi amTavrebs kiTxvas da sxva bavSvebi ki xel s iweven, rom gaagrZel on teqstis Semdegi monakveTi, roza Tval ebs wignidan ar swevs. misi sxel i kvl av wigniskena 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 ime bavSvi ukve mzadaa, rom gaagrZel os kiTxva da yvel a danarCeni ki ubrundeba wigns, roza gasworebul i zis da xel s iwevs. swored am momentze dakvirvebiT makdermoti akvirdeba im usityvo SeTanxmebas, 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 bavSvebisaTvis maswavl ebl is rozasadmi damokidebul eba ar warmoadgens gamowvevas. amasTan, arc rozas Tavmoyvareoba il axeba. Tumca, am garemos kidev erTi, damatebiTi Sedegia is, rom rozas arc Tu bevri SesaZl ebl oba aqvs, iswavl os kiTxva. miuxedavad imisa, rom Tu vinme rozas kiTxviT process Seafasebs, maSinve warmocindeba misi dabal i kompetenciebi, misi moqmedebebi araerTmniSvel 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 SesaZl ebl obebs an maswavl ebl is mikerZoebul damokidebul ebas abral eben. mkvl evris azriT, bevrad ufro produqtiul i damokidebul ebebis gamoyenebaa saWiro, raTa sakl aso oTaxSi mimdinare interaqtivis maxasiaTebul ebi gaxdes xil ul i. es ki, Tavis mxriv, saSual ebas izl eva interpretivitul i gaazreba moxdes im procesebisa, romel ic mimdinareobas. makdermotis azriT, maswavl ebl is an moswavl is cal saxad dadanaSaul ebis tendencia ganaTI ebis mkvl evrebis mier daSvebul i Secdomis gamo warmoiSoba. ganaTI ebis mkvl evrebi individebs sakuTari anal izis pirvel ad obieqtad ganxil aven da imTaviTve miaweren am individebs sxvadasxva Tvi-sebas, rogorebicaa kompetenturi - arakompetenturi. roza araCveul ebrivi magal iTi iqneboda im SemTxvevaSi, Tu mis Sefasebas standartul i kiTxvis teqstis safuZvel ze movaxdendiT. TumcaRa, interpretivisti mkvl evrebi miCneven, rom sakl aso oTaxi is sivrcea, sadac adamianebi erTad moqmedeben. rogorc makdermoti da hudi amtkiceben: `adamianebis moqmedebis anal izisaTvis swori obieqtia adamianebis moqme-

deba-. sxva sityebiT rom vTqvaT, eTnografisaTvis saintere-
soa is social uri wesebi, roml ebic individebis qcevas gan-
sazRvaven konkretul i j gufis garemocvaSi. makdermoti da
hudi aRniSnaven, rom `wesebi, roml ebic Cveni anal izidan
iReben saTaves, saukeTeso SemTxvevaSi is wesebia, roml ebic
adami anebi Tavad iyeneben erTmaneTis organizebisatvis."

makdermoti da sxva mkvl evrebi cdil obdnen, rom Sees-
wavl aT is strategiebi, roml ebsac bavSvebi sasircxvil o
mdgomareobidan Tavis daRwevis mizniT iyenebdnen. rozas
msgavsad, maT SeiZl eba aqtiuri monawil is rol i iTamaSon
da, amasTan, ramdenadac SesaZl ebel ia, minimumamde daiyvanon
arakompetenturobis gamovl inebis SesaZl ebl obebi. sxva
studentebi ki sakuTar araadekvatur moqmedebes kl asel eb-
Tan TanamSroml obiTi kavSirebis ganmtkicebiT cdil oben. am
SemTxvevaSi kl asel ebi praqtikul ad gadafaraven amgvari
moswavl eebis dabal kompetenciebs. kidev arsebobs iseTi
SemTxvevebi, rodesac moswavl eebi `aramkiTxvel is- statuss
sagul mkerde niSaniviT atareben, romel ic SesaZl ebel s xdis
maTs identificirebas j gufis sxva, aramkiTxvel wevrebTan
da aZl ierebs maswavl ebl is rwmenas maTTvis damaxasiaTebel
arakompetenturobasTan dakavSirebiT.

interpretivistTaTvis sakvl ev amocanas warmoadgens imis
garkveva, Tu ra xdeba konkretul social ur situaciaSi da
im mniSvnel obis aRmoCena, romel sac es konkretul i situa-
cia masSi monawil eebisTvis warmoadgens. interpretivisti ar
interesdeba, arian Tu ara erTni ufro Zl ierebi kiTxvaSi,
weraSi, maTematikaSi, vidre danarCenebi. ufro metad inter-
pretivistis 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 maxasiaTebel ebi. susti mkiTxvel ebis magal iTze,
udidese mniSvnel oba eniWeba maT arakompetenturobis gamov-
l inebas, romel ic ubiZgebs am bavSvebs Seisisxl xorcon Tav-
moyvareobis gadasarCeni sxvadasxva strategia. is saSual ebe-
bi, sadac ori mizani, kiTxvis swavl a da Tavmoyvareobis Se-
narCuneba erTad arsebobs, iZl eva SesaZl ebl obas, gani-
sazRvros 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. situa-
ciebi ki TavistavadiT ise yal ibdeba, rom erTi qceviTi ga-

movl ineba meoreze da mesameze ufro mkafiod aris gamox-
atul i. studentis kompetenturoba SeiZl eba sxvadasxva aqti-
vobaSi vl indebodes, magram arsebobbdes erTi, romel ic sko-
l is mier yvel aze mniSvnel ovnad aris miCneul i. swored am
mizezis gamo, makdermoti gvTavazobs, aucil ebl ad vipovoT
racional obis marcval i yvel a qceviT gamovl inebaSi.

am tipis gaazrebisaTvis aucil ebel ia, rom kargad ga-
varkvioT is mniSvnel obebi, roml ebic moTamaSeebis qcevas
Tavad moTamaSeebis mier eniWebi. zogierTi Tqvengani SeiZl e-
ba imis ZiebiT dakavdes, ramdenad l ogikuria makdermotis
kvl evebi. imdenad, ramdenadac arc maswavl ebel i da arc
moswavl eebisaTvis sakuTari moqmedebebis ganxil va aravis
mouTxovia, viRaca SeiZl eba gakvirvebul ic ki darCes mak-
dermotis mier mocemul i konkretul i magal iTebis WeSmari-
tebiT. da mainc, ZiriTadi aTvl is wertil ebi Zal ian mniSv-
nel ovnad rCeba. CvenTvis aucil ebel i vicodeT, Tu rogor
iazreben monawil eebi sakuTar monawil eobas iqamde, sanam
daviwyebT am monawil eobis aRweras ufro zogadad. imisgan
damoukidebl ad, gadavwyvetT Tu ara, vkiTxoT monawil es sa-
kuTari damokidebul ebis Sesaxeb, mainc gasaTval iswinebel ia
is rwmena, romel ic Cven gvkarxobs, Tu ramdenad SeuZl ia
monawil es sakuTari damokidebul ebis gadmocema da aqvs Tu
ara mas raime tipis mizezi, rom mxol od simarTi e gviTxras.
advil ad aris SesaZl ebel i, rom monawil isaTvis sakuTari
damokidebul ebis Sesaxeb azris gaziarebis Txovna, zogadad,
sakmaod sasargebl o praqtikaa. Tumca, amasTan, aramc da
aramc ar unda vifiqroT, rom ganmarteba an komunikaciis da-
myareba martivi misaRwevia. Semdeg TavSi ganvixil avT im
sirTul eebsa da kompl eqsurobas, roml ebic Sinaarsis komu-
nikaciasTan aris dakavSirebul i da aseve vil aparakebT im
faqtorebze, roml ebmac mcdari da araefturi komunikacia
SeiZl eba daamyaros. sanam win waval T, SesaZl ebel ia, rom
Tqven gagiCndaT survil i, ganvixil oT SemTxveva `miReba Tu
armiReba- Mainstreaming-is me-8 TavSi. es SemTxveva iZl eba saSu-
al ebas, marqsistul da funqcional isturTan erTad, inter-
pretivistul i Sexedul ebac ganvixil oT.

damatebi Ti informaci saTvis:

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es aris naTI ad da gasagebad daweril i swavl ebis aspeqtebis detal uri aRwera, roml ebic efeqturad SeiZI eba raodenobrivi kvlevis dros Semowmdes.

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

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

interpretivistul i kvlevis eba gvaCvenebs, Tu rogor ibrZvian moswavl eebi skol aSi muSa-kl asis oj axis wevrad sakuTari Tavis identificirebis winaaRmdeg. es brZola maTi mSobl ebis sazogadoebrivi garemosgan radikal urad gansxvavebul garemoSi mimdinareobs.

maiki ef. d iangi. gamocemaSi: codna da kontrol i: ganaTI ebis siciol ogiis axal i mimarTul ebebi. I ondoni. kol ier-makmil ani, 1971.

am gamocemis Semdgenl ebi funqcional isturi da pozitivisturi kvlevis dominantur rol s eWvqveS ayeneben da gamoiyeneben interpretivistul xedvas saskol o ganaTI ebis kvlevis saTvis.

Tavi 7

mni Svnel oba da Setyobi neba; saskol o ganaTI eba da social izacia

rogorc ukve vnaxeT, interpretivistebi da Tvisobrivi ganaTI ebis mkvl evrebi motivirebul ni arian, Seiswavl on individis mier sazogadoebrivi situaciis gaazreba da misi moqmedebebi am situaciaSi. skol a, iseve rogorc sakl aso oTaxi, maTi kvl ebebisaTvis anal izis konkretul erTeul s warmoadgenen. fil ip j eqsonis kl asikur aRweraSi `cxovreba sakl aso oTaxiSi~, igi procesebSi uSual od CarTul i adami nis xedvas mkafiod da naTI ad warmogvidgens skol is dawye biT kl asebsi mimdinare procesebis fonze. amasTan es dawye biT skol aSi mimdinare procesebi sxvadasxva kvl evisa da sazogadoebaSi gaziarebul i mosazrebebis perspeqtiv dan aris warmodgenil i. miuxedavad imisa, rom misi xedva nawi l obriv funqcional izmis safuZvl ebzea agebul i, rogorc ukve me-2 TavSi - `farul i saswavl o gegma~, igi Rmad swvde ba moswavl eebisa da maswavl ebl is gul isnadebsa da naa zrevs da gvexmareba, ukeT davinaxoT maTi moqmedebebi da maT mier saskol o ganaTI ebis aRqma.

j eqsonis msgavsad, fil ip kusimac 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 Tebl ebis, magal iTad social uri kl asis, asakis an ojaxuri cxovrebis kvl evis safuZvel ze. metic, igi amtkicebs, rom moswavl is kvl evisaTvis misi garemos srul ad Seswavl aa aucil ebel i. imisaTvis rom safuZvl ianad gaecno skol is garem o, mecnieri saSual o skol aSi mTel i 6 TviT `Caewera~, am ori mkvl evaris msgavsad, al an peSkinmac gamoikl ia, Tu ra rol s TamaSobs skol a Temis cxovrebaSi. mkvl evari monawil eobas iRebda 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 akninebs 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 damokidebul ebebi, roml ebic adami nebis qcevas warmarTavs garkveul social ur garemoSi. am damokidebul ebiT, is sakiTxebi, romel Ta interpretirebasac mkvl evari apirebs, ukve aris interpretirebul i Tavad monawil eTa mier. xol o is, ris interpretirebasac monawil eebi axdenen, monawil eTa SetyobinebebiTaa ukve gamoxatul ia. am Setyobinebebs monawil eebi agzavnian, iReben da ayal ibeben zustad im saxiT, romel ic mocemul i sazogadoebrivi konteqstisTvisaa Sesaferisi. imisaTvis, rom ukeT gavigoT, ra xdeba sakl aso oTaxebsa da skol ebSi, aucil ebel ia ukeT vicodeT, Tu rogor xdeba Setyobinebebis gagzavna da rogor intepretacias aZl even am Setyobinebebs adami nebi.

Setyobineba komunikaciis yvel aze martivi erTeul ia. Setyobinebebis seria ki erTmaneTTan SeiZl eba iyos dakavSirebul i da erTad qmnides teqstur mTl ianobas, rogoricaa romani, l eqcia an Teoria. Setyobineba, rogorc komunikaciis umartivesi erTeul i, warmoadgens erTgvar motors, roml is meSveobiTac azrebi erTi piridan meores gadaecema. miuxedavad amisa, Setyobineba gansxvavdeba azrisgan. ufro konkretul ad ki, erTi azris gadmocema gansxvavebul i SetyobinebebiT aris SesaZl ebel i. SesaZl ebel ia piriqitac; erTmaneTis sawinaaRmdego azrebi erTi, saerto SetyobinebiT SeiZl eba iyos gamoxatul i. magal iTad, azri: `me Sen miyvarxar~, SesaZl ebel ia, rom ramdenime gansxvavebul i meTodiT gagagebinot adresats. pirvel ia ubral o Setyobineba: `me Sen miyvarxar~. asevea SesaZl ebel i, rom igive azri fizikur SexebaSi, romel ic gansakuTrebul i formiT aris gamoxatul i, gadmoverceT. asevea SesaZl ebel i, siyvarul iT savse mzeriT gavagebinot adresats Cveni saTqmel i. meorea, rom Cven SegviZl ia yvel a zemoT aRniSnul i meTodi gamoviyenot da amave dros sul sxva azri Cavdot Setyobinebebsi. magal iTad, Tu Tqven speqtakl `romeo da jul ietaSi~ monawil eobT, Tqveni Setyobinebebi SeiZl eba niSnavdes: ai, amgvarad iqcevian Seyvarebul i adami nebi. sxva speqtakl Si ki, sityvebi `me Sen miyvarxar~ sarkazmiT savse toniT SeiZl eba warmotqvaT speqtakl is Sinaarsidan gamomdinare. Yyvel a zemoT aRweril i azri erTmaneTTan Zal ian mWidrodaa dakavSirebul i, Tumca, ar war-

moadgens erTgvar universal ur pakets. sxva sityvebiT rom vTqvaT, Setyobineba ar aris azri.

erT-erTi mizezi, romel ic Setyobinebis Sinaarsobrivi gansxvavebas ganapirobebs isaa, rom arsebobs minimum 3 tipis Sinaarsobrivi datvirTva, roml is gadmocema SetyobinebiT aris Sesazl ebel i. Setyobinebis srul i interpretireba ki saminve tipis Sinaarsobrivi datvirTvis kargad gaazrebasa da maTi erTmaneTTan SekavSirebis meqanizmebis gagebas moiTxovs. Setyobinebis pirvel i tipis Sinaarsobrivi datvirTvas pirobiTad propozicional uri Sinaarsi SeiZl eba ewodos. misi ZiriTadi funqciaa, rom cxovrebis sxvadasxva aspeqtibus Sesaxeb naTel i da mkafio debul ebebi Camooyal ibos. meore tipis Setyobinebebs ki kavSirebiTi Sinaarsis matarebel i Setyobinebebi SeiZl eba ewodos. misi funqciaa, xazi gauxvas im kavSirs, romel ic Setyobinebis gamSveb pirs aqvs Setyobinebis mimRebTan. mesame tipis Setyobinebas `damokidebul ebiTi Setyobineba- ewodeba, radgan is aCvenebs, Tu rogor aRiqmeba Setyobineba an ra tipis damokidebul eba SeiZl eba arsebobdes msgavsi Setyobinebis mimarT.

propozicional uri Sinaarsis Setyobineba gul isxmobs komunikaciis aspeqtibus, roml ebic informaciul i gzavnil is verbal ur gamoxatvasTanaa dakavSirebul i. Cveul ebriv, igi marTal , utyuar informacias moicavs. `wvims-. `j oni kargi studentia- , `yvel a sxel i erTi da imave siCqaris maCvenebel ze iwyebs vardnas- - es magal iTebia im debul ebebis, roml ebic gamoTqmul azrs simarTI ed aqceven. yvel a es debul eba konkretul i sakiTxis Sesaxeb, magal iTad, amindis an j onis gonebrivi Sesazl ebl obebis qcevis Sesaxeb informacias moicavs, amasTan, informaciis marTebul obis gadasamowmebl ad arsebobs avtoritetul i da sando meqanizmebi, roml ebic informaciis WeSmaritebis an piriqiT - sicruis gadamowmebis saSual ebas iZl eva. `Tu ar gj era, rom wvims, SegiZl ia gareT gaxvide da darwmunde- an `mibrZandi da Tavad naxe j onis niSnebi da yofaqceva-. Aam gziT aseve SegviZl ia personal uri da Rirebul i propozicional uri Sinaarsis gadacema. propozicional uri Setyobinebebia, magal iTad, `mowyenil i var- an `ra araCveul ebrivi ferweraa-. amgvari Setyobinebebis dros avtoritetul i gadamowmebis meqanizmebis moZieba arc Tu ise advil ia. miuxedavad am faqtisa, Cven, adamiანების umravl esoba, swored am tipis SetyobinebebiT vamyarebT komunikacias - vcvl iT Setyobinebebs erTmaneTTan.

axl a ki warmoidgineT debul eba, romel ic sasamarTI o darbazSi mosamarTI is mier aris warmOTqmul i: `sasamarTI os gadawyvetil ebiT, Tqven mogesaj aT 5 wel i sasj el aRsrul ebiT dawesebul ebaSi yofna da 1000 dol aris gadaxda jarimis saxiT-. da Tumca es Setyobineba sasj el sa da jarimasTan dakavSirebiT propozicional uria, igi moicavs informacias, romel ic gansxvavebul i tipisaa da romel ic mosamarTI is msj avrdebul is mimarT urTierTkavSirs mkafiod aCvenebs. kavSirebiTi Sinaarsi gamoxatavs im urTierTkavSirebiT poziciebs, roml ebic arsebobs Setyobinebis gamSvebsa da mimRebs Soris. Setyobinebis SeiZl eba aseve ayal ibebdes informacias, sadac garkveul wil ad mosaubresa da msmenel is pasuxismgebl obisa da ufl ebebis aspeqtibis Sesaxeb SeiZl eba visaubroT. andac xazi gavusvaT mol odinis aspeqts, romel ic erT mxares gaaCnia meoresTan mimarTebiT. am SetyobinebiT SeiZl eba aseve imaze msj el oba, aRiqvams mosaubre msmenel s Tanasworad Tu masze damokidebul , daqvemdebarebul an piriqit, masze zemdgom pirad miicnevs an miaCnia msmenel i Tavisi wris warmomadgenl ad Tu sxva jgufs miakuTvnebs mas. kavSirebiTi Sinaarsi metwil ad gamoxatul ia brZanebisa da dapirebebis gamomxatvel SetyobinebebSi, Tumca, amasTan, SeiZl eba arc Tu Zal ian mkafiod iyos gamokveTil i. gadawyvetil eba - saxel iT mimarTo adamians Tu gvariT urTierTobis dros, damokidebul ia imaze, Tu rogori tipis urTierTkavSiris gamomxatvel i Setyobinebis gagzavnaa marTebul i. DkavSirebiTi Setyobinebis mTavari maxasiaTebel ia imis aRiareba, rom Setyobinebis gamgzavnsa da mimRebs Soris garkveul i tipis kavSiri arsebobs, marTebul ia. magal iTad, erTi piris mier meore pirisaTvis brZanebis gacema aseve aRiarebul i kavSiris Tanmdevi procesia, sadac pirvel i, brZanebis gamcemi an ganaCenis gamomtani piri, ufl ebamosil 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 amgvar SemTxvevaSi is pirebi, roml ebic brZanebebs gascemen an ganaCeni gamoaqvT, ubral od propozicional uri Setyobinebebis gamoTqmis miRma, aseve axorcil eben social ur aqts. pirobis micema sityvebis saSual ebiT ganxorciel ebul i aqtivobaa. Ees sakuTar Tavze momaval Si raRacis gakeTebis val debul ebis aRebaa.

kavSirebiTi Sinaarsis gamoxatva uamravi sxvadasxva saSual ebiT xdeba. yvel aze xSiri saSual ebebi moicaven winapirobas, roml is mixedviTac mosaubre msmenel s eubneba, Turis gamoxatvas apirebs winadadebaSi. "me moviTxov-, `me vbrZaneb-, `me gTavazobT- - yvel a es fraza magal iTia, Turorog axdens mosaubre sakuTar Tavsa da msmenel s Soris urTierTkavSiris aRiarebas sityvebis warmoTqmis saSual ebiT. TumcaRa, kavSirebiTi Setyobinebebis komunikacia sxva saSual ebebiTac aris Sesazl ebel i: xmis toniT an Tundactansacml iT, romel ic uniformiT SeiZl eba iyos warmodgenili, asevea Sesazl ebel i urTierTkavSiris gadacema. Aaseve, saSual ebas warmoadgens garemo, romel sac mosaubre Setyobinebis gadmosacemad irCevs. sakl aso oTaxSi maswavl ebel i sxvadasxva tipis Setyobinebebs agzavnis, roml ebic misi avtoritetisa da ufl ebamosil ebis ganmtkicebisken aris mimarTuli.

damokidebul ebiTi Sinaarsis Setyobineba, praqtikul ad, imgvari Setyobinebaa, romel ic gansazRvavs, Turororia mol odini gamogzavnili Setyobinebis aRqmisa. igi warmoadgens emocias an damokidebul ebas, romel ic konkretul SetyobinebasTan marTebl ad asocirdeba. amgvari tipis Setyobinebebi Semdegnairi sityvebiT SeiZl eba iyos gadmocemuli: `ra sawyenia, ara, rom sal ome dRes avad gaxda!- TumcaRa, kavSirebiTi Setyobinebis msgavsad damokidebul ebiTi Setyobineba, aseve, iZl eva saSual ebas toniT, gamoxatvis maneriT, Jestikul aciiTa da garemoTi Camoyal ibdes. mosaubrisaTvis, romel ic speqtakl is gmiria da ambobs `me Sen miyvarxar-, mayurebl isaTvis gadasacemi Setyobinebaa, rom misi Setyobineba seriozul ad ar unda iqnes miRebuli, sityvebis gul wrfel ad warmoTqmis miuxedavad. moswavl is waxal iseba `mSvenieri namuSevaria, namdvil ad bevri giSromia!- ar niSnavs mxol od obieqturi simarTi is aRniSvnas da maswavl ebl is moswavl isadmi urTierTkavSiris damtkicebas, aramed sityvebis amocana grZnobisa da damokidebul ebis Setyobinebad gagzavnaa.

warmogidgeniAT, rogor Seicvl eboda Sinaarsi, Tqven, rogorc maswavl ebel s, igive sityvebi skol is direktorisatvis rom geTqvaT?

sanam win wavidodeT, modiT, erTi magal iTi ganvixil oT, romel ic gvaCvenebs, Turorog gansxvavebul ad xdeba procesebSi CarTuli, `insaiderisa- da procesebs miRma myofi

`auTsaderis- mier erTi da igive, kompl eqsuri Setyobinebis interpretireba. imis codna an mixvedra, Tu romel i TamaSi midis, erTi da igive qcevis gansxvavebul interpretacias iwvevs. erTi wuTiT warmoidgineT, saskol o garemo da moswavl eebis TamaSi, romel sac pirobiTad `l anZRva- SeiZl eba davarqvaT. maswavl ebel s esmis, Tu rogor l anZRavs erTmaneTs ori moswavl e. moswavl eebi swored im sal anZRav sityvas iye-neben, roml is gagonebazec yovel dRe, sakl aso oTaxSi Ses-vl is momentSi, Tavad maswavl ebel s saxeze sircxvil is al -muri edeba xol me. igi iwyebs moswavl eebis `damoZRvras- da bol os sj is maT im motiviT, rom sakl aso oTaxSi sityvieri Seuracxyofa unda Sewydes. sxva sityvebiT rom vTqvaT, maswavl ebel ma propozicional uri perspeqtividan Setyobineba pirdapir da cal saxad Seuracxyofad miicnia, kavSirebiTi Sinaarsis perspeqtividan dainaxa, rom erTmaneTis pirispir ori mteri dgas, xol o damokidebul ebiTi perspeqtividan ki -moswavl eebis l anZRva maT Soris Camoyal ibebul zizRad da SuRI ad miicnia. moswavl eebi, roml ebic, sadacaa, unda dai-saj on, maswavl ebel Tan midian da uxsnian mas, rom sinamdvi-l eSi isini erTmaneTs seriozul ad ar eCxubebodnen, aramed amgvarad erTobodnen. anu, sxva sityvebiT rom vTqvaT, pro-pozicional uri Sinaarsis perspeqtividan, moswavl eebma si-tyvebi, roml ebsac pirdapiri Sinaarsobrivi datvirTva ar hqondaT, sakuTari TamaSis wesad aqcies. kavSirebiTi Sinaar-sis perspeqtividan, es megobrobis maCvenebel i da megobrul i Sej ibris gamoxatul eba iyo. damokidebul ebiTi perspeqtivi-dan ki, moswavl eebis qceva urTerTpativiscemis ganmtkice-bas axdebd. pativiscemas imis gamo, rom maT SeZl es am sasa-cil o TamaSis damaj erebel i gul wrfel obiT bol omde miyva-na. ra unda gaakeTos am dros maswavl ebel ma? unda dasaj os moswavl eebi? ras warmoadgenda es TamaSi? iseTi uwyinari iyo, rogorc bavSvebi amtkiceben Tu piriqiT, Zal ian agre-siul da Seuferebel qcevas Seicavda, rogorc es maswavl e-bel ma Tavad aRiqva? rogor SeiZl eba davadginot, rom Cve-neul i interpretacia real urad arazustia?

xSiria SemTxvevebi, rodesac mesijs ZiriTadad misi for-ma 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 ram-denad forma da garemo damokidebul ebiT Sinaars gan-sazRvravs, da amavdoul ad kavSirebiT da propozicional ur

Sinaarsac atarebs. Aamgvar 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 propozicional uri Sinaarsis amgvar Setyobinebis, an maswavl ebl isa da mSobel s Soris arsebul urTierTobis dros xdeba. is aseve moicavs informacias imis Sesaxeb, Tu ra tipis damokidebul eba unda hqondes mSobel s imasTan dakavSirebiT, rasac mari kidev ar akeTebS. ufro metic, es Setyobineba amyarebs konkretul social ur normebs, roml ebic gansazRvraven, ris gakeTebaa mizanSewonil i pirovnebisTvis da ris ara. sxva sityvebiT rom vTqvaT, maswavl ebl is mier Camoyal ibebul i debul eba maris Sesaxeb, ar aris mxol od misi qcevis aRwera an mkafio gaki cxva imis gamo, rom bavSvis qceva ar aris mTI ad marTebul i. es Setyobineba aseve moicavs jansaRi, samagal iTo sazogadoebrivi azrovnebis garkveul i koncefciiS gamyarebas. sworedac, meris saqciel i negatiurad ganxil eboda im SemTxvevaSi, Tu sazogadoebaSi ukve damkvidrebul ia amgvარი saqciel isadmi amgvარი damokidebul eba da igi gaziarebul ia yvel as mier, rogorc asocial uri norma. am konkretul SemTxvevaSi, kominakia Sedga, imitom rom yvel a mxaris mier normebi kargad aris gagebul i da gaziarebul i. Sesabamisad, komunikaciac mSvidad, yovel gvარი gartul ebis gareSe mimdinareobs. Kkomunikaciis dros orive mxare iziarebs SetyobinebaSi asaxul normebs. TumcaRa, Tu am komunikaciis mowme sxva kul turis an subkul turis warmomadgenel i aRmoCndeboda, roml isTvisac azrebiS gazirebis amgvარი forma srul iad axal ia, cxadia, rom saubris mniSvnel ovani detal ebi misi yuradRebis miRma darCeboda. Tu normebi ar aris nacnobi msmenel isaTvis, maSin Sei qmneba erTgvარი uxerxul oba diskusiis sakiTxis garSemo. meore mxriv, Tu msmenel isaTvis social uri normebi kargad aris cnobil i da is ubral od ar eTanxmeba am normebs, maSin komunikaciis Sewyveta sxva saxiT moxdeba. msmenel i mosaubres TanmimdevrobiTi yuradRebiT ar mousmens. imis nacvl ad, rom man maris saqciel is SefasebaSi miiRos monawil eoba, msmenel i mosaubris Sefasebaze SeiZl eba gadaerTos. mosaubre SeiZl eba `mtrad an agresiuл pirovnebad- CaiTval os, romel ic `kerZo sakuTrebiS- winaaRmdegia. is damokidebul ebiTi CarCo, romel Sic konferencia mimdinareobda, praqtiku-

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

am TavSi Cven davinaxeT, rom Setyobinebebi sityvebs miRma ki dev sxva mniSvnel obasac aerTianebeben. Uufro konkretul ad ki, Setyobinebebi propozicional ur, kavSirebiT da damokidebul ebiT mniSvnel obas atareben. interpretivistis Sex-edul ebebis mixedviT, nebismieri Cvengani - individis Tu sazogadoebis doneze cxovrebis manZil ze, vswavl obT sakuTari interesebis gatarebas sxvadasxva social ur situaciaSi, sadac sabaziso codna da mniSvnel obebi gaziarebul ia sxvaTa mier. amasTan, Cven situaciis interpretirebas vaxdenT moqmedebasTan dakavSirebul i `wesebis- mixedviT (romel Sic Cven Tavad gvaqvs saSual eba vimoqmedoT) da ki devac viqceviT Cveni ganzraxvebisa da damokidebul ebebis Sesabamisad. am yvel afris gakeTebisaTvis ki aucil ebel ia, rom SegveZI os interpretireba. adamianis cxovrebis interpretireba enis warmoSobis dRidan daiwyo, Tumca bol o periodis ganmavl obaSi mecnierebi cdil oben, rom interpretireba `mecnierul ~ Wril Si ganixil on da am mecnierebas isini `hermenevtikas-uwodeben.

hermenevtika da interpretireba

Cven ukve dagvebada kiTxva social ur sferoSi natural ur-samecniero kanonzomierebis SemotanasTan da mis racional obasTan dakavSirebiT. me-20 saukuneSi social uri mecnierebis Tvisebebis da maxasiaTebl ebis hermenevtikul i Wril idan danaxvas mxars uWerdnen iseTi mecnierebi, rogor ebicaa uil iam dithi, hans-georg gadameri da pol rikoeri. hermenevtika mecnierebaa interpretirebis Sesaxeb. tradiciul ad, is srul yofil i, umaRI esi safexuris gaazrebas aRwers. Sesabamisad, bibl iis mkvl evrebi hermenevtikas iyeneben, rodesac romel ime wmindateqstis interpretirebaa mizani, xol o iuristebi ki mas romel ime konkretul i kanonis Si-naarsobrivi datvirTvis an aucil ebl obis asaxsnel ad da dasamtkicebl ad mimarTaven. Tumca, imave procesebTan gvaqvs saqme im SemTxvevaSic, Tu mozardi cdil obs, rom kargad gaiazros da im normebis Sesabamisad moiqces sakl aso oTaxSi, 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 konteqstSi unda aRviqvaT.

social uri cxovrebi `teqsti- Zal ian kompl eqsuri fenomenia. igi Sedgeba bevri nawil isgan, roml ebic, Tavis mxriv, sxvadasxva wesisa da normis erTobl iobas warmoadgens. es wesebi, Tavis mxriv, konkretul i social uri aqtivobebisTvis aris damaxasiaTebel i. is pirebi, roml ebic kvl evis hermenevtikur midgomas uWeren mxars, praqtikul ad Tavis Tavze iReben imgvar mecnierul gamowvevas, romel ic gul isx-mobs adamianebis 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 urTierTkavSiris kanonzomiereba da maTi kavSiri erTian sistemaSi. rogorc ukve vnaxeT, skol ac, rogorc erTiani social uri sistema aris Seswavl il i da gamokvl eul i interpretivist-mkvl evrebi mier da am procesSi studentebis, maswavl ebl ebis da administratorebis qceva wesebs daqvemdebarebul i marTvis fonze ganixil eba.

`kargi- interpretaciis probl ema mainc mniSvnel ovan sakiTxad 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 SeiZl eba hermenevtikisTvis misaRebi iyos. aseve unda gaviTval iswinoT, rom hermenevtika uaryofs erTaderTi interpretaciis arsebobas, Tumca aRiarebs, rom erTi interpretacia meoresa da mesameze ukeTesi SeiZl eba iyos. interpretacia hipoTezas hgavs, romel ic ayalibebs l ogikur winaswar gaTval as, Tu ra konkretul i cvl il ebebi SeiZl eba moxdes sagnis an movl enis gamocdis/testirebis SemTxvevaSi. interpretirebis `gamocda/testireba- sozagadoebrivi `teqstis- fargl ebSi, faqtebis gaTval iswinebiT xdeba. rac ufro meti da meti teqsti waikiTxeba, 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-
gl ebSi xdeba.

termini hermenevtikul i cikl i or process aerTianebs,
esenia, erTi mxriv, procesi, romel ic saSual ebas gvaZl evs,
gavigoT - gavaanal izoT mocemul i social uri konteqsti da,
meore mxriv ki, procesi, roml is drosac Cven erTi teqstis
ori an meti urTierTsawinaaRmdego interpretaciidan erT-
erTs virCeVT. procesTa erTobl ioba, romel sac hermenevti-
kul i cikl i ewodeba, xazs usvams im faqts, rom teqstis in-
terpretirebisas mxol od da mxol od teqstSi mocemul i in-
formacia 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 interpre-
tireba teqstSi mocemul i terminebisa da el ementebis ga-
moyenebiT movaxdinoT. magal iTad, Tu Tqven deteqtiur moT-
xrobas kiTxul obT, maSin aucil ebl ad teqstSi mocemul in-
formacias 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 wakiT-
xul i nawil is gaxsenebas daiwyebT an axal , mniSvel ovan in-
formacias amoikiTxavT deteqtivSi (amasobaSi ukve aRmoa-
Cent, rom mkvl el obis momentSi msaxurTuxuccess dasvenebis
dRe hqonda da sasaxl eSi saerTodac ar imyofeboda). Ses-
bamisad, Tqven mogiwevT uaryoT Tqveni winaswari varaudi
msaxurTuxucesis bral eul obasTan dakavSirebiT da sxva,
axal i varaudebis daSveba daiwyoT. mTavari isaa, rom kiTx-
vis procesSi Tqven ar aZl evT rCevebs wignis redaqtors an
gamomcemel s deteqtivis Sinaarsis Secvl asTan dakavSirebiT.
Tqven, ubral od, mihyvebiT mocemul teqsts da masSi aRwe-
ril ambavs. sxva sityvebiT rom vTqvaT, Tqven teqstis gark-
veul nawil ebs am teqstis saerTo CarCosa da mTel i teqstis
mniSvel obis mixedvit iazrebT. xol o teqsts mTI ianobaSi
misi Semadgenel i nawil ebis mniSvel obebisa da struqturis
gacnobierebis Sedegad igebT.

axl a ganvixil oT meore magal iTi. warmoidgineT mosa-
marTI e, romel ic cdil obs romel ime kanonis interpretire-
bas imisaTvis, rom es kanoni konkretul saqmes miusadagos.
interpretaciisaTvis mosamarTI es SeuZl ia mxol od am saq-
meSi arsebul faqtebs daeyrdnos, aseve, rel evanturi saka-
nonmdebl o normebis erTobl iobas 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, igi ver
miva kanonebis avtorebTan da ver mouwodebs maT, axal ka-
nonproeqtze ifiqron. kanonebis avtorebi am periodisTvis
SeiZl eba aRarc arian cocxl ebi da romc iyvnen, maT mosar-
marTI e verasodes daarwmunebda konkretul i gansaxil vel i
saqmis gansakuTrebul obaSi. Kimis gadasawyvetad, Tu romel i
kanoni miesadageba konkretul saqmes da romel i kanonebis
interpretireba da ganxil vaa aucil ebel i, mosamarTI e mxo-
l od sakanonmdebl o normebl erTobl iobas ganxil avs da
maT mimdinare moqmedebas da interpretacias Seiswavl is.
Tumca gaiTval iswineT, rom konkretul i kanoni da misi mo-
cemul i saqmisaTvis misadagebis gzebi sakanonmdebl o norme-
bis erTobl iobis nawil i xdeba. sakanondebl o normebl er-
Tobl ioba ki samarTI ebrivi tradiciebis Semadgenel i nawi-
l ia. sxva mosamarTI es, romel ic sxva saqmeze muSaobs, mog-
vianebl aucil ebl ad miuwdeba xel i zemoaRniSnul i saqmisa
da mis interpretaciaze, rodesac is ganaCenis gamotanis
formirebaze imuSavebs. sxva sityvebl, konkretul i kanoni
aucil ebl ad unda iqnes gagebul i sakanonmdebl o normebl
erTobl iobis fargl ebSi, romel ic samarTI ebl ivi tradi-
ciebis Semadgenel i nawil ia. mTI ianidan Semadgenel nawi-
l ebze gadanacvl eba da Semdeg isev erT mTI ianobasTan da-
bruneba hermenevtikul i cikl is ideas warmoadgens. es is
procesia, roml is ganxorciel ebis SemTxvevaSi, interpreti-
vistebS sjerat, rom `kargi- interpretacia da, imavdrou-
l ad, sensitiuri social uri mecnierebis ganvitareba SesaZ-
l ebel 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 Semadge-
nel wevrebS Soris urTierTkavSirebS mTI iani skol is kon-
teqstSi ganxil avdit. es ki ubral o, meqanikuri midgomebis
nacvl ad, dinamiur, interaqtiul midgomebS gul isxmobs, ro-
mel ic sakl aso oTaxSi mimdinare aqtiuri cxovrebis mra-
val mxrivi da srul fasovani gaazrebisken gvibiZgebda. ro-
gorc am Tavis dasawyisSive davinaxeT, j eqsoni da kusiki ga-
naTI ebis kvl evis amgvani midgomis inovatorebi aRmoCndnen.
axl a ki saskol o ganaTI ebis im aspekts mivubrundeT, rom-

I ebic funqional istebisa da marqsistebis mier aris aRweril i da ganvixil oT isini interpretivistul i perspeqtividan.

interpretacia da social izacia

interpretacia, Cveul ebriv, gul isxmobs erTi pirovnebis mier daweril teqstze muSaobas. TumcaRa bevri aqtivoba, romel ic interpretaciasTan asocirdeba, social izaciis process ukavSirdeba. saubedurod, social izacia sakmaod xSiradaa daxatul i, rogorc adaptaciis beWeddasmul i pasiuri procesi, sadac aqtiuri interpretivistul i el ementi ugul vebel yofil ia. social izaciisAamgvari suraTi sasko- l o ganaTl ebis Sesaxeb arsebul i funqional isturi l iteraturis upirvel esi maxasiaTebel ia. aseTive tendencias vxvdebiT marqsistul i l iteraturis zogierT magal iTzec. amgvar l iteraturaSi social izacia aRweril ia, rogorc jgufis axal i wevrebis mier Zvel i wevrebis Cvevebis, damokidebul ebebisa da rwmenebis gacnoba. social izaciis pasiuri formis sapirwoned, aucil ebel ia imis aRniSvna, rom kargad social izebul jgufSi aucil ebel ia damokidebul ebisa da rwmenis gacvl a jgufis yvel a wevrs Soris. amasTan, am procesSi uamravi qceviTi variacia SeiZl eba arsebobdes ukve kargad social izebul wevrebs Sorisac ki. Gaq gaziarebul ia codna-gaazrebis sistema, romel ic uzrunvel yofs komunikaciasa da pirovnebebs Soris urTierTgagebis Camoyal ibebas da qmnis erTgvar safuZvel s gaziarebul i Sexedul ebebis gamosaxatavad.

cota xniT davubrundeT CvenTvis nacnob social uri mecnierebis mkvl evris magal iTs, romel ic amerikul beisbol s Seiswavl ida. am SemTxvevaSi Cveni mizania, amovicnoT, Tu ras warmoadgens interpretivistis perspeqtividan danaxul i social izacia.

warmovidginoT, rom Cveni social uri mecnierebis mkvl evari yvel a Tavgadasavl is Semdeg gadawyvets, rom kidev darces amerikaSi da kargad Seiswavl os yvel aferi, rac amerikul beisbol s ukavSirdeba. warmoidgineT, rom am SemTxvevaSi, is warmatebul ad gaarTmevs Tav dasaxul amocanas. sxva sityvebiT, is ecnoba yvel a koncefcias da Tavisebure-

bas, rac beisbol is TamaSTanaa dakavSirebul i. is swavl obs im specifikur l eqsikas, romel ic aucil ebel ia TamaSis l 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 SegiZl iaT ganavrcoT es magal iTi da kiTxvis moment-Sive warmoidginoT anal ogiuri situacia moswavl estan mimarTebiT, romel ic axal skol aSi gadavida da `swavl obs-axal i skol is sistemas).

rasakvirvel ia, arasworia imis mtkiceba, rom Cveni mkvl evarma Tavisi axal i codnis wyal obiT, srul i socializacia moaxdina beisbol is samyarosi. Tumca, codna-gaazrebis gaziarebul i sistema umniSvnel ovanes rol s TamaSobs social izaciisaTvis, is mxol od procesis nawil ia. axl a warmoidgineT, rom Cveni mkvl evris gamocdil eba beisbol Tan mimarTebiT miukerZoebel i social uri mecnierebis 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 - Sematkivrobs erT konkretul gunds, akritikebs menejers cudi transferis ganxorciel ebisaTvis da kamaTobs gundis sxva gul SematkivreTan ama Tu im gadawyvetil ebis samarti ianobis Sesaxeb. 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 SeuZl ia gamoiyenos is l eqsika, romel ic `sabeisbol o saubrebs-axasiaTebis. mas SeuZl ia sxvebTan Tanaswori komunikacia da sakuTari sabeisbol o interpretaciis ganvitareba. misi survil ebisa da mimarTul ebis sistema TanxvedraSia beisbol is TamaSSi monawil eobisTvis aucil ebel kriteriუმebTan. 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 inicirebis aucil ebel pirobas warmoadgens. am sistemis ganvitareba ki Zal ian hgavs interpretaciis warmarTvisaTvis aucil ebel aqtivobebis. interpretaciisken mi-

marTul i aqtivobebi aseve moicavs Sesabamisi wesebis, konceptual uri Taviseburebebis, uerTierTkavSirebis da am konteqstSi mosaubrisa da msmenel is rol is daswavl as. garda amisa, interpretaciis aqtivobebi moiTxovs imis codnas, Tu ras yvel a niSnavs zemoTCamoTvl il i koncefcia adami anebisTvis sakuTari mimarTul ebebisa da saqmianobis struqturirebisTvis, romel ic konkretul wesebze dafuZnebul ia, radgan real urad individi sakuTar survil ebsa da saqmianobas swored am wesebis fargl ebSi ayal ibebs. wesebis miuxedavad, aucil ebel ia Tavisufl ebis el ementis Sesaxeb saubaric, romel ic am procesebis nawil ia. yvel a rod is xdeba beisbol is fani, vinc mis wesebs gaicnobs. sul ac araa aucil ebel i, rom yvel a, vinc codna-gaazrebis sistemas iziarebs, aqtiurad iyos CarTul i mis gamoyenebaSi. funqcional 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, kavSirebiTi da damokidebul ebiTi Setyobinebebis gacvl a moswavl eebis, maswavl ebel sa da moswavl eebis da moswavl eebis Soris mimdinareobs. Tqven iciT, ras da rogor akeTebT, am codnas ki bevr, mimdinare aqtivobaSi Tqveni aqtiuri monawil eoba ganapirobebs. Tqven Tavad irCevT, mi iRoT 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, sabunebismetyvel o mecniereba), rom ukeT SeZl ebT gaigoT, ganmartoT da CaertoT im sivrceSi, sadac Tqven sxvebTan erTad imyofebiT. bol os da bol os, sxva Tu arferi, am faqts Tqven maswavl ebl isgan SeityobT. amasTan, Tqven acnobierebT yvel a im Setyobinebas, romel ic igzavneba da mi iReba am sivrceSi da monawil eobas iRebT im social ur aqtivobaSi, rasac Cven saskol o ganaTl ebas vuwodebT. amasTan, monawil eoba metad Tu nakl ebad moqmedebis Tavisufl ebaze, anonimurobasa da social uri individual obis principzea dafuZnebul i. I in korno Cven mier STambeWdavad aRwe-

ril i situaciis praqtikul Rirebul ebaze saubrobs da mis anal izard gvTavazobs:

sakl aso oTaxis wigniirebis (cnobierebis) konkretul i gansazRvrebza Semdegnairad SeiZl eba Camovayal iboT: Cven aq movdivarT, raTa gavigoT da gaviazroT sakl aso oTaxis sazogadod aRiarebul i struqtura da funqcia, romel ic gvWirdeba Cveni codnis produqtiul i gamoyenebisatvis im social ur da akademiur garemosi, romel sac Tavad sakl aso oTaxi gansazRvravs. didia imisi al baToba, rom studentebi, roml ebsac sakl aso oTaxis cnobiereba gaaCniat, aseve wignierni arian sakuTari Tavis amocnobaSi - rogorc moswavl is, rogorc axal i codnis mimRebis rol Si, aseve social ur yofaSi. amgvvari moswavl eebi, didi al baTobiT, bevrad adekvaturad umkl avdebian im social ur da akademiur siZnel eebza da winaRobebs, roml ebic Cveul ebrivi movl enaa sakl aso oTaxSi. Tu moswavl e adreul saskol o etapzeve eziareba sakl aso oTaxis wigniirebas, sworad mimarTul i daxmarebis wyal obiT, mas meti Sansi aqvs, rom efeqturad gamoiyenos miRebul i informacia ukve sabavSvo baRamde/skol amdel i ganaTl ebis safexuridan dawyebiTi saskol o ganaTl ebisa an ufro maRal safexurze gadasvl is periodSive. es moswavl eebi metad midrekil ni arian, rom Secval on sakl aso oTaxis sakuTari gamocdil ebis is aspektebi, romel Ta Secvl ac SesaZl ebel ia, an gaumkl avdnen imgvar gamocdil ebas, roml is Secvl ac araa SesaZl ebel i. sabol oo j amSi amgvvari moswavl eebi sakuTar saskol o gamocdil ebas sxva Tval iT xedaven. riCard de Carmsi sakuTar mosazrebas Semdegnairad ayal ibebs: imis rwmena, rom adamiანი sakuTari cxovrebis mimdinareobis sawyisi wertil ia da ara sxvis TamaSSi monawil e `paiki-, uzarmazar Zal as iZl eva.

zemoT warmodgenili mosazreba interpretivistis mier skol isa da sazogadoebis urTierTkavSiris xedvas warmoadgens. es araa konfliqti da l egitimacia, arc funqciuri social 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 damoukidebel i faqtoris Sesaxeb kul turul - saganmanaTl ebl o konteqstSi, gaecaniT diskusias `sazogadobriv i formireba da Tavisufl eba-, romel ic me-8 TavSia mocemul i.

interpretacia, social izacia da legitimacia

interpretivistul i perspektivis gaazrebis kidev erT, gansxvavebul saSual ebas warmoadgens marqsistul i da funqcional isturi poziciebis sakvanZo sakiTxebze srul iad gansxvavebul i Sexedul ebebis interpretireba, axsna da xaz-gasma. imis warmosaCenad, Tu rogor mkafiod gvexmareba interpretivizmi marqsistul da funqcional istur xedvebs Soris arsebul i konfliqtis xasiaTs, saWiroa gavixsenoT interpretivistul analizTan dakavSirebul i ori mniSvnelovani elementis: pirveli elementis danaxva Sesazl ebel ia social ur Wril Si da moicavs im mniSvnelobebs, wesebsa da normebs, roml ebic am sazogadoebas ayal ibebs. meore komponentis danaxva ki individual ur doneze xdeba da moiazrebs process, sadac pirovnebis survil ebisa da midrekil ebebis erTgvari struqturireba xdeba sazogadoebis Seswavl is saSual ebiT.

funqcional istebi saskolo process ganxilaven rogorc sazogadoebis neutral ur instruments social izacii-saTvis. amastan, social izacii procesi xasiaTdeba imgvari mosazrebebis da qcevebis erTobl iobiT, roml ebsac industrial uri samyaros moTxovnebi ayal ibeben. es moTxovnebi gansakuTrebul ad aris individual uri survil ebisa da midrekil ebebis struqturirebaze fokusirebul i. amgvari midgomiT ki, funqcional istebis analizi eyrdnoba mosazrebas, rom industrial uri sazogadoeba ucil obli v- moitxovs skol ebisagan gadaibaron social izacii funqcia oj axebisagan da am gziT miscen saSual eba individebs, gaxdnen farTo sajarosferosa da masobrivi sazogadoebis wevrebi. maTi azrit, industrial izacia da teqnol ogiuri ganvitareba Seuqcevadi procesebia, roml ebic Tavad ayal ibeben sakuTar wesebs ganvitarebisatvis; skol as ki, individebis survil ebisa da midrekil ebebis struqturirebis funqcia eniweba im unarebis da xasiaTebis gatval iswinebit, roml ebic TiToeul individs swirdeba teqnol ogiurad mzard samyaroSi efeqturad integrirebisa da moRvaweobisatvis. radgan teqnol ogiuri zrda ganvitarebis gardauval i procesia, funqcional isturi literaturis amosaval wertils warmoadgnes midgoma, romelic xazs usvams individis survil ebisa da mi-

drekil ebebis restruqturizaciis aucil ebl obas. restruqturizaciis 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 l egitimaciaSi, yuradRebas amaxvil eben ganaTI ebis procesis sxva aspeqtebze. es aspeqtebi ki efuZneba Tanamedrove sazogadoebrivi real obis interpretaciebSi arsebul gansxvavebs. maTi yuradReba mimarTul ia sakl aso urTierTdamokidebul 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 doebis da, imavdroul ad, zRudavs sxvaTa SesaZl ebl obebs 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 Sencirebul ia da SesaZl ebl obebi ki SezRudul i...

marqsistebis aRiarebul i l egitimizaciis koncefcia, iseve faravs propozicional istur sawyisebs, rogorc funqcional istebis mier aRiarebul i social izaciis koncefcia. orive mimarTul eba eyrdnoba social izaciis koncefcias, roml is fargl ebSi moswavl e swavl obs im Rirebul ebebisa da qceviTi maxasiaTebl ebis mimReobas, romel ic aucil ebel ia Tanamedrove sazogadoebaSi cxovrevisaTvis. miuxedavad imisa, rom orive mimarTul ebis koncefciebis propozicional ur SinaarsSi bevri msgavsebaa, Zl ierad gansxvaveba maTi damokidebul ebiTi arsi. funqcional istebis mier saskol o `social izacia- ganixil eba aucil ebl ad Tanamedrove teqnol ogiur sazogadoebaSi moswavl is gazrdisa da ganvitarebisaTvis. es mimarTul eba individual ur bavSvzea fokusirebul i. marqsistebisaTvis ki, `l egitimacia- cal saxad mniSvnel ovani mxol od imitomaa, rom igi warmoadgens wyaros kl asSi arsebul i Zal aufl ebis uzrunvel sayofad da SesanarCunebl ad. es mimarTul eba ara individual ur bavSvs iRebs asaTvl el wertil ad, aramed mmarTvel el itas da im struqturabs, roml ebic maT mfarvel oben. Sesabamisad, Tu funqcional istebi teqnol ogias ganixil aven rogorc sike-

Tis momtan manqanas, romel ic individebis Sesazl ebl obebis Seqmnas emsaxureba, marqszmi kl asSi arsebul Zal aufl ebas borot social ur Zal ad miicnevs, romel zec individs Zal ian mcire an araviTari kontrol i ar gaaCnia da romel ic uTanasworobis generirebasa da Sesazl ebl obebis Semcirebas emsaxureba. sxva sityvebiT rom vTqvaT, TiToeul i mimarTul eba yuradRebas amaxvil ebs social uri sferos interpretivistul i xedvisa da misi amosaval i wertil is gansxvavebul el ementebze.

rogorc ukve arvniSneT, funqcional 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, sworedac rom metad teqnukur sazogadoebaSi. amgvარი ganxil vis dros funqcional istebs Zal ian mcire eWvi aqvT imasTan dakavSirebiT, rom bavSvebi swavl oben, Tu rogor moergon im wesebs, roml ebic real urad marTaven social ur da ekonomikur cxovrebas. aswavl eT bavSvs rom `yuradRebis Rirsia ara is, visac Sen icnob, aramed is, rasac Sen icnob- da didi al baTobiT, Tqven am bavSvs aswavl iT Tanamedrove social uri cxovrebis fundamentur princips. marqsisdebisaTvis yvel aferi bevrad gansxvavebul ia. maTi l egitimizaciis koncefciis miRma arsebobs ZiriTadi idea, romel ic gul isxmobs bavSvisaTvis sistematiur swavl ebas imisaTvis, rom man TamaSis wesebi arasworad gaiazros. diax, swored aseal marqsisdebis mixedviT, sistema mxol od im SemTxvevaSi imuSavebs, Tu tyuil i sarwmuno xdeba da skol is ganvitarebisaTvis upirvel esi funqcia ki arsebul i sistemis SenarCunebaa. isini sistematurad axdenen wesebis arasworad, damaxinj ebul ad warmoadgens imisaTvis, uTanasworobisa da Zal aufl ebis uzrunvel yofa da SenarCuneba SeZl on. Tu adamianebi real ur wesebs gaacnobirebdnen, maSin TamaSis xasiaTi unda Secvl il iyo. funqcional istebs sj eraT, rom bavSvebi TamaSis real ur wesebs swavl oben, maSin rodesac marqsisdebi marqsisdebi darwmunebul ebi arian, rom bavSvebs sakuTari survil ebisa da midrekil ebebis struqturirebas aswavl ian TamaSis wesebis Sesabamisad. am dros ki sxva, real urad sul sxva TamaSi mimdinareobs. marqsisdebis aseve sj eraT, rom real uri TamaSis xangrZl ivoba damokidebul ia imaze, Tu ramdeni xani darCebian adamianebi 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 de-
mokratiul i sazogadoebis TamaSSi?

isev da isev, Cven TiTqosda mogveTxoveba aRmoVaCinoT
TamaSis wesebis swori xedva. Tumca, amgvari aRmoCenebis ke-
Tebis nacvl ad, interpretivists sxvagarad SeuZl ia
moiqcēs. es qceva ki gul isxmobs demokratiul i sazogadoe-
bis ZiriTadi wesebis axsnis, gagebis, ganmartebis mcdel obas.
es aseve gul isxmobs im azris argumentirebas rom demokra-
tiul i sazogadoebis ZiriTadi wesebi srul iad gacnobiere-
bul ad da nebayofl obiT unda miwodebodes momaval moqa-
l aqeta yovel axal Taobas. Liberal uri politikis Teore-
tikosi - ami gutmani gvTavazobs demokratiul i ganaTI ebi-
saTvis 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 Tavi-
sufl ebisa da Rirsebis Sesatyvis Rirebul ebebs, kargi cxo-
vrebis maCvenebl ebs, moral urobis damaxasiaTebel el emen-
tebs - TumcaRa, miuxedavad amisa, Cven viziarebT saerto
val debul ebebs, kol eqtiurad gardavqmnaT es Ria sazoga-
doeba-. igi dabebiTebiT gvarwmunebs, rom srul iad Segne-
bul ad unda ganvavitaroT cxovrebis imgvari demokratiul i
forma, romel Sic ufl ebamosil ebi varT, ar daveTanxmoT da
romel ic Sedgeba swored imgvari Rirsebis, principebis, da-
moki debul ebebisa da Rirebul ebebisagan, rogor ebicaa Tavi-
sufl eba, tol erantoba, mizanSewonil oba, samarTal i, Tanas-
woroba, Riaoba, aradiskriminacia da ararepresiul oba. so-
cial uri ganvitarebis miseul i xedva ar hgavs funcional is-
tebis gansazRvrul , wanaswari receptiT gamoweril socia-
lizacias da arc marqsis tebis martul , qvecnobier l egiti-
mizacias; igi mogviwodebs gaazrebul da ganzraxul i mcdel
l obebisaken, SevqmnaT da ganvavitaroT imgvari sazogadoeba,
rogor sic gvinda, rom vicxovroT. rasakvirvel ia, Cven ada-
mianebi varT da ar varT dazRveul ni marcxisgan miznis miR-
wevis gzaze. interpretivizmSi fundamenturi determinizmi
ar arsebobs.

interpretivistul i midgomebis sawinaaRmdego argumentebi

miixedavad imisa, rom interpretivistul i mosazrebebis dasabuTeba Sesazl ebel ia garkveul i sakiTxebis gaanal izebisas ara umartivesi, aramed ufro Rma midgomebiT da es mosazrebebi izl evian saSual ebas, ganvixil oT isini social uri da saganmanaTI ebl o cxovrebis ufro adekvatur saSual ebad, axal i, sawinaaRmdgego Sexedul ebebi interpretivizmTan dakavSirebiT mainc warmoiSoba. real urad interpretivizmi wingadadgmul nabij ad SeiZl eba miviCni oT, rode sac vaanal izebT, ra aris ugul vebel yofil i meqanikur da deterministul model ebSi, roml ebic garkveul formebiTaa mocemul i funqcional izmsa da marqsizmSi. interpretivizmi izl eva ganmartebes, sadac pirovnul mizezs da kul turul wesebs central uri mniSvenl oba eniWebiT. amgvare mosazreba ki, ewinaaRmdegeba social uri cxovrebis erTxazovan, kauzal ur axsnas. imis nacvl ad, rom universal uri kanonebi veZioT, roml ebic, funqcional istTa da marqsistTa azrit, sazogadoebis yvel a formas Seesatyiseba, interpretivizmi xazs usvams qcevis martvis mniSvel obas wesebis mixedvit, pirovnul i avtonomiis xarisxs, da konkretul i, l okal uri situaciebis unikal uobas. da im aucil ebl obis sapirwoned, romel ic interpretaciebis WeSmaritebis dasadgenad mis `obieqtur- sazogadoebasTan dapirispirebas moitxovs, interpretivistul i midgoma gansakuTrebul mniSvel obas aniWebs interpretaciebis Semecnebas da mis val idurobas, romel ic swored am interpretaciebis konteqstual ur fargl ebSia warmodgenil i. saganmanaTI ebl o kvl ebebSi `Tvisobrivi raodenobrivi sawinaaRmdegod- midgoma sarkiseburad asaxavs im gansxvavebebs, roml ebzec axl axan vil aparakeT.

arsebobs interpretivizmis, rogorc gaazrebis saukeTeso model is sawinaaRmdego mraval i mosazreba. Sesabamisad, Cven mxol od zogierT maTgans ganvixil avT. Afaqti isaa, rom arc funqcional istebi da arc orTodoqs-marqsistebi ar daiwyebdnen interpretivistul i mosazrebis mimarT kritikul i damokidebul ebis gamoxatvas garda im SemTxvevisa, Tu dauSvebl ad miicneoda social uri wesebis, normebisa da interpretaciebis ufro principul ad kauzal uri meqanizmebiT gaanal izeba. funqcional istebi amgvare meqanizmebis konkre-

tul i sazogadoebis ganvitarebis xarixstan identificirebas Seecdenobdnen. marqsisitebi sakuTar ganmartebes aucil ebl ad axsenebdnen im urTierTkavSirebs, roml ebic sxvadasxva kl asebs Soris arsebobs maT mier miRweul i Sedegebis, produqtiul obis kuTxiT.

maSinac ki, Tu funqcional itebis da marqsisitebi aucil ebl ad miCnevden mxedvel obaSi mieRoT konkretul jgufis mier sakuTari sazogadoebis xedva, isini arasodes daeTanxmebdnen mosazrebas, rom es social uri mecnierebis upirvel esi funqciaa. Cven unda vcdil obdeT Tavidan avicil oT social ur aqtorebisaTvis arakompetenturobis kl iSes mikereba. am xedvis sapirspirod, funqcional itebic da marqsisitebic msgavsi tipis kl iSeebis arsebobs Zal ian mniSvel ovan komponentad miCnevden. funqcional itebisaTvis arakompetenturobis amgvari kategoriebi saWiroa imisaTvis, rom ganmarton da axsna mouZebnon sxvadasxva social ur pozicias, roml ebsac moswavl eebi skol is damTavrebis Semdeg ikaveben sazogadoebaSi. marqsisitebs msgavsi kategoriebi araswori cnobierebisa da azrovnebis axsnisa da identificirebisaTvis swirdebaT. miuxedavad imisa, rom orive mimarTul ebis mxardamWerni SeiZl eba daeTanxmOT interpretivistul xedvas, rom namdvil ad arsebobs social uri aqtorebis mier ganvitarebul i konkretul i interpretaciis gaazrebis aucil ebl oba, isini aucil ebl ad gausvamen xazs im aucil ebl obasac, rac interpretaciis specifikur, daxvewil, kargad SemuSavebul i procedurebis arsebobsTanaa dakavSirebul i. amgvari specifikuri procedurebi maT am interpretaciebis adekvaturobisa da val idurobis dasamtkicebl ad swirdebaT. funqcional itebis araadekvaturad CaTvl idnen nebismier interpretacias, romel ic, maTi azriT, partikul aristul i normebisadmi sazogadebis val debul ebis grZnobi-dan iqneboda gamomdinare. marqsisitebi eWviT ganimswval ebodnen nebismieri interpretaciisadmi, romel ic erTi kl asis mier meoreze Zal aufl ebis ganxorciel ebis konteqstSi iqneboda Camoyal ibebul i.

da bol os, orive, funqcional itebic da marqsisitebic gaakritikebdnen interpretivistul xedvas Tundac imitom, rom isini am xedvas aRiqvamen, rogorc araTanmimdevrul i rel ativizmis nimuSs. interpretivizmis xedvaSi sakvanZo mniSvel oba eniWeba nebismieri perspeqtivis axsnasa da gaa-nal izebas miSTvis damaxasiaTebel konteqstsa da fargl ebSi.

es ki imas niSnavs, rom Cven unda vecadoT Tavidan avicil oT daskvnebis gakeTebis Cveneul i standartebis Semotana da ganvixil oT sagnebi da movl enebi im individebis Tval iT, romel Ta kvl evasa da Seswavl asac vapirebT. amgvari xedva ki, praqtikul ad, aRiarebs, rom yvel a perspeqtiva Tanabrad mniSvnel ovania da Cveni mxridan swori moqmedeba mxol od TiToeul i maTganis gageba-gaazrebasa da mimReobas gul isx-mobs. im SemTxvevaSi ki, Tu kidev Cndeba kiTxva sxvadasxva Teoriul i xedvebis adekvaturobis Sesaxeb, Zal ian saelWvoa, rom interpretivistul i mosazrebebis mxardamWerni funqcion- al istur da marqsisTul gaazrebis formebs ufro metad sarwmunod miCnevden. Sesabamisad, interpretivistul xed- vas 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, nebismier mosazrebebze upiratesia. da cxadze cxadia, rom es upiratesi xedva interpretivistul ia.

ra devs sasworze?

cxadia, srul iad l ogikurad Tqven gagiCndebaT kiTxva, `ras vdebT sasworze, Tu am midgomebidan romel imes vir- CevT?-. am kiTxvis dasmisa Cven im pirobebs viTval iswinebT, rom TiToeul i es midgoma skol is aRqmis gansxvavebul pers- peqtivebs gvTavazobs. TiToeul i midgoma sxvadasxvagvarad xedavs skol is funqcias sazogadoebaSi da Tqveni, rogorc maswavl ebl is rol s ganaTl ebis procesSi. es kiTxva bevrad aris damokidebul i imaze, Tu rogor aRiqvamT Tqven Tavad Tqvens rol s. Tu Tqven CaTvl iT, rom Tqveni, rogorc mas- wavl ebl is rol i Semoifargl eba imis keTebiT, rac daga- val es, maSin gadamwyveti mniSvnel oba aRarc eniWebi, romel midgomas avirCevT. magram im SemTxvevaSi, Tu Tqven gjerat, rom Tqveni, rogorc demokratiul i sazogadoebis wevris, mo- gal aqis pasuxismgebl obis nawil s warmoadgens, monawil eoba miRoT ganaTl ebis miznebis gansazRvraSi da amastan gje- rat, rom Tqveni, rogorc maswavl ebl is rol ia im faseul o- bebisa da saSual ebebis saganmanaTl ebl o procesebSi asaxva, roml ebic am miznebis misaRwevadaa aucil ebel i, maSin es Teoriebi did gavl enas axdens Tqven mier saskol o ganaTl e-

bis warmatebebisa da marcxis gansazRvraSi. es imasac niS-
navs, rom Tqven iswrafviT warmatebebis miRwevisaken.

ganvixil oT federal uri mTavrobis ganaTI ebis racional izaciis bol odroindel i mcdel obebi; istoriul ad sa-
jaro ganaTI ebis kontrol i da dafinanseba metwil ad saxel mwifosa da adgil obrivi sazogadoebis funqcias warmoadgens. miuxedavad amisa, meoce saukunis meore naxevidan ganaTI ebisadmi federal uri interesi nel -nel a izrdeboda. es interesi gansakuTrebiT sagrZnobi da Tval saCino ucxour ekonomikaTan konkurenciis pirobebSia. adreul 1980-ian wl ebSi, prezident reiganis ganaTI ebis samdivnom skol ebi daadanaSaul a ekonomikis dasustebsi. sakuTar ganxadebsi, samdivno eyrdnoboda mosazrebas, rom skol ebma ver SeZl es adekvaturad momzadebul i muSakebis, SromiTi bazris uzrunvel yofa. angarSi, roml is saxel wodeba iyo `nacia riskis winaSe~, mouwodebda mkacri akademiuri standartebis SemoRebas, imisaTvis, rom Sesazl ebel i yofil iyo ucxoetidani momaval i ekonomikuri gamowvebebis gamkl aveba. ocdameerte saukunidan moyol ebul i, amerikis saskol o ganaTI eba imarTeba axal i da forsirebul i politikis saSual ebiT, roml ebic skol ebs aval debul ebs, daakmayofil on konkretul i kriteriუმები, roml ebsac standartizebul i testebi ayalibebs. am politikis gatarebis erT-erTi Tval saCino magal iTia 2002 wel s gatarebul i `arc erTi bavSvi aqtivobis miRma- politikas, romel ic ajil dovebda an sjida skol ebs moswavl eebis Sedegebidan gamomdinare, swored amgvarad standartizebul testebsi. viRac SeiZl eba daeTanxmos an ar daeTanxmos amgvar federal ur politikas, zemoT arweril i sami Teoriidan TiToeul is xedvebidan gamomdinare. metic, Cven gvj era, rom TiToeul i am Teoriidan gavl enas axdens xedvaze, misaRebia Tu ara amgvari politika.

funqcional istebis nawili, magal iTad, SeiZl eba daeTanxmos amgvar tests dafuznebul i ganaTI ebis damkvidrebas. maTi argumenti am SemTxvevasi emyareba mWidro urTierTkavSiris arsebobas moswavl is moswrebasa da saxel mwifos unars Soris, iyos ekonomikurad konkurentunariani sxva saxel mwifoebTan SedarebiT. funqcional izmis sxva mimdevrebi ki, piriqit, SeiZl eba am politikis mowinaaRmdegeebi armoCndnen da sakuTari argumenti 1990-ian wl ebSi mimdinare iaponiis ekonomikis stagnaciisa da amerikis SeerTebul i Statebis ekonomikis gaZl ierebis procesebis dapirispirebas

daafuZnon. isini xazs gausvamen im faqts, rom miuxedavad ekonomikur procesebSi Tval saCino cvl il ebebisa, am periodis ganmavl obaSi moswavl eebis Sedegebi strandartizebul testebSi gansakuTrebul ad ar Secvl il a arc erT da arc meore saxel mwifoSi. funcional istebis orive nawil i SeiZl eba SeTanxmdes, rom es monacemebi adasturebs kavSirs testebis Sedegebsa da ekonomikur konkurentunarobas Soris. es kavSiri bevrad ufro kompl eqsuria, vidre, sazogadod, miicneva. amitom testirebis procesiT amgvari riskebis gaweva ar aris sauketesos gamosaval i. Tumca, orive Sexedul ebis gamziarebl ebi upiobod Tanxmdebian imaze, rom saskol o ganaTI ebis miznebi ekonomikuri konkurentunarianobis gaZlierebisaken aris mimarTul i.

meore mxriv, konfliqtis Teoretikosebma SesaZl oa bevrad ufro kritikul i pozicia daafiqsiron saskol o sistemis SemoTavazebul i miznebis mimarT. maT SeiZl eba kamaTis sagani gaxadon nebismieri moTxovna da mosazreba, romel ic konsensusis fargl ebSi miirwa da yuradReba gaamaxvil on adamianta im jgufze, romel Ta mosazrebebi ganxil vis procesis miRma armoCnda an im jgufebze, romel Ta interesebs `konesusis`- real urad emsaxureba. am sakiTxebis wamowevisas, konfliqtis Teoria aucil ebl ad miuTitebs im arxebs, sadac sxva interesebi da mosazrebebi SeiZl eba warmoisvas; magal iTad, Sromis bazris interesebi, ganmanaTI ebel Ta interesebi, garemosdacviti da gl obal uri interesebi da ase Semdeg. informaciam da cnobierebam danarCeni interesebis Sesaxeb SesaZl oa biZgi misces koaliciebis formirebas da diskusiis sagani gaxadon saskol o ganaTI ebis sferoSi warmatebisa da marcxis oficial uri ganmartebebi.

da bol os, interpretivistma Teoretikosebma SeiZl eba mxedvel obaSi miiron is lokal uri garemoebebi, roml ebic gavl enas axdenen skol is direktorebis, maswavl ebl ebisa da moswavl eebis mier federal uri da saxel mwifo mandatebis interpretirebaze da skol ebSi gatarebaze. magal iTad, maral i riskis Semcvel i testi, romel ic gansazRvravs, skol a unda dajil dovdes Tu unda daisaj os, gul isxmobs, rom TiToeul i moswavl e, romel ic gamoicdeba wl is bol os, am skol aSi swavl obda mTel i wl is ganmavl obaSi. TumcaRa, bevr skol aSi moswavl eebis Semosvl a-gadineba sakmaod intensiuria. am skol is administracia da maswavl ebl ebi ecdebian, minimumamde daiyvanon moswavl eTa mimosvl isgan gamowveul i procesebis gavl ena saskol o testebis qul ebze. maTi strategia SeiZl eba gul isxmobdes axal i an susti moswavl

I eebis waxal isebasac, testirebis dRes ar gamocxaddnen skol aSi. ucxo Tval iT, amgvari strategiis gamoyeneba erTgvar sicrued, motyuebad SeiZl eba iyos aRqmul i. adgi- l obrivi gadmosaxedidan ki es aris uTanasworobad aRqmul i probl emis koreqciis SesaZl o meTodi. aseve, SesaZl ebel ia, maswavl ebl ebis nawil isaTvis amgvari mandati aRqmul i iyos, rogorc maRal i standartebis damkvidrebisaken swrafva. danarCenebisaTvis ki, amgvari mandati iZul ebiTi procesia, romel ic moswavl eebis testisaTvis momzadebas gul isx mobs da zRudavs maT drosa da SesaZl ebl obebs ufro mdidari saswavl o gegma uzrunvel yon sakl aso procesSi. Sesabamisad, interpretivistul i xedva avl ens im l okal ur garemoeebbs, roml ebic mandatis reinterpretirebis safuZvel i SeiZl eba iyos. es xedva ufro niuansuri Sefasebis saSual ebas iZl eva imis ganTval iswinebiT, Tu ra aris aRqmul i bavSvebis interesebis gatarebis saukeTeso gzad nebismier skol aSi.

es magal iTebi ucil obl ad mogexmarebaT, ukeT gaiazroT samive Teoriis rel evanturoba skol aSi mimdinare proceseb- sa 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 perspeqtivebs da gvarageben axal i l eqsikuri maragiT, romel ic uzrun- vel yofs skol is moswrebis srul i Sefasebis SesaZl ebl obas. am procesSi isini farTod xsnian kars im gansxvavebul i, mraval mxrivi interesebis ganxil visa da SejerebisaTvis, roml ebic, Tavis mxriv, gavl enas axdnen skol aze. amgvari ganxil va aseve uzrunvel yofs TiToeul Cvengans mniSvnel o- vani instrumentebiT, roml ebic saSual ebas gvaZl evs, saTa- nadod vupasuxoT im gavl enas, romel sac Cveni sazogadoeba ganicdis.

Cven mogiwodebT, Semdeg TavSi aqtiurad CaerToT am um- niSvnel ovanesi sakiTxebis ganxil vaSi. rasakvirvel ia, didi imedi gvaqvs, rom am sakiTxebze fiqrs mTel i Tqveni pedago- giuri moRvaweobis manZil ze gaagrZel ebT. bol o sami Semo- Tavazeba: `interpretacia da epistemikuri rel ativizmi~, `me- same samyaros saskol o sistema- da `saswavl o gegma- ganix- il avs internpretivistul i xedvis sabazo sakiTxebbs da am wignSi warmodgenil samive mimarTul ebas erTmaneTTan api- rispirebs. wignis bol os ki, gTavazobT anotirebul bibl io- grafias, romel ic damatebiT resursebsa da masal ebs gagac- nobT codnis gasaRrmavebl ad.

nawil i V

qei sebi da debat ebi

Tavi 8

qei sebi da debatebi

wina TavebSi Cven detal urad ganvixil eT sami ZiriTadi midgoma, imisaTvis, rom agvexsna da gagveazrebina skol is kavSiri sazogadoebasTan da Tqvenganac viTxovdiT metjer da metjer sakuTari mosazreba Camogeyal ibebinaT am midgomebis Sesaxeb. am debul ebebidan samives udavod gaaCnia is Tvisebebi, roml ebic maT gansakuTrebul ad mniSvnel ovans xdis da samives sasargebl o instrumentad xdis konceptual izaciisaTvis. es instrumentebi saSual ebas gvaZl evs, davinaxoT is Zal ebi, roml ebic samuSao periodSi Cveul ebriv moqmedeben, Tumca, yovel dRiur saskolo saqmianobaSi CaZirul ebisTvis metwil ad srul iad SeumCnevel i gvrCeba. imisaTvis, rom kargad gaiTavisot da gamoiyenoT is perspeqtivebi, 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 sakiTxebis, romel Ta gadaWris gzebis warmodgena mkafiod da pirdapir Teoriul i teqstis saSual ebiT SeuZl ebel ia. kiTxvis dros, aucil ebl ad warmoadgineT is sakiTxebi, roml ebic magal iTebSia motanil i da ganixil eT isini sxvebTan. Cven darwmunebul i varT, rom Tqven aucil ebl ad dainaxavT, Tu rogor icvl eba maswavl ebl isa da skol is administraciis qmedebani im SemTxvevaSi, Tu maT gaaCniat skol is sazogadoebasTan kavSiris ZiriTadi aspeqtების Seswavl isa da unari. vfiqrobT, aseve SeZl ebT SeamCniot, 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 efeqti aqvs da kidevac unda hqondes maswavl ebl ebis individual ur da jgufur gamocdil ebas im pirovnebebisa da sazogadoebis cxovrebase, romel Sic yvel a Cvengani vcxovrobT. cxadia, maswavl ebl ebis individual uri da jgufuri gamocdil eba Tqvens gamocdil ebasac moiazrebs. Cven, rogorc profesional i pedagogebi, darwmunebul ni varT im pasuxismgebl obis arsebobaSi, romel ic Cven mier am efeqtebis ganxil vas, moni-

torings da, Tu moral urad gamarTI ebul ia, maT koreqtirebas, Secvl asac ki gul isxmobs. aq mocemul i qeisebi da disputebi ingvaradaa warmodgenil i, rom dagexmarebaT gaxdeT ufro metad mgrZnobiare pasuxismgebl obis grZnobiT aRsavse, profesional i pedagogis rol iT am aspeqtis mimarT

imisaTvis, rom mimoixil oT Cven mier ganxil ul i sakiTxebi da mocemul i Temebis ZiriTadi Tezisebi, aqve warmogidgenT CamonaTval s. (ix, cxril i 1), saidanac Tqven SegiZl iaT is qeisebi da disputebi airCioT, roml ebic TqvenTvis gansakuTrebiT sainteresoa. cxadia, rom Cven ar gvaqvs imis mol odini, rom aq warmodgenil i Tematika da yvel a sakiTxi central uri mniSvel obis matarebel i SeiZl eba iyos im social ur interesebTan dakavSirebiT, roml ebic Tqven garSemoa da roml iTvisac es sakiTxebi zustad iqneba misadagebul i. swored es gaZl evT srul Tavisufl ebas, Tavadve SeqmnaT Tqveni qeisi an disputi an wamoayenoT da ganxil oT sakl aso oTaxSi is sakiTxebi, roml ebic Tqven gamocdil ebas efuZneba.

SeiZl eba zogierTma Tqvenganma ukve gaiTavisa Cveni is rCevebi, roml ebic wignis TiToeul TavSia mocemul i da am rCevebis gaTval iswinebiT kidevac SearCia qeisebi da disputebis Tematika. imisaTvis, rom kidev erTxel naTI ad gamogveyo Cveni rekomendaciebi 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 SegiZl iaT gamoiyenoT im TanmimdevrobiT, romel ic ukeT miesadageba 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 mraval ferovani aspeqtibus 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 obiT savse, moazrovne profesional pedagogad Camoyal ibdebiT.

cxril i 1 qeisebisa da disputebis CamonaTval i

Ggverdis saTauri*	ZiriTadi sakiTxi
115 moswavl eTa mmarTvel oba (1)	rogor swavl oben moswavl eebi, gaxdnen `kargi moqal aqeebi”?
116 saskol o Secdomebis da araefeqturobis saTaveebi (1)	ra el ementebisgan Sedgeba war- matebul i skol a?
118 farul i kurikul umi (2)	ras aswavl ian saskol o masal e- bi moswavl eebis?
119 ganaTl ebis erovnul i anga- riSebi (2)	aris Tu ara skol a saxel mwifo instrumenti?
120 geografiis gakveTil i (2)	aqvs Tu ara pol itikas adgil i gakveTil ze?
121 resursebis gadanawil eba (2)	ra prioritetebi aqvT skol ebs?
123 kol eji Tu samuSao Zal a (3)	rogor xdeba studentebis `sau- keTeso interesebis- dadgena?
125 individual uri gansxvavebebi da Tanabari SesaZl ebl obebi (3)	SeiZl eba `Tanasworisa- da `gansxvavebul is- gamij vna?
126 social uri ganviTareba (3)	sazogadoebis ra aspeqtების re- producirebas axdenen skol ebi?
128 Tanaswori, magram gamij nul i (4)	axdens Tu ara saskol o stan- darti diferencirebas socia- l uri kl asebis mixedviT?
129 ganaTl eba muSaobisaTvis (4)	aris Tu ara liberal uri ga- naTl eba saukeTeso ganaTl ebis 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 usamarTl od sxvadasxva warmo- Sobis bavSvebs?
132 social uri mecnierebebi (5)	aris Tu ara mZime samuSao sa- marTl ianad anazRaurebul i?
133 interpretacia da eTikuri rel ativizmi (5)	SeuZl ia Tu ara interpretiv- ists eTikuri standartebis dac- va
134 axal i moswavl e (6)	unda `Seicval on- Tu ara uc- xoel i studentebi, rom moergon

* frCxil ebSi mocemul i ricxvebi saTauri Semdeg gvaCvenebs, rom qeisis an disputis gamoyeneba rekomendirebul ia konkretul Tav-
Tan mimarTebi T.

	kl ass?
135 ki Tu ara meinstreamings? (6)	aris Tu ara qronikul i cudi qceva barieri da ra unda movi-moqmedoT am dros?
137 sazogadoebis wayenebul i pirobebi da Tavisufli eba (7)	Tu saxl ic da skol ac garkveul pirobebs gviyenebs, varT ki Tavisufli ebi?
138 interpretacia da epistemi-kuri rel ativizmi (7)	aris Tu ara rigi interpreta-ciebi danarCenebze ukeTesi?
139 mesame samyaros saskol o sistema (7)	aris Tu ara ori araTavsebadi mosazrebis gamoyeneba praqtika-Si SesaZl 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 ma-Ral i kl asiT dasaxl ebul SemogarenSi. moswavl eTa abso-l uturi umravl esoba im SeZl ebul i oj axebidan aris, rom-l ebic 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 mohyavs skol aSi adgil obrivi dasaxl ebis yvel aze daSorebul i wertil ebidan.

skol a namdvil ad ar ganicdis saWiro masal isa da aR-Wurvil obis nakl ebobas. mSobl ebis material uri keTil - dReoba Svil ebis skol azec vrcel deba. is bavSvebi ki, rom-l ebic 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 mi-sawvdomi. mSobl ebi am moswavl eeb aswavl ian, Tu rogor unda daafason is sazogadoeba, romel ic maT mimarT amgvar sikeTes avl ens.

samoqal aqo swavl eba skol is mniSvnel ovan komponentad aris miCneul i da is iswavl eba sxvadasxva saskol o aqti-vo-bis saSual ebiT. ase, magal iTad, samoqal aqo swavl eba spor-tul i gundebis, skol is servis-programis da moswavl eTa mmarTvel obis fargl ebSi Catarebul i aqtivobebis nawil ia.

el is Svarci iorkvil is skol is staJiani, gamocdil i pedagoga. is sul axl axan SeirCa moswavl eTa mmarTvel obis safakul teto mrCevl ad. Tumca, am poziciaze el isi damatebiT xel fass ar iRebs. maswavl ebel s yovel Tvis miaCnda, 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 rol s 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 ayalibebedes. moswavl eTa mmarTvel oba am sazogadoebas unda emsaxurebodes da sakuTari wvl il i saqvel moqmedo saqmiano-baSi Sehqondes. amastan, maswavl ebel i fiqrobs, rom moswavl eTa mmarTvel oba araveul ebrivi gamocdil ebaa maTi damoukidebl obisa da pasuxismgebl obis grZnobebis ganvitarebisaTvis da seriozul gamocdas warmoadgens demokratiul i ideal ebis gasacnobad da Casabarebl ad.

el isi Zal ian bednieri iyo, enaxa, Tu rogori enTuziazmiT ekidebodnen kandidatebi da danarCeni moswavl eebi pirvel arCevnebs, roml ebic misi xel mZRvanel obiT Catarda. samrewvel o kompaniebis warmomadgenel Ta pirmSoebma posterebic ki Seukvetes adgil obriv stambas. enTuziazmis didi tal Ra aseve gamovl inda briyvul da arareal istur SemoTavazebebsa da dapirebebSi, roml ebic kandidatebma saj aro gamosvl ebis dros Camoayal ibes.

arCevnebi damTavrda da Zal ian mal e el isi darwmunda, rom is arTyineba, romel sac gamarjvebul i kandidatebi xmis micemis periodSi avl endnen, srul iad ar aisaxeboda maTs, rogorc warmomadgenel Ta, real ur muSaobaSi. maswavl ebel i ufro da ufro imedgacruebul i rCeboda, rodesac xedavda moswavl eTa mmarTvel obis wevrebis uiniciativobas. 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 jgufis mier arSazrdel 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 komiteti garkveul Tanxas gamouyofda. arSazrdel i bavSvis sponsoroba TveSi 200 dol ariT iyo gansazRvrul i. ramdenime TveSi cxadi gax-

da, rom xazinaSi arsebul i Tanxa Zal ian mal e amoiwureboda. moswavl eTa mmarTvel obam gadawyvita, cekva Tanxebis moZiebis saSual ebad gaexada. A

saskol o cekvebi yovel Tvis gamoirceoda ful is Sekrebis efeqtur saSual ebad iorkvil Si, radgan, zogadad, amgvar RonisZiebs bevri adamiani siamovnebiT eswreboda. am gansakuTrebul i SemTxvevisaTvis, cekvis komitetma gadawyvita, rom cekva kidev ufro mimzidvel i unda gaexada da amisaTvis profesional i disk-Jokei daiqirava. amasTan, ganaTebis Sous mowyoba gadawyvita. am yvel afers ki 500 dol ari sWirdeboda. amxel a damatebiTi danaxarjis fonze saeWvo gaxda, rom RonisZieba raime mogebas datovebda. cekvis komitetma gadawyvita, cekvis Souze daswrebis safasurad 5 dol ari daewesebina, TumcaRa, tradiciul ad, amgvar RonisZiebaze daswreba 1,5 dol ari Rirda. safasuris gazrdis fonzec ki, damatebiTi danaxarji imdenad didi aRmoCnda, rom RonisZiebas mogebis motana ar SeeZl o. el isi cdil obda daemtkicebina moswavl eebisTvis, rom cekvis komitetma proeqtis ZiriTadi mizani daiviwya. ZiriTadi mizani ki qvel moqmedebisaTvis ful is Segroveba unda yofil iyo. erT-erTi warmomadgenel i imis damtkicebasac ki Seecada, rom 5 dol ari Zal ian didi Tanxa iyo zogierTi studentisaTvis da misi gadaxda nawil s gauWirdeboda. Tumca, gadawyvetil ebis kenWisyris dros, cekvis komitetis gegmam meti xma miRo sakmaod didi upiratesobiT.

el isi, romel sac fakul tetis mrCevl ad muSaobis sol iduri gamocil eba aqvs, xvdeba, rom moswavl eebis j gufma ver SeZl o mniSvnel ovani gamocda Caebarebina moqal aqeobrivi Segnebis kuTxiT.

ras gaakeTebdiT, Tqven rom el isis adgil ze yofil iyaviT? ra daskvnebis gamotana SeZl es moswavl eebma warmomadgenl obiTi mmarTvel obis Sesaxeb? SeZl ebs ki saarCevno kampania da cekvasTan dakavSirebul i gadawyvetil eba iorkvil is sazogadoebaze da mis Rirebul ebebze gavlenis moxdenas? ramdenad swavl oben studentebi, rogor unda iyvnen `kargi, pasuxismgebl obis grZnobiT savse moqal aqeebi“?

skol is Secdomebisa da araefturobis saTaveebi

warmoidgineT 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 ian moikoWl ebs. netav vicode, ra SeiZl eba rom gavakeTo...

maswavl ebel i b. resurscentrSi uamravi damxmare resursi moiZebneba. darwmunebul i var, rom raRacis povnas SeiZl eb imisaTvis, rom moswavl eebis is unarebi ganaviTaro, roml ebic maT akl iaT.

maswavl ebel i g. amgvvari 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 aRweven, rom warmatebis kriteriumebs maRal i kl asis warmomadgenl ebi ayal ibeben. daxmarebis yvel a programa ki mxol od daTvir samsaxurs uwevs am bavSvebs da kidev ufro ganumtkicebs 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 isini 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 SeCveul ebi arian arasaxarbiel o, araxel sayrel situaciaSi yofnas. Cven, maswavl ebl ebs SegviZl ia Sevcval oT es situacia. yvel a bavSvs aqvs imis potencial i, rom skol aSi warmatebas miaRwios. isini warmatebas miaRweven, Tu Cven, maswavl ebl ebi ufro sensitiurebi viqnebiT maTi saWiroebebisa da Sesazl ebl obebis mimarT.

maswavl ebel i g. Sen arasworad gamige. ramdenime daCagrul i bavSvi yovel Tvis SeiZl eba gaxdes warmatebul i da am saxiT skol a yovel Tvis inarCunebs miTs sakuTari qmediTunarianobis Sesaxeb. magram, miuxedavad im faqtisa, rom zogierTebi warmatebas aRweven mxol od im maxasiaTebl ebis demonstrirebas axdenen, roml ebic maRal i kl asis Rirebul ebebs warmoadgens. es is Rirebul ebebi sul ac araa, romel sac maT oj axur an muSaTa kl asis samuSao cxovrebaSi unergaven. amgvvari 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 gamoiars. da Semdeg isinic sakuTar Svil ebs waiyvanen swored iseve waiyvanen 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 cikli i arasodes icvl eba.

maswavl ebel i d. moica, moica! nuTu Sen imas gul isxmob, rom dabal Semosavl iani bavSvebi ar SeiZl eba sazogadoebaSi warmatebul ebi iyvnen? Tu asea, gamodis, rom Sen da b-sac srul iad mcdari warmodgena gaqvT warmatebis ganmartebis Sesaxeb. Tqveni saubris mixedvit gamodis, rom simbol oebiT manipul ireba da garkveul i codnis SeZena warmatebis erTaderTi gadamwyveti 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 Secdomebisa da araefqturobis saTave swored iqidan modis, Tu ras aRviqamT Cven mniSvnel ovan warmatebad. nuTu bavSvi, romel sac SeuZl ia xurda sworad daabrunos maRaziaSi, ar aris warmatebul i mxol od imitom, rom ar SeuZl 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 SeuZl ia warmatebul ia? Sen amtkiceb, rom xurdis sworad dabruneba niSnavs, rom adamiანი imgvar samsaxurs iSovnis, rom Rirseul i cxovrebis uzrunvel yofa SeZl os? Tu es mxol od imas niSnavs, rom es adamiანი sul el uri da monuri samusaostvis aris kval ificirebul i? Seni gadawvyvetil eba praqtikul ad saSual o klasis gamodevnas niSnavs.

maswavl ebel i d. ara, ar niSnavs, maSinve, rogorc ki adamiანი aRiareben, rom isini gansazRvraven warmatebas, da rom Cvens sazogadoebas Zal ian viwro da SezRudul i faseul obebi gaaCnia, es adamiანი im Rirebul ebebis danaxvas SeZl eben sakuTar Tavsa da sxvebSi, roml ebic aqamde ar iyvnen aRiarebul ni. am SemTxvevaSi ki, adamiანი gaacnobiereben cvl il ebis saWiroebas da amisTvis kidevac ibrZol eben.

maswavl ebel i g. Rirebul ebebis gadafaseba mxol od mas Semdeg iqneba Sesazl ebel i, rac ekonomikuri usamarTI oba Semcirdeba. Rirebul ebebis cvl a mxol od kapital isturi sistemis rRvevis da am sistemis mier adamiანebis Rirebul e-

bebze uwyveti zewol is Sewyvetis SemTxvevaSia SesaZl 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 bubebis Sesaxeb.

maswavl ebel i b. mizani ekonomikuri sistemis an Cven mier warmatebisAaRqmis Secvl a namvil ad araa. orives gaaCnia potencial i, rom yvel a adamiani datkbes kargi cxovrebis SesaZl ebl obebiT. Cven yvel as unda davexmaroT, rom maqsimal ur warmatebas miaRwion im sistemis SesaZl ebl obebis fargl ebSi, romel sac es sistema individsa Tu sazogadoebas sTavazobs. maswavl ebl is saqmea, saswavl o gegma efeqturad ganaxorciel os da yvel as misces Tanabari Sansi, iswavl os da gaizardos am sistemis fargl ebSi.

maswavl ebel i d. amocana isaa, kargad gavacnobieroT, rom Cveni adamianuri pirobebi ar aris ganpirobebul i romel ime `sistemis- wvdomis xarixsze. is ganpirobebul ia mxol od Cveni interaqciiT sxva adamianeBTan. adamianebi romel ime danadgaris WanWikebi ar arian. social uri usamarTI obidan gamosaval i arc isaa, rom danadgarisaTvis WanWikebi SevqmnaT, rogorc amas maswavl ebel i b xedavs da arc imaSi, rom danadgari gamovigonoT WanWikebis mixedviT, rogorc amas maswavl ebel i g aRiqvams. orive xedva Zal ian meqanisturia. real urad Zal ian bevri kriteriumi arsebobs Rirseul i cxovrebis Sesafasebl ad. yvel a adamians gaaCnia Rirebul i aqtivi, roml is sazogadoebamde motanac SeuZl ia. mxol od sazogadoeba wyvets Tavad, rom pativi sces da daajil odoos adamianebi, rogorc TiToeul i individi. am damokidebul ebiT ki, aRar iqneba imis gancda, rom vinme xel moxarul ia da mokl ebul ia im sakiTxebS, roml ebic mas ekuTvnis.

maswavl ebel i a. didi madl oba! Zal ian saintereso fili osofiuri diskusia gamovida. da mainc, isev imave problemis winaSe vdgavar - ra unda gavakeTo xval 10 saatze, rode sac am bavSvebs Sevxdები da maT gamravl eba unda vaswavl o? arc ki var darwmunebul i, rom Tqven mier gamoTqmul i azri rogorme damexmareba an rames Secvl is xval .

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

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

eTanxmebiT Tu ara romel ime zemoT gakeTebul mosazrebas ufro metad, vidre sxvas? aris mokamaTe maswavl ebl ebidan romel ime funkcional isti, konfliqtis Teoretikosi n interpretivisti? ra rCevas miscemdiT Tqven maswavl ebel a-s?

farul i kurikulumi (saswavl o gegma)

warsul Si amerikul skol ebis Zal isxmevas Zl ieri mxardaWeris nakl eboba namdvil ad ar akl daT. garda saSemosavl o gadasaxadidan miRebul i da sarepetitoro Semosavl ebisa, Cveni skol ebi aseve ganebivrebulo ni iyven moxal iseobri vi servisebis, fil antropul i organizaciebis da saqmiani sazogadoebis mxardaWeritac. gare wyaroebidan Semosul i es damxareba saSual ebas aZl evda maswavl ebl ebs, gaeumj obesebinaT saswavl o gegma da Cveni Svilebis saskol o saganmanaTI ebl o gamocdil eba gaemdidrebinaT isedac gawel il i biuj etis gadaxarj vis gareSe.

kl arens darous sabazo skol a didad iyo damokidebul i gare mxardaWeraze. wl idan wl amde biblioTekis kol eqcia mdidrdeboda Tavisufal mewarmeTa institutis mier gaweril i yovel wl iuri dotaciebiT. zogadad instituti irCevs imgvar wignebs, roml ebic pozitiur gavlenas axdens win wamoweul individual izms da mxars uWers tradiciul i amerikul i faseul obebis damkvidrebas. Sesabamisad, wignebSi im adami nebis biografiebia moTxrobili, vinc warmatebas didi Sromisa da winaRobebis gadal axvis fasad miRwia; andac, amerikis istoriaSi Sesul i adami nebis biografiebs moicavs, an sul ac ojaxuri cxovrebis pozitiuri mxareebis Sesaxeb aris... Tavisufal mewarmeTa instituti miicnevs, rom am tipis saganmanaTI ebl o masal ebi ganuzomel i faseul obaa amerikul i tradiciebis mixedviT Cveni Tavisuflebis dasacavad da SesanarCunebl ad.

skolis audiovizual urma departamentma aseve saWiro mxardaWera moipova korporatiul i organizaciebisgan, maTi kontribuciis gawevis interesidan gamomdinare. sakabel o korporaciebis adgil obrivi ofisebi da energiis kompaniebi skol is departaments uamravi filebiTa da slaidprezentaciebiT amaragebdnen sxvadasxva, roml ebic sxvadasxva Tematikas j anmrTel obis, mecnierebis, teqnologiis, Ta-

namedrove cxovrebi sakiTxebs exeboda. amgvარი vizual uri resursebi ki moswavl eebS iseTi informaciIT asazrdovebda, roml is SeTavazebas maTTvis maswavl ebl ebi damoukidebl ad verasodes SeZl ebdnen. amgvარი fil mebi didi popul arobiT sargebl obda moswavl eebS Soris da gakveTil ebs bevrad sa-sargebl os da mizanmimarTul s xdida. maswavl ebl ebi kompaniis mier mowodebul fil mebs xSirad iyeneben.

Jon robinss, romel ic axal i maswavl ebel ia kl arens darouSi, direqtorma Tavidanve SesTavaza am resursebis gamoyeneba da daanaxva maTi sargebel i. magram j oni, romel ic refl eqturi da sakmaod frTxil i adamiania, gadawyvets, kargad gaecnos sxvadasxva masal as, sanam pirdapir daiwyebS maT gamoyenebas moswavl eebTan. igi uyurebs komunal uri servisebis kompaniis mier mowodebul fil ms birTvul i energiis Sesaxeb. igi gadawyvets, rom es fil mi namdvil ad kargad warmoaCens birTvul i energiis potencial s, Tumca absol uturad ver asaxavs j anmrTel obisa da usafrTxoebis sakiTxebs. j onis azriT, garda im pirdapiri informaciisa, romel ic fil mSia mocemul i, igi kidev Seicavs mal ul gakveTil s, sadac warmodgenil ia kompaniis subieqturi da Tavsmoxveul i faseul obebi, misi kerZo interesebi, romel sac araferi aqvs saerTo sazogadoebis winase mdgar saSiSroebebTan. igi gadawyvets, 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? ras ityodiT bibl ioTekis wignebis funqciur faseul obebze?

ganaTI ebis erovnul i angariSi

a. ganaTI ebis komisiis axal ma prezidentma naTI ad da mkafi od dagvanaxa Tavis angariSSi, rom Cven bevrad CamovrciT sxva Tanamedrove erebs inJinrebisa da mecnierebis aRzrdis saqmeSi. Cveni SesaZl ebl obebi da resursebi gamogonebebis, kvl ebebis da Tanamedrove maRal teqnol ogiuri siaxl eebisaTvis safuZvl is momzadebis kuTxiT ganvitarebis magivrad uaresdeba da imis safrTxე, rom sul mal e meorexarixovan Zal ad gadaviqceviT, didia. amitom aucil ebel ia, rom skol ebma raRac iRonon am situaciis gamosaworebl ad.

b. magram real urad, skol ebi maTi axl andel i funqciebiT am probl emis Semadgenel nawil s warmoadgenen. moswavl eebis Zal ian didi Tavisufi eba aqvT miniWebul i da irCeven maTematikasa da sabunebismetyvel o-samecniero sagnebze bevrad martiv sagnebs irCeven. aucil ebel ia, rom standarti gadaixedos da saSual o skol is damTavrebisaTvis maTematikasa da sabunebismetyvel 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 iZl eodes da raRacas ni Snavdes.

g. ki magram, ra vuyoT im moswavl eebis, roml ebsac ar aqvT akademiuri ganaTI ebisadmi midrekil eba? maTac davuwesot mkacri moTxovnebi imisda miuxedavad, rom ar apireben kol ej Si swavl is gagrZel ebas da ar cdil oben, rom inJinrebi da mecnierebi gamovidnen? 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 vaZl evT imisgan damoukidebl ad, vin martiv programebs irCevs da vin ki - urTul ess. dipl omi raRacas unda ni Snavdes da is raRacas TiToeul i skol adamTavrebul istvis unda ni Snavdes.

a. Tqven oriveni araswor sakiTxebeze akeTebT aqcentebis. imistvis, rom saWiros mecnierebi da inJinrebi miviROT, aucil ebel ia maTi waxal isebs sxvadasxva meTodebis Semotana da testirebis efeqturi instrumentebis SemuSaveba, rac saSual ebas mogvcems niWieri moswavl eebi uniWoebisgan ganvasxvavoT. am SemTxvevaSi aRar dadgeba imis saWiros, rom yvel a moswavl e misi Sesazl ebl obebisgan ganurCevl ad maincdamainc maTematika da mecnierebebis programebiT davt-virToT. ratom ar SeiZl eba, rom aRmovaCinoT da davajil - dovoT niWieri moswavl eebi samTavrobo stipendiebiT maTematikaSi, mecnierebaSi an inJinriaSi? am SemTxvevaSi xom SevZl ebdit probl emis gadaWras.

g. magram ramdenad sworia skol ebis erovnul i politikis instrumentad gamoyeneba imisaTvis rom kerZo industriis probl emebi movagvarot?

a. ratomac ara! skol ebi xom isedac saxel mwifo instrumentebi arian, gana ase araa? ristvis gamoviyenebt maT - kargi moqal aqeebis Tu kargi inJinrebis aRszardel ad, aqvs

ki mniSvnel oba? skol is WeSmariti funqcia xom sazogadoebis samsaxurSi yofnaa!

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

b. rac erisTvis kargia, is kargia individi saTvisac?

g. ki magram, nuTu yovel Tvis?

ras fiqrobT, aris ki yovel Tvis kargi? arian ki skol ebi sazogadoebis instrumentebi? rogor fiqrobT, funqcionallizmi xom ar gamoricxavs dRis wesrigidan im saWiroebebs, roml ebic individebs gaaCniaT.

geografi is gakveTil i

margaret beikeri vetieris dawyebiTi skol is me-6 kl ass aswavl is. misis beikeri did mniSvnel obas aniWebs moqal aqeobriv CarTul obas sazogadoebriv saqmianobaSi da Tavad aris ramdenime organizaciis aqtiuri wevri, maT Soris maswavl ebel Ta profkavSiris, demokratiul i partiisa da amerikul i samoqal aqo Tavisufl ebis kavSiris. xandaxan maswavl ebel i sagakveTil o dros da sagnobriv programmas efeqturad iyenebs moswavl eebisTvis pol itikuri sakiTxebis axsnisa da anal izis instrumentad. misis beikeri miicnevs, rom ganaTl ebul i moqal aqebisaTvis aucil ebel ia pol itikuri codnis sabaziso codna bavSvebs adreul i asakidan miwodos.

meeqvse kl asis geografiis programa central uri da samxreT amerikis geografias moicavs. misis beikerma sagnobriv i programa amjeradac gamoiyena imisaTvis, rom bavSvebTan 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 produqcias acnobda moswavl eebis, misis beikerma bavSvebs miwisa da Semosavl ebis gadanawil eba gaacno am qveynebSi. maswavl ebel ma auxsna moswavl eebis, rom central ur amerikaSi mosaxl eobis mcire nawil i akontrol ebs miwebisa da qveynis sxva sikeTeebis udides nawil s, eqspl uatacias uwevs mosaxl eobis ZiriTadi nawil is Sromas da sabol ood am adami nebs uqonl ebsa da gaRatakebul ebs tovebs.

misis beikerma Seadara sakanstitucio kanonebis mier deklarierebuli wesebi im real obas, romel ic gasamxedroebul i azrovnebis mTavrobis pirobebSi iwarmoeba da romel ic iswrafvis sakuTari mosaxl eobis mimarT genociduri politikis warmoebisken, gansakuTrebiT ki adgil obrivi indiel i mosaxl eobis mimarT. zogadad, misis beikeri Zal ian kritikul ad iyo ganwyobil i mTavrobis mimarT da did pativis scemda maT, vinc mTavrobisadmi opoziciur damokidebul ebas inarCunebda. moswavl eebis kiTxvaze, romel ic Cveni qveynis mTavrobis urTierTkavSirs exeboda gasamxedroebul mTavrobebTan, man moswavl eebis auxsna, Tu ratom da ra aspeqtebSi aris amerikis SeerTebul i Statebis politika araswori da arakoreqtul i central uri amerikis qveynebTan mimarTebiT.

misis beikeris geografiis gakveTil ebma sainteresoso saubrebis gamoiwyvia moswavl eebis saoj axo vaxSmis sufrasTan. mSobl eebis nawil i gaabraza maswavl ebl is sakl aso aqtivobebma. gansakuTrebiT aRSfoTebul i rusel denti, amerikis SeiaraRebul i Zal eebis veterani da konservatorul i politikuri 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 eebis sakuTar Sexedul eebes unergavda da maT memarcxeneebis faseul obebiTa da marqsis-tul i politikuri poziciit JRenTs. man faqtebi daamaxinj a da geografiis gakveTil i propagandistvis gamoiyena. am moqmedebiT ki, maT sakuTar, maswavl ebl is ufl ebamosil ebas gadaameta da mSobl eebis ndoba skol isadmi borotad gamoiyena. rogorc maswavl ebel s, misis beikers aranairi ufl eba ar aqvs, mSobl eebis funqcia aiRos sakuTar Tavze da moswavl eebis imgvari Sexedul ebebi gauziaros, roml ebic maT sakuTar saxl ebSi ar aris gaziarebul i. ufro metic, mis mier amerikis SeerTebul i Statebis mTavrobis kritika arapatriotul i qmedebaa da amgvar qmedebas ar unda hqondes adgil i amerikul i skol is sakl aso oTaxebSi. mister denti Rmad aris darwmunebul i, rom misis beikers ar aqvs norCi, STabeWdil ebebis qveS advil ad moqcevadi moswavl eebiT manipul irebis ufl eba. es yvel aferi mister dentma veTieris skol is direktors araTavaziani da gabrazebul i satel efono saubris dros gamoucxada.

bral debebis mosmenisas misis beikerma ganacxada, rom amas aranairi interesi ar gaaCnia, romel ime mTavrobis, iqneba es sakuTari Tu romel ime sxva qveynis, propaganda gas-

wios. geografiis gakveTil ze is mxol od faqtebs eyrdnoba da Sexedul ebebi, roml ebiç sakl aso oTaxSi mis mier odesme gaJRerebul a, mxol od da mxol od faqtebzea dafuZnebul i... is, rogorc maswavl ebel i, imeds gamoTqvams, rom misi moswavl eebi gaiazreben zogierT faqtsa da Sesabamis daskvnebs gamoitannen. sakl aso oTaxi da misi gakveTil ebi ki araCveul ebriv SesaZl ebl obas qmnian amgvari azrovnebis ganviTarebisaTvis. Tu is daiwyebç pirferobas da Tavs moikatunebs, rom neutral uria amgvari faqtebis mimarT, igi aragul wrfel i iqneba da, Sesabamisad, im pasuxismgebl obas, romel iç mas, rogorc maswavl ebel s akisria, ubral od Tavs aaridebs. istoria pirdapir kicxavs nacistebç maTi moqmedebisaTvis. gamodis, rom is sxvagvarad unda moiçqes? Tu is ubral od Tavs aaridebs am sakiTxebis ganxil vas sakl aso oTaxSi, mis moswavl eebç ubral od aRar miecemaT saSual eba gaiumj obeson sakuTari Sexedul ebebis ganviTarebis da kritikul i azrovnebis unarebi. maswavl ebl is magvari qmedeba ki arapatriotul ia. misis beikerma pirdapir ganaxxada, rom apirebç igive midgomebis gamoyenebas swavl ebiç dros, sanam vinme an vinmeç moqmedeba ar daarwmunebs mas sakuTari meTodol oçiis arakoreqtul obaSi.

ras moicavç pol itikuri ganaTI eba? aris Tu ara is sakiTxebi, roml ebsaç misi beikeri aswavl is mniSvnel ovani pol itikuri ganaTI ebisaTvis? ramdenad moicavç igi pol itikur sakiTxebs sakuTar gakveTil ebze? aqvç Tu ara mas ufl eba Caataros am tipis gakveTil ebi? aucil ebl ad migaCniaT Tu ara maswavl ebl is swavl ebiç meTodebis an Sinaarsobrivi mxaris Secvl a? unda iyos Tu ara maswavl ebel i pol itikuri mxare? unda gaiTval iswinos Tu ara maswavl ebel ma mister dentis moTxovna gakveTil ze apol itikurad qceviç Sesaxeb? ramdenad aris SesaZl ebel i, rom, sazogadod, apol itikurebi viyoT?

resursebis gadanawi l eba

`aerosfero teqnoł ogiebi- warmoadgens mwarmoebel firmas erT-erT nakl ebganvTarebul teritoriaze da igi aviajnineriis ganvTarebazea orientirebul i. firmam informaciul i teqnoł ogiebis axal i, ganvTarebul i versiis gamoyeneba daiwyo da aRar saWiroebs kompiuterebis im ekranis gamoyenebas, romel sac is adre iyenebda. firmam ramdenime saskol o ol qš Zvel i kompiuterebis dotacia SesTavaza. kompiuterebis miRebis survil i Zal ian didi iyo, xol o danadgarebis raodenoba ki SezRudul i. amitom `aerosfero teqnoł ogiebma- sakuTar SemoTavazeba special uri kriteriumiT gansazRvra da gamoacxada, rom yvel a ol qi kompiuterebs, moswavl eebis raodenobidan gamomdinare, proporciul ad miiRebs. es kriteriumi firmas saSual ebas miscemda, gadanawil eba absol uturad samarTI ianad ganexorciel ebina.

pl einvievi qal aqia 30 000 macxovrebl iT. qal aqSi umuSevrobis maCvenebel i warmoudgenl ad maRal ia, radganac ZiriTadi industriul i qarxnebi, roml ebic qal aqSi da SemogarenSi funcioni rebda, daixura. swored am qal aqis skol is sabWom daiwyo mol aparakebebi `aerosfero teqnoł ogiebTanim 20 kompiuterTan dakavSirebiT, roml ebic maTi skol isaTvis moswavl eebis raodenobis Sesabamisad gamoiyo. skol is sabWos wevrebis ZiriTadi nawil i, romel ic maswavl ebl ebisa da previevis sxva moqal aqeebisgan 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 -teqnoł ogiuri saSual o skol ebi. samwuxarod, real obidan gamomdinare, aqamde saubaric ki ar yofil a damatebiTi kompiuterebis SeZenaze. amgvvari SenaZenebisaTvis biuj eti Zal ian mcirea qarxnebis gauqmebis gamo. firmis saCuqari aRqmul ia rogorc araCveul ebrivis SesaZI ebl oba previevis bavSvebisaTvis, daewion momavli is progress.

TumcaRa, aRmoCnda, rom uamravi sirTul ea gadasal axi, sanam skol ebi sabol oo gadawyvetil ebis miRebas SeZI eben. regul arul i kompiuterul i programis danergvas didi Tanxebi sWirdeba kompiuterul i oTaxis Seqmnisa da maswavl ebl is daqiravebisaTvis. sabWo mxol od mogebase muSaobs. Sar-

Sandel i saskol o gadasaxadebi akreba gadaido da dagegmi-
l i wignebis SeZena ver moxerxda. wel sac nakl eb savaraudoa,
rom gadasaxadebis gazrda real isturi iyos. Tu sabWo gada-
wyvets kompiuterebis miRebas, maSin is iZul ebul i iqneba, mi-
si gamarTvisa da funcioni rebisaTvis saWiro Tanxa akademi-
uri da kl asgareSe programebis fonds moakl os.

metic, studentebis gamokiTxvam kompiuterul i kl asebis
momaval perspeqtivasTan dakavSirebiT aCvena, rom danapirobi
oci kompiuteri gaWirvebiT daakmayofil ebs orive saSual o
skol is moTxovnebs im pirobiT, Tu kompiuteris Seswavl is
Sesaferisi programebis institucial izacia ganxorciel deba.
orives skol as sakmaod damaj erebel i argumenti gaaCnia kom-
piuteris saWiroebasTan dakavSirebiT. akademiuri saSual o
skol asTvis kompiuterebiT aRWurvas udidesi mniSvel oba
gaaCnia, raTa man SeZl 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 Zl ierebisa da ganvitarebisaTvis maRal kval ifi-
ciuri inJinerebisa da mecnierebis momzadebaa saWiro da
Tvl ian, rom samarcxvino faqti iqneba, Tu niWieri moswav-
l eebi, roml ebic am sferoebiT arian dainteresebul i mxo-
l od imitom daikargebian, rom maT Sesaferisi saganamanaT-
l ebl o SesaZl ebl obebi ar miecaT. (aqve unda aRiniSnos, rom
aerosfero teqnol ogiebis warmomadgenel ma, romel mac ara-
nairi konkretul i miTiTeba ar gaakeTa kompiuterebis gada-
nawil ebasTan dakavSirebiT, aRniSna, rom maT kompanias ganu-
wyvetl iv axal i inJinrebis saWiroeba gaaCnia da Sesabamisad,
kompania gansakuTrebiT kmayofil i iqneba, Tu kompiuterebi
kol ej isaTvis mosamzadebel i programebis fargl ebSi iqneba
efeqturad gamoyenebul i). akademiuri skol is moswavl eebis
nawil s mSobel ma saxl Si samuSaodac SeuZina kompiuteri,
Tumca real urad bevr ojaxs amis saSual eba ver gamonaxa.
swored amgvari, nakl ebSemosavl iani ojaxida wamosul i
bavSvebi, roml ebic kompiuteris arqonis gamo Zal ian za-
ral debodnen, unda gamxdariyvnen naCuqari kompiuterebis
mTavari mesargebl eebi.

meore, srul i saSual o profesiul -teqnikuri skol is
maswavl ebl ebisa da mSobl ebis argumentebi kompiuteris sa-
WiroebasTan dakavSirebiT 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, msjel obdnen isini,
raTa moswavl eebi programirebaSi daostatdnen da kompiute-

rebiS SekeTebis special istisaTvis saWiro unar-Cvevebi Sei-
Zinon. imdenad, ramdenadac adgil obrivi biznesebi kompiute-
rizebul sagadasaxado da saaRricxvo sistemaze gadavida,
bazars meti kval ificiuri adamiani sWirdeba, romel ic pro-
gramirebis sakiTxebsa da kompiuterebis movl a-SekeTebis sa-
kiTxebs moagvarebs. "aerospeisi teqnol ogiebi" kompiutere-
bis saSual ebiT araCveul ebriv Sanss aZl evs muSaTa kl asis
warmomadgenel mSobl ebs da bavSvebs, roml ebsac profe-
siul -teqnikuri profil e aqvT arCeul i, ipovon prestiJul i
samsaxurebi momavl is perspeqtikul i SromiT bazarze. am
bavSvebis mSobl ebs aseve ar aqvs imis saSual eba, rom bavS-
vebs kompiuterebi saxl isaTvis uyidon. umravl esoba maTgani
kvl avac umuSevaria.

Tumca arsebobs kidev erTi, mesame j gufi, romel sac
miaCnia, rom kompaniis SemoTavazeba saerTodac ar unda mi-
Ron. sakuTari poziciis gansamtkicebl ad, es j gufi mraval
arguments ayeneben. zogierTi amtkicebs, rom qal aq pl einvie-
vis skol adamTavrebul ebi sakmaod karg Sedegebs aCvene-
ben yovel gvarebi kompiuterebis gareSec. isini sakuTar oponentebs
adanaSaul eben mcdel obaSi, rom maT "saCuqrebi" gadasaxade-
bis gazrdis saSual ebad gamoiyenes. sxvebi ki, amtkicebdnen,
rom skol is programebze gamoyofil i biuj eti aucil ebl ad
Seikveceba, Tu kompiuterebis gamoyenebas daiwyeben. progra-
mebis 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 kompiuterebis
gamoyenebas ewinaaRmdegeba, saCuqrad gadmocemul i kompiute-
rebis siZvel eze apel irebs da amtkicebs, rom amgvarebi kompi-
uterebis gamoyeneba moswavl eebis mier ar aris swori. "Tu
skol ebSi kompiuterul i kl asi unda gakeTdes, is uaxl esi
teqnikiT unda iyos aRWurvil i" - amboben mowinaaRmdegeebi.

sabWom moswavl eebis, mSobl ebsa da maswavl ebl ebs saku-
Tari argumentebis warmodgena mostXova. am argumentebis
mosmenamde sabol oo gadawyvetil ebis miRebidan isini TavS
ikavebdnen.

rogori iqneboda Seni pozicia, Tu Sen akademiuri sko-
l is j gufis warmoadmgenel i iqnebodi? da Tu profesiul -
teqnikuri j gufi? mesame, mowinaaRmdegeTa j gufis warmomad-
genel i? ra rekomendacias gaswevdiT im SemTxvevaSi, Tu
Tqven komitetis wevri iqnebodiT?

kol ej i Tu samuSao Zal a

central uri saSual o skol a erTaderTia airon-sitiSi, romel ic sakmaod soliduri istoriis mqone, Crdil o dasavl eTiT mdebare industriul i qal aqia. airon-siti bevr ukeTes drosac moswrebia da uaresi probl emebi da gaWirvebebic unaxavs, Tumca central uri skol a yovel Tvis agrZe- l ebda qal aqis momsaxurebas qal aqis macxovrebl ebis ekonomikuri, demografiul i da profesiul i prioritetebisgan damoukidebl ad...

rodesac skol is daniSnul ebisa da misi mniSvel 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 imedebis amyareben sakuTari Svil ebis ukeTes momaval ze. am adaminebis survil ia, rom Svil ebma cxovrebis ukeTes pirobebs miaRwion da amis miRwevis SesaZl ebl obad Svil ebis kol ej ebSi swavl as miCneven. ganaTebul i Svil ebi ki qarxnebSi muSaobisgan TavS daaRweven. bol o wl ebSi maTi survil ebi sagnebis arCevis procesze aisaxa da maT gansakuTrebul i interesi akademiur konsul taciasa da kol ej isaTvis mosamzadebel programebs dauTmes central ur saSual o skol aSi.

qal aqSi aseve arsebobs meore jgufi, romel sac didi gavlena aqvs skol aze. bol o oci wl is manZil ze didi raodenobit l aTinoamerikel i mosaxle Camovida da damkvidrda qal aqSi. am adaminebma didi gavlena moaxdines qal aqis kul turul cxovrebas da ganaTl ebis misiaze skol aSi. central uri saSual o skol a maTTvis asimil acis procesis gasaadvil ebl ad yvel aze efeqtur saSual ebas warmoadgens. Sesabamisad, isini did mniSvel obas aniWeben enis swavl ebas da im saskol o programebs, roml ebic kul turis istoriaze akeTebS aqcents. TumcaRa, qal aqisa da skol is mraval fero-vani cxovrebia da prioritetebis fonze raRac-raRacebi mainc Zvel eburad 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 ikavebdnen.

j on o'mel eis, central uri saSual o skol is direqtors, moswonda saqmis amgvari viTareba. igi grZnobda, rom skol a uzrunvel yofda adekvatur, rig SemTxvevebSi ki saukeTeso ganaTI ebas moswavl eebisaTvis da qal aqis moTxovnil ebebs efeqturad pasuxobda. kurikul umi sakmaod dabal ansebul ia imisaTvis, rom yovel moswavl es misces saSual eba, miaRwios individual ur miznebs da daikmayofil os sakuTari saganmanaTI ebl o interesebi. mimarTul ebis departamenti ki aqtiurad aris CarTul i SerCevis procesSi. im skol adamTavrebul Ta ricxvi, roml ebic swavl as kol ej Si agrZel ebs - izrdeba da es direqtorisatvis saamayo.

am gadmosaxedidan, arc unda iyos gasakviri, Tu ratom gauWirda mister o'mel eis qal batoni kruzis, erT-erTi, meorewl iani moswavl is ukmayofil ebis gageba. dedas miaCnia, rom mis Svil s - deniss usamarTI od moeqca mimarTul ebis konsul tanti. denis kruzis mizania saSual o skol is dasrul ebis Semdeg swavl a gaagrZel os da unda, rom kol ej isaTvis mosamzadebel programisaTvis gaiaros registracia. Tumca, mis mrCevel s, misis koval skis miaCnia, rom denisi ver SeZI ebs am programebis warmatebiT daZI evas da urCevs mas, rom profesiul -saganmanaTI ebl o programaze gaagrZel os swavl a. misis kruzis azriT, konsul tants araviTari ufl eba ar aqvs, adreul i asakidanve aukrZal os deniss ganaTI ebis gagrZel ebaze ocneba im fonze, rom bevr sxva students Tanabari da samarTI iani arCevnis gakeTebis saSual eba eZI eva. mSobl is azriT, amgvari damokidebul eba misis koval skis mikerZoebul i damokidebul ebis magal iTs warmoadgens. misis kruzma dakvirvebis Sedegad aRmoaCina, rom moswavl eebi araproporciul ad arian gayofil ebi programebze da espanos moswavl eebis ufro intensiurad urCeven, Segirdobis Sesawavl ad daregistrirdnen an skol is damTavrebis Semdeg jarSi wavidnen, imis magivrad, rom kol ej Si swavl is gagrZel eba daisaxon miznad. misis kruzis azriT, msgavsi praqtika unda Seicval os, radgan is cal saxad rasistul ia da srul iad akargvinebs swavl is xal iss mis Svil s. mSobel i miiCnevs, rom misma vaJma imave xarisxis ganaTI eba da waxal iseba unda miiRos, rasac sxva moswavl eebi iReben. wi-naaRmdeg SemTxvevaSi, is amave moTxovnil ebebs ufro kate-

goriul ad svaganac da bevrjer gaaJRerebs, manamde, sanam misi Svilis survil i ar iqneba gaTval iswinebul i.

mister o-neil ma moiTxova konferenciis daniSvna mimarTul ebis departamentis, misis koval skisgan, imisaTvis, rom es sakiTxi ganexil aT. misis koval skim ki direktors miawoda informacia, rom misi gadawyvetil eba aranairad mikerZoebul xasiaTs ar atarebda. ufro metic, yvel a misi rekomendacia 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 siswores mowmobda. espanurenovani moswavl eebis umravl esobis msgavsad, denis kruzma ar icis ena sakmarisad da misi kul turul i gamocdil eba ar Seesabameba im monacemebs, romelic 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 svagvarad moiqceoda. metic, mSobl ebs Zal ian didi finansuri tvirti daawvebodaT saSual o skol aSi araswori gadawyvetil eebis miRebis SemTxvevaSi. arasamarTli ani iqneba, rom denisisaTvis sxva programaSi swavl is gagrZel ebis rekomendacia mieces da igi srul iad moumzadebel i darCes samomavl od im samuSao situaciebisaTvis, roml ebsac igi yovel dRiur cxovrebaSi Seejaxeba. garda amisa, arsebul i sistema yovel Tvis efeqtur mimarTul ebas aZl evda sxva emigranti moswavl eebis jgufebis 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 mizanSewonil ia misis koval skis argumentebi? Tqveni azriT, es qeisi diskriminaciis magal iTia Tu profesiul i gadawyvetil ebisa?

individual uri gansxvavebebi da Tanabari SesaZI ebl obebi

a. me mtkiced mj era, es qveyana iZI eva imis SesaZI ebl obebs, rom ganaTI ebis mesveurTa meSveobiT yvel a Tavisuffl ad gazarados da ganviTardes sakuTari potenciis fargl ebSi. bol osdabol os, individual uri keTil dReobis waxal isebe sazogadoebrivi keTil dReobis garantiaa, ase ar aris? Sesabamisad, Cveni skol ebi val debul ni arian SeimuSaon efeqturi meqanizmebi TiToeul i studentis niWis aRmoSaCenad da ganviTarebisaTvis. Cven ar unda vxarj avdeT Cvens Zal isxmevas, raTa yvel as yvel afris erTnairi warmatebiT keTeba vaiZul oT. araefeqturicaa da arasamarTI ianic, rom adaminebs, roml ebsac, magal iTad, musikis an mecnierebisadmi gansakuTrebul i midrekil ebebi ar aqvT, gavsarj oT da maT SevajibroT, visac amgvvari, specifikuri niWi aqvT. xom ar iqneboda bevrad ufro humanuri da mTI ianobaSi sazogadoebisaTvis momgebiani, rom musikisa da mecnierebisadmi nakl ebad midrekil individebs ar vaiZul oT am programebSi gaerTianeba? ratom ar mivceT yvel as imis swavl is saSual eba, rac misTvis ufro Sesaferisia?

b. Sen kargi magal iTi moiyvane, Tumca, mgonia, rom cdebi. rogor unda gadavvyvitoT, ra aris adaminebisTvis `ufro Sesaferisi?~ ar aris moral uri, adaminebs gamovuveroT maxasiaTebli ebi. Cven adaminebs unda mivceT imis ufl eba, rom sakuTari tal anti gamoavl inon. es ki mxol od maSin moxdeba, Tu Cven adaminebs farTo, mraVal feroVan da savse ganaTI ebas mivcemT, romel ic yvel asTvisaa. Cven special izeba da individual uri niWis ganviTarebis saSual eba mxol od nawil obriv unda gvqondes saSual o ganaTI ebis fargl ebSi. ufro metad amgvvari diferencireba kerZo biznesis, industriisa da profesiul skol ebSi unda iZI eodes. Tanaswori SesaZI ebl obebis koncefcia swored amas moITxovs.

a. ratom ggonia, rom vinme adaminebs maxasiaTebli ebs aniWebs! Sen adaminebs ise aRiqvam, TiTqos isini yvel a erTmaneTis msgavsi iyos, TiTqos Sen yvel afers aZI ev maT, rac swirdebaT da riTac interesdebian. Tanaswori SesaZI ebl obebis principi ki isaa, rom igi individis niWis ganviTarebas emsaxureba. Cven gagvaCnia kargad SemuSavebul i testebi, roml ebiC saSual ebas iZI eva, yvel a individis niWi ereba gamoavl inos. imasTan erTad, rom Cveni testebi karg warmodge-

nas gvaZl evs pirovnebis zogadi intel eqtis Sesaxeb, Cven aseve SegviZl ia testebiT gamovavl inoT artistul i niWi da mecnierebisadmi midrekil i pirovnebebi, maTi saerto da intel eqtual uri unarebi. Cven im personal uri faqtorebis gamocdac ki SegviZl ia, roml ebic sxvadasxva personal ur profil s ukeT Seesatyviseba da romel ic Sesafelis profesiu dargSi mis warmatebis potencial s gvaCvenebs. Cven wl idan wl amde individebis Secnobisa da maTi daj gufebis ukeTesi da ukeTesi SesaZl ebl obebi gveZl eva, radgan Cveni testebi ufro da ufro sandoa, xol o testebis SemmuSavebi ebi ki ufro efeqturi diagnostikur instrumentebs iyeneben.

b. testebi kidevac rom ufro da ufro ixvwebodes, nuTu fiqrob, rom testi imdenad efeqturia, saSual ebas izl eva, rom isini adamiანebis cxovrebi ganmsazRvrel ad gamoviye-noT, TiTqos adamiანebTan ki ara, cxvrebTan gvqondes saqme? testis erTi araswori Sedegi an pirovnebisatvis raime SesaZl ebl obaze uaris Tqma ukve moral uri danaSaul i iqneboda am individis mimarT.EerTma Secdomam SeiZl eba adamiანis mTel i cxovreba Secval os. Tu srul iad darwmunebul ebi ar varT, maSin ar gvaqvs imis ufl eba, rom studentebi davaxarixsoT an mimarTul ebebis mixedvit gadavanawil oT. meore mxriv, es testebi kidevac rom iyos asi procentiT sando, ratom unda vandoT maT adamiანis momavl is gansazRvra? gana varT darwmunebul ebi imaSi, rom Cveni standartebi sworia?

dawyvebiT safexurze kiTxvis j gufebSi moswavl eebis gaertianebac ki SekiTxvebs aCens. Cven moswavl eebis iarl iyebs vakravT da es moswavl eebic morCil ad pasuxoben Cvens didsa Tu mcire mol odins. es damokidebul eba adamiანisTvis gamocenis gamotanas hgavs. is moswavl eebi, roml ebsac Cven sustebis iarl iys vakerebT, stigmis qveS imyofebian da maT ar eZl evaT samarTI iani Sansi, rom Cvens mol odinebs gadaaWarbon. SesaZl ebl oba niSnavs, rom rac SeiZl 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, amitomacaa samwuxaro, rom cdebi. SesaZl ebl oba niSnavs yvel asaTvis potencial is Cvenebis Sansis micemas. magram swored es niSnavs, rom Cven maTi potenciebi samarTI ianad unda gavzomoT da adamiანebi sworad gavamwesot, ise, rom maT sakuTari Tavisa da sazogadoebi-

saTvis rac SeiZI eba meti sargebl obis motana SeZI on. aba, ra funqcia akisriaT skol ebs, Tu vTvl 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 Wkvianuri, efeqturi da samarTI iani gza imgvar mraVal ferovan sazogadoebaSi, rogorSic Cven vcxovrobt. SeiZI eba mcire doziT zogadi ganaTI eba marTI ac saWiroa, magram individebis specifikuri niWi da midrekil ebebi sa-zogadoebis 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 obebisa da individual uri gansxva-vebebis dil ema odesme gadaiWras? rogor ggoniaT, testire-ba, gamocda da special izebul i swavl eba funqciuria Tu araefeqturi?

social uri ganviTareba (reproduqcia)

a. nebismieri sazogadoebis val ia sakuTari TviTSeqmna da TviTganviTareba. es ki imas niSnavs, rom axal gazrdam Ta-vad unda moixdinos sakuTari cxovrebisul i gzisa da dovl aTisa da momsaxurebis ekonomikuri formebs inicireba. rogor unda moxerxdes es saukeTesod, bunebrivia, kamaTis sagania. Tumca, eWvgareSea amis gakeTebis aucil ebl oba Tu sazogadoebas arseboba unda gaagrZel os. skol ebis val ia, rom xel i Seuwyos sazogadoebisa da individebisaTvis sxva-dasxva sikeTebis 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 ~ praqtikaSi. Cven migvaC-nia, rom is gamiznul ia individebis ganaTI ebisaTvis, maTT-vis im codnisa da unarebis micemisaTvis, rol ebic maT das-WirdebaT srul i da produqtiul i cxovrebisatvis. imgvari cxovrebisatvis, romel ic racional ur da damoukidebel agents sWirdeba Cvens sazogadoebaSi. magram ras vakeTebT Cven real urad Cveni da Cveni msgavsi Cveul ebrivi skol is

instituciur garemōSi Cveni moswavl eebisaTvis? Cven maT vvrTniT imisaTvis, rom maT azrs mokl ebul i da biurokra- tiul i cxovreba kiTxvebis 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 isadmi interest mouqnel i da mkacri sistemis saSual ebiT, romel ic monoto- nuri da masobrivi producirebisaTvis aris SemuSavebul i. Cven wavaxal isebT konkurencias da vgmobT maT mier codnis erTobl ivad gamoyenebas da mxars vuWerT codnis daufI ebas egoisturi meTodebiT. moswavl eebi ki sxapasxupiT imeoreben imas, rasac Cven vambobT da warmatebis sazomi saSual odan miRebul i niSani hgoniaT. am da bevri sxva damokidebul ebis gamo, maswavl ebl ebi amoral uri Cinovnikebi arian, roml ebic gauazrebl ad akaveben da inarCuneben Cvens sazogadoebaSi arsebul ubedurebas da momaval Taobesac ubiZgeben amgvar situaiaSi damkvidrebisaken. 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 TviTkmayofil 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 SeiZl eba Sen marTal - ic ki xar. da Tu es ase, 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 gazrdis social izacia ar moxdeba am sazogadoebaSi? rogor SeiZl e- ba 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 gasaZl ierebl ad? yo- vel Tvis mimaCnda, rom Cveul ebrivi moqal aqeebi, roml ebic ganaTI ebis 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. SeiZl eba, Cveni umravl esoba mar- TI ac waaxal isebs konkurencias, Tumca ra arias amaSi cu-

di? konkurenciis gareSe ar aiarsebobda sporti da mxol od biznes miandobda im Zal isxmevis 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 ganvaviTaroT. imitom rom, Tu Sen azrovneb, Sen kiTxvebsac svam da sistemis Secvl ac ki SegiZl ia. ase rom, Tu maswavl ebl ebi moswavl eebis kritikul azrovnebas aswavl ian da aCveven, isini Zal ian mniSvel 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 ganaTl eba konspiraciis warmoadgine, magram me mimaCnia rom maswavl ebl ebis umravl esoba cdil obs sakuTari moswavl eebis gaZl ierebas imisaTvis, rom maT saukeTeso adgil ebi daikavon Cvens sazogadoebaSi.

b. me ar miTqvams, rom maswavl ebl ebi yovel Tvis acnobiereben sakuTari swavl ebis Sedegebs. isev da isev, Cveni institucional izebul i, dehumanizebul i moRvaweobiT Cven bavSvebisgan morCil muSakebs, tel eviziiT mowaml ul arsebebs da nakl ebad moazrovne Cinovnikebs vZerwavT, roml ebic mxol od TavS ityueben, rom kritikul i azrovnebis unari aqvT, rogorc Cven maT vaswavl iT. isini isev da isev msjel oben pol itikaze barsa da piknikze, Tumca isini ar uRrmavdebian msjel obaSi, sad aris am yvel afris 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 nawil i xdebian, imitom, rom es aris is real oba, romel ic Cvens skol ebSi arsebobs.

rogor fiqrobT, a piria marTali Tu b? ras qmnian real urad skol ebi?

Tanaswori, magram gami j nul i

sal ivanis deirpartkis skol a medisonis Statis axal i konsolidirebul i saskol o rgolia, romel ic saganmanaTl ebl o dawesebul ebebisa da mmarTvel obis reformirebis gegmis nawil s warmoadgens. axal i sistema, romel ic Statis administrirebis qveSaa, aerTianebs j eferson sitis Zvel

skol ebs, sadac umravl esobas umci resobebis warmomadgenl ebi da urbanul dasaxl ebebSi mcxovrebi Raribebi Seadgenen da mdidari mosaxl eebiT dasaxl ebul i gareubnebis Tanamedrove skol ebs. am gegmis ganxorciel eba jeferson sitis macxovrebl ebisa da federal uri advokatebis zewol is Sedegad daiwyo. igi miznad isaxavda ganaTI ebis Tanasworobis uzrunvel yofas da olqis skol ebSi rasobrivi bal ansis aRdgenas. am reformis Sedegad, jefersonis skol ebi damatebiT Semosavl ebs da gaumj obesebul servisebs iReben. am gegmis fargl ebSive bevri moswavl e jeferson sitidan axl o mdebare qal aqebSi, rogoric, magal iTad, silvania - axal, Tanamedrove skol ebSi gadavidnen saswavl ebl ad.

moswavl eebTan erTad axal skol ebSi jeferson sitis skol ebidan zogierTi maswavl ebel ic gadavida. es cvl il eba Statis axal i sistemis fargl ebSi dagegmil i fakul tetis reorganizaciis nawils warmoadgens. rozmari endiusi meoTxe kl asis pedagogia da gadasul i maswavl ebl ebis jgufis nawil ia. rozmari jeferson sitiSi aTi wl is win movida maswavl ebl ebis korpusis jgufTan erTad. am dRidan dawyebul i is qal aqis skol aSi aswavl ida. mTel i es wl ebi skol aSi mistvis dabrkol ebebisa da bednierebis wl ebi iyo. is da misi sxva kol egebi Zal isxmevas ar iSurebdnen, rom Rirseul i ganaTI eba miecaT mZime pirobebSi myofi bavSvebisatvis. SezRudul i resursebis, Seferxebebisa da emigraciis pirobebSi isini agrZel ebdnen muSaobas. rozmari odnav wuxda, rom misi saganmanaTI ebl o eqsperimentebis dro damTavrda jeferson sitiSi, Tumca Rrmad swamda, rom axal i sistema saukeTeso iqneboda jeferson sitis moswavl eebistvis momaval Si. misi gadawyvetil eba, deirparkis skol aSi gadasul iyo, nawil obriv ganpirobebul i iyo survil iT, rom isic jeferson sitis bavSvebis ganvitarebis Tanamonawil e yofil o axal i programis fargl ebSi.

axal skol aSi gadasvl is Semdeg, pirvel save gakvetil 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 jeferson sitidan gadmosul i bavSvebi Seadgendnen. 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 ganvitareba ar Seesabameboda SeTanxmebis im sul iskvetebasa da ganzrax-

vas, romel sac Statis unificirebul i saskol o ol qi gul isxmabda. moswavl eebis amgvari ganawil eba deirparkis skol aSi kidev ufro gaamZafrebda de faqto rasobriv da ekonomikur gamij vnas da minimumamde daiyvanda im saganmanaTI ebl o amocanebs, romel Ta misaRwevad konsolidaciis gegma iyo SemuSavebul i. moswavl eebis misi kl asidan Zal ian mcire kontakti eqnebodaT danarCen bavSvebTan da ucxoebad, SesaZI oa antagonistebadac ki darCebodnen sil ivanis moswavl eebis Tva;l Si. savaraudod, deirparkis skol am `xe- l ebi daibana- oficial uri pasuxismgebl obis Sesrul ebidan, romel ic rasobriv da kul turul interaqcias gul isxmabda 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 konkre- tul SemTxvevaSi, skol a saganmanaTI ebl o Secdomad unda yofil iyo aRqmul i. is arademokratiul ad funqcionirebs da ar aris real urad disegrirebul i. rozmari endriusma gada- wyvita, direktorTan konfrontaciaze wasul iyo arsebul i probl emidan gamomdinare.

deirparkis skol is direktori da sil vanis mkvidri - robert Siri Seecada daemSvidebina 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 konsolidaciis 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 eferoni sitis moswavl eebis garkveul i dro dasWirdebaT, rom axal saswav- l o gegmas moergon. amasTan, j eferoni sitis moswavl eebi ar arian iseTi Zl ierebi maTematikasa da kiTxvaSi, rogorc maTi Tanatol ebi sil vanidan da amisi mtkicebul eba teste- bis Sedegebia. garkveul i droa saWiro imisaTvis, rom maTi akademiuri moswreba gaumj obesdes da Sesatyvisi kl asis dones miaRwios. am situaciidan gamomdinare, mister Siri darwmunebul ia, rom swavl ebisaTvis sazia- no gaxdeba da ara- samarTI iani iqneba moswavl eTa orive j gufisaTvis, Tu maT erT sakl aso oTaxSi Seyrian da ar gaiTval iswineben maTi swavl is Sedegebsa da miRwevebs. mister Sirim sTxova roz- maris meti moTminebiT mohkideboda arsebul situacias.

SeecadeT, am qeiss konfliqtol ogi-Teoretikosis Tval iT SexedoT. ramdenad icavs kl asebis Serwymis wina periodi umravl esobis interesebs? ramdenad icavs mister Siri umravl esobis interesebs? rozmari? CaTvl ida Tu ara konfliqtol og-Teoretikosi moswavl eTa gamij vnas ganaTl ebis araTanasworobis sapasuxo qmedebad? ra Tval sazrisiT iqneboda funqcional istis mier am qeisis anal izi gansxvavebuli? ras gaakeTebdiT rozmaris adgil as?

ganaTl eba muSaobi saTvis

a. erT-erTi saukeTeso momzadeba `samuSao samyarosi- Se-sabij ebl ad liberal ur xel ovnebaSi kargi ganaTl ebis miRebaa. nebismieri didi bizneskompaniis adamiანიური resursebis mmarTvel i getyviT, rom eZebs gamorCeul kursdamTavrebul s, imisda miuxedavad, ra special izacia aqvs am adamiანს. mTavaria, rom am adamiანს kargi niSnebi hqondes miRebul i. liberal uri xel ovnebis mTavari fokusia azrovnebis ganviTareba da sakuTari ideebis gamoxatvis swavl eba, es ki is mTavari unarebia, roml ebiс business sWirdeba.

b. ar var darwmunebuli, rom 4 wel i kol ej Si swavl aa saWiromi saTvis, rom adamiანა azrovneba iswavl os da kargi oratori gaxdes. Cemi azriT, kol ej is ganaTl eba mxol od kidev erTi gafil tvris instrumenti da damatebiTi social ur-kl asobrivi barieria, romel ic kargi samsaxuris Sesazl ebl obas zrdis maTTvis, visac aqvs kol ej Si swavl is saSual eba. gana pol iciel s ar sWirdeba azrovnebis unari? Tumca, Cven misgan ar viTxovT kol ej is ganaTl ebas, ase araa?

a. ara, Tumca maRal menejerul poziciebze momuSave adamiანებს moeTxovebaT mraVal mxrivoba da unda SeeZl oT, Sexvदन da Seerion sworad SerCeul adamiანებს. amgvარი moqmedebebis ganxorciel ebis saSual ebas ki kargi liberal uri kol ej is ganaTl eba izl eva.

b. rogorc ukve giTxari, kol ej is ganaTl eba ar niSnavs maincdamainc im codnis miRebas, romel ic maRal i rangis samsaxurisaTvis aris saWiromi. es swavl eba xafangia, romel - sac maRal i kl asi agebs.

a. ara, ar aris ase! kol ej i niSnavs humanitarul i sakiT-xebis Seswavl as, rogoricaa Seqspiri, didi xel ovneba da musika, sakiTxebi da sagnebi, roml ebic aviTareben pirovnebis adamanur samyaros da cxovrebas amdidreben ara am si-tyvis material uri, aramed humanuri mniSvnel obiT.

b. ki batono, magram Tu es simarTI ea, maS ratom ar vaZ-l evT saSual ebas yvel as, rom l iberal uri ganaTI eba mii-Ros? ratom emwyvdeva zogierTi profesiul -teqnikiuri ga-naTI ebis brWyal ebSi? da gana Cveni pol iciuri Zal ebi uke-Tesebi ar iqnebodnen, Tu humanuri unarebi eqnebodaT ganvi-Tarebul i? maS ratom ar viTxovT pol iciel ebisaTvis l ibe-ral ur ganaTI ebas?

rogor ganixil avda l iberal ur ganaTI ebas konfli q-tol og-Teoretikosi? ra Sexedul eba eqnebodaT funqcional -ists? aris Tu ara l iberal uri ganaTI eba yvel asaTvis sau-keTeso arCevani?

muSaTa skol a

maria ortegas pirvel i pedagogiuri samuSao gamocdil e-ba el mo haistan aris dakavSirebul i. el mo hai qal aqis sko-l aa, romel ic danaSaul isa da narkomaniis maRal i maCvnebel iT gamorCeul i teritoriis maxl obl ad mdebareobs. rode-sac maria Tavis megobrebs mouyva Tavisi pirvel i samuSao adgil is Sesaxeb, isini gancvifrebul ebi darCnen da Zal ian Seebral aT igi. zogierTma isic ki Tqva, rom al baT arCevd-nen, saerTod ar hqonodaT samuSao, vidre amgvar adgil as emuSavaT. `viRacam xom unda imuSaos iqac maswavl ebl ad!- - pasuxobda maria yvel a amgvar komentars. sxva ra Sansi hqon-daT kul turul ad da ekonomikurad SeWirvebul studentebis el modan, Tavi daerwiaT im getosTvis, rogorc es marias SemTxvevaSi moxda?

rodesac mariam el moSi muSaoba daiwyo, iqauri situa-cia arafrit gansxvavdeboda centrSi arsebul i sxva skol e-bis situaciisgan; skol as Tavis danebebis, narkotikebisa da discipl inarul i gadacdomebis maRal i maCvnebel i hqonda; garda amisa - kol eqtivi, romel ic moral iT ar gamoirCeoda

da moswavl eebi, roml ebic saskol o muSaobas sakuTar cxovrebastan araTavsebadad afasebdnen... magram mogvianeBIT skol is direqtorad dainiSna heqtor gomesi. mas srul i Tavisufli eba mianiWa saskol o sabWom, rom eqsperimentul i saswavl o gegma SeemuSavebina. viTareba 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 Secl as isaxavda miznad. es xuTi wl is win daiwyo da maria kargad iazrebda, Tu ramdenad Seicval a si-tuacia am periodis ganmavl obaSi.

adgil obrivi policiis gamoZaxeba iSviaTad xdeboda sa-Wiro bandebs Soris dapirispirebebis aRsakveTad da qurdo-bis 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 eqtivil keTil sindisierebas ukavSirdeboda. rTul i dasajerebel i iyo, rom amgvari cvl il ebebi mister gomesis qarizmatul naturas da mis gadawyvetil ebebs ukav-Sirdeboda. direqtorma gadawyvita, rom skol isaTvis profes-iul -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 mos-wavl eebi `staJiorebad- mieRoT Tavisufal i samuSao-saswavl o xel Sekrul ebiT. maswavl ebl ebma ki didi siamovne-biTa da mondomebiT gaweres morigeobis grafiki, Tu vis da rod is 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 efeqturad asaxvas skol is saswavl o procesSi. skol is damTavrebis Semdeg, bevrma stu-dentma advil ad SeZl o samuSao adgil is povna swored im biznesstruqturebsa da qarxnebiSi, sadac isini stajiorebad iyven mivl inebul ni. mariasTvis es yovel ive saswaul is tol fasi iyo.

erTxel ac, samuSao dRis dasasrul isken, mariasTan mos-wavl eebis j gufi mivida. 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 iseTive maswavl ebel i gavxdeT, rogoric Tqven brZandebiT?- mimaTul ebis konsul tantma gviTxra, rom amisaTvis Cveni akademiuri kreditebi ar aris sakmarisi" misca Tu ara mister gomesis mier ganxorciel ebul macvl il ebebma moswavl eebis real uri SesaZl ebl obebi, Tu ubral od moargo isini sistemas? ramdenad seriozul ad Secvl ida arCeviTi akademiuri kreditebis mogvianebiT damateba situacias?

sakl aso subi eqt i vi zmi

meril in todi veterani maswavl ebel ia - ocduxuT 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 mdidari da Zal ian Raribi mosaxl eebiT gamoirCeva. is saukeTeso maswavl ebl ad iTvl eba da saukeTeso oj axebidan gamosul i gansakuTrebul i miRwevebis mqone aso biT 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 mxol od ekonomiuri, aramed akademiuri siRaribec igul isxmeba). is mxol od meSvide da merve kl asis daCqarebul i programis fargl ebSi gaerTianebul moswavl eebis aswavl is. ori Cveul ebrivi meSvide 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 meSvide 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 mimaTul 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 daxmarebisaTvis. TumcaRa, bol o xanebSi garkveul i tendenciuroba ukve Tval saCino gaxda da orive maswavl ebel i aRel vebul ia misis todis qcevis gamo.

yovel i wl is bol os, meSvide kl asebis ganyofil eba ikribeba, raTa gadawyvitos kl asis gadanawil ebis ambavi merve kl asisaTvis. yvel a, vinc darwmunebul ia, rom moswavl e mzadaa, `Cveul ebrivi~ kl asidan `daCqarebul ~ kl asSi gadavides (an piriqit), rekomendacias uwevs moswavl es, ganix-

il avs moswavl is saqmes meore pedagogTan da iRebs sabol oo gadawvetil ebas, xol o Sedegebs ki direqtors auwyebS. mSobl ebis azrs aseve iTval iswineben. yofil a SemTxvevebi, rodesac mSobl is moTxovnebs maswavl ebl ebis rekomendaciebs didi gavl ena mouxdeniaT sabol oo gadawvetil ebase.

domenikma da saram sakuTari Canawerebi erTmaneTTan ganxil es da, TavianTda samwuxarod, aRmoaCines, rom yvel a meSvidekl asel i, romel ic qal aqis Raribi raionis macxovrebel i iyo da roml ebsac maT rekomendacia misces, Cveul ebrividan meril inis gansakuTrebul i moswavl eebiT dakompl eqtebul daCqarebul kl asSi gadasul iyvnen, dabal i niSnit iyvnen 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 l ogikuri azrovnebiT gamoirCeodnen. rodesac domeniki da sara misis todis gakveTil s daeswrnen, Zal ian gakvirvebul ebi darCnen: daCqarebul i programis fargl ebSi gaertianebul i moswavl eebi iSviaTad iRebdnen `C- Sefasebaze maRal qul as, (da es im fonze, rodesac meril ini niSnebis 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 ime moswavl is gansakuTrebul kl asSi gadayvanis marTebul obasTan dakavSirebit. 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, SesaZl ebel i iyo meril ini maT moswavl eebS arasakmarisad momzadebul ad miiCnevda moswavl eebisagan sakuTari moTxovnebis Sesrul ebisaTvis. domenikis azrit ki, meril ini ubral od gansxvavebul ad eqceoda Raribi ojaxebidan 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 Tavdapirvel ad arasrul fasovnadac ki CaTval a igi. meril inis azriT, biWma Zl ivs SeZl o sakuTari programa Caebarebina. domeniki da sara gancvifrebul ebi, aRSfoTebul ebi da dabneul ebi darCnen, rodesac es ambavi Seityves.

maswavl ebl ebma gadawyvites, rom sakuTari fiqrebi meril inisTvis unda gaeziarebinaT. miuxedavad imisa, rom orive cdil obda, rac SeiZl eba meti dipl omatia gamoeCina, meril inma saubarze Zal ian mwvave reaqcia gamoavl ina. misis meril inma yovel gvari mikibv-mokibvis gareSe ganucxada koll egebs, rom aRSfoTebul i da Seuracxyofil i iyo im faqtiT, rom misi kol egebi mas mikerZoebul damokidebul ebaSi adanaSaul eben romel ime axal miRebul moswavl esTan mimarTebiT. yvel a moswavl e zustad erTnairi standartiT fasdeba, imisda miuxedavad, Tu ra warmoSoba aqvs da vin aris moswavl e. da Tu romel ime moswavl e cudad 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 iyaviT, 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 subieqtivizmisgan sakuTar sakl aso oTaxSi? rogor fiqrobT, aris es qeisi sakl aso subieqtivizmis magal iTi Tu meril ini marTal i iyo am SemTxvevaSi?

social uri mecnierebebi

j oni ager ukve 12 wel ia, rac social ur mecnierebebs aswavl is bergengtonis skol aSi. am skol aSi muSaobis dawyebidan ramdenime wel iwadSi igi mowme gaxda, Tu rogor miaRwia skol am ufro maRal social ur mdgomareobas da gadaiqca saSual o fenis momsaxurebaze orientirebul instituciad. j onis muSaobis pirvel etapze skol a eTnikurad dabal ansebel, dabal i kl asis mosaxl eebiTa da miznisa da miRwevaze araorientirebul saganmanaTI ebl o dawesebul ebas warmoadgenda. Zvel i skol is moswavl eTa umravl esoba in-

gl isurad cudad l aparakobda, Zl ivs kiTxul obda da disciplinasTan dakavSirebiTac xSirad hqonda probl emebi. da mainc, j oni axerxebda moswavl eebTan kargi urTierTobebis SenarCunebas da sjeroda, rom bevr sxva unarsa da codnasTan erTad, am moswavl eeb s aucil ebl ad sWirdebodaT amerikul i cxovrebis wesis Secnoba, demokratiul i politikuri institutebis dafaseba da imis gaazreba, rom maTTvis SesaZl ebl obebi ar aris daxurul i, Tu isini mizanmimarTul ad da bejiTad imuSaveben am SesaZl ebl obebis gamosayenebl ad.

sabednierod, qal aq bergentonis meris bol odroindel ma arCevnebma, sadac henri braunma gaimarj va, j onis warmodgenasa da mosazrebebs safuZveli gaumagra. pirvel ad istoriaSi, Savkaniani moqal aqe qal aqis meri gaxda. TumcaRa, meris kandidaturaze wardgenamde, henri brauni, emigrantTa Svil i, TviTon ikafavda gzas kol ejisaken. Tavidan maswavl ebl ad daiwyo muSaoba da paral el urad henri samarTal Si RamRamobiT mecadineobda. man merad arCevamde prokuroris Tanamdebobas miaRwia. j ons Tval naTel i da cocxali magal iTi gauCnda imisa, Tu ramdenis miRweva SeZl o adamianna muxl Cauxrel i Sromis, ganaTl 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 warudgendiT da Seaswavl idiT am magal iTs moswavl eeb s? rogor miudgebodiT Tqveni romel ime moswavl is gaRizianebul repl ikas: `es mxol od l atareaal!- Tqveni `amerikul i ocnebis~ istoriebiT, Tqven ubral od cdil obT, yvel a Cvengani aiZul oT, bevri imuSaos da sazogadoebisatvis sargebel i gaswios ufro meti gasamrjel os mol odinSi. magram real oba isaa, rom mxol od cal keul i pirovnebebi arweven maRral poziciebsa da did xel fasebs da, amavdroul ad, mTel i Cveni Sroma da garja im sistemis gamagrebas emsaxureba, roml is saSual ebiTac mdidrebi sargebl oben. Tqveni `istoria~ mxol od Cvens met datvirTvas emsaxureba da me am ankesze ar vegebi. momeci kargi xel fasis, saofise samsaxuris garantia skol is dasrul ebis Semdeg da mec daviwyeb imaves keTebas, Tqven Cemze ukeT iciT, rom aranairi garantiis mocema ar SegiZl iaT. maS me ratom moviqce Tqveni rCevetis Sesabamisad?"

interpretacia da eTikuri rel ativizmi

a. xSirad vxedav, rom adaminebis sxvadasxva j gufi e rTi da imave movl enis gansxvavebul interpretacias axdens, magram, amasTan, vacnobiereb, rom didi probl emebis winaSe SeiZl eba dadge, Tu amas sifrTxil iT ar moekidebi. magal iTad, rTul i iqneba vinmes sakuTari simarTl e daumtkico, radgan yovel Tvis miiReb pasuxs: `es mxol od Seneul i interpretaciaa-. Darada, Cndeba kiTxva 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 SevZl eb davumtkico isini sxva adaminebs? yvel aferi, rasac ki vakeTeb imitom, rom swor qmedebad mimacnia, SesaZl ebel ia sxvebis mier mcdarad CaiTval os am sxvebis interpretaciidan gamomdinare.

b. Cemi azriT, interpretivistul i xedva sul ac ar gvaiZul es am donemde rel ativisturad SevxedoT movl eneb. mxol od imitom, rom interpretacia me mekuTvnis, sul ac ar niSnavs, rom me ver davicav mas sxva, sapirispiro mosazrebebisgan. Cven yovel Tvis SegviZl ia, sxvebs vaiZul oT gansxvavebul i interpretaciebis Zal a, Tu SevZl 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 moviqceT, imisda miuxedavad, Tu ras ifiqreben sxvebi. es moral urobis moTxovnaa, ase ar aris? warmoidgine, rom armoCndi sazogadoebaSi, romel ic bavSvTa Sewirvas eweva rel igiuri ceremoniis nawil ad. isini sakuTar moqmedebas sworad miiCneven... maS, ra ufl eba gaqvs, maT miuTiTo, rom es arasworია?

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

I eba aRmoaCinos, rom am sazogadoebaSi bavSvebi metad arian dafasebul ni, vidre farTod aRiarebul humanur sazogadoebSi, sadac daSvebul ia milionobiT bavSvis SimSil iT sikvdil i da gaWirvebaSi cxovreba. am sazogadoebis wevrTa gagebiT, es interpretivisti 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 moiTxoveba, 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 amgvარი pozicia dagarwmunos, rom raRac unda moimoqmedo, Tu is mxol od isaubrebs am movl e-naze?

rogor fiqrobT, ramdenad rel aciul ia eTika sazogadoebisaTvis? SesaZl ebel ia, rom interpretivisti eTikuri standartebis erTgul i darCes? ra aris sworisa da mcdaris Tqveneul i gageba? rogorc maswavl ebel i, miicnevdiT 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 nasiamovnebi darCa im faqtiT, rom mis kl asSi ucxoel i moswavl e gadmovida - imisda miuxedavad, darCeboda biWuna mTel i wel i kl asSi Tu ara. mas esmoda, rom moswavl eebis 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 eebis ver miscemda.

anastasosi kidev ufro gaxarebul i iyo. is Zal ian gaxsnil i da aqtiuri bavSvi iyo, amasTan, zrdil obiani da Tavazianic. da is yovel Tvis mzad iyo, Tanakl asel ebisTvis sxvadasxva magal iTi moeyvana sakuTari da sakuTari qveynis kul turul i gamocdil ebidan, rodesac ki misis nikol si mas am TxovniT mimarTavda. is arasdros qmnida uxerxul obas da yovel Tvis kargad eqceoda sakuTar kl asel ebs. maS ratom cdil obdnen Tanakl asel ebi daufaravad misgan Tavis aridebas? es verafriT aexsna misis nikol ss. maswavl ebel i CixSi iyo moqceul i.

misis nikol si cdil obda mimxvdariyo, ra xdeboda misi moswavl eebis gonebaSi. nuTu isini iziarebdnen midl taunis kul turis dauwerel wess, romel ic macxovrebl ebis cxovrebis kredos nawil s warmodgenda? `moeride gareSe adamianebs, gansakuTreb iT ki ucxoel ebs. isini ar arian Cveni msgavsni-. nuTu es aris mizezi? an iqneb isini verc ki xvdebian, magram ganawyenebul ni arian maswavl ebl is yuradRebisa da gaxsnil i misal mebebis gamo anastasosisadmi, rodesac maswavl ebel i `fantastiur- social ur praqtikas eweoda?

iqneb sinamdvil eSi raRac bevrad ufro konkretul i da naTel ia? mas gaaxsenda, rom wakiTxul i hqonda sxvadasxva kul turis warmomadgenl is mier gansxvavebul i sxoul is enis gamoyenebis Sesaxeb. mas SeniSnul i hqonda, Tu rogor gaurbodnen 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 `wesis- nawil ad? maSin, rodesac igive qceva midl staunis mcxovrebtTa umravl esobisaTvis diskomforts qmnida. midl staunSi xom sakmao distancia saubrisas pativiscemas gamoxatavda, xol o axl os dgoma ki intimuri an uxeSi damokidebul ebis gamomxatvel i iyo?

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

xedavT raime gamosaval s maswavl ebl is probl emidan? SeiZl eba raime sxva interpretacia mieces moswavl eebis damokidebul ebas anstasosisadmi?

ki Tu ara meinstrimings?

painbrukis skol is direktori mister qeisi saSinl ad iyo gaRizianebul i, rodesac tel efonis yurmil i dakida. sate- l efono saubrebi antonis mamastan praqtikul ad yovel dRi- uri movl ena gaxda. direktors regul arul ad uxdeba mamasa gauziaros informacia antonis saSinel i qcevis, gamocdis Cafl avebis an romel ime sxva bavSvTan konfl iqtis Sesaxeb. mister qeisi xandaxan Tavdac ver xvdeba, ratom iwuxebS Tavs, ganaxorciel os mSobel Tan es srul iad usargebl o zarebi. mamasa 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 itacio progra- maSi iyo CarTul i. viRac xom unda iyos biWze pasuxismgebe- l i?

maswavl ebl ebis Civil i antonTan dakavSirebiT wl idan wl amde, biWis zrdasTan erTad ufro da ufro intensiuri xdeba. biWunas qcevebi ki TandaTanobiT yovel gvare normis fargl ebs cdeba. garda imisa, rom antoni Zal ian cotas mu- Saobs kl asSi da ar asrul ebs daval ebebs, biWs gauTavebel i garCevebi aqvs danarCen bavSvebTan. man moipara saTamaSoebi da ful i, daaziana skol is qoneba, da zogadad xel s uSl ida saswavl o process sakl aso oTaxSi. mister qeisi kargad ic- nobda antonis istorias. direktors araerTi saaTi aqvs ga- tarebul i biWis Sesaxeb fsiqol ogebis, social uri muSakis, special uri ganaTl ebis maswavl ebl is, mSobl ebis advokatisa da sxvaTa moxsenebebis kiTxvaSi. mister qeisi aseve daeswro SezRudul i SesaZl ebl obebis mqone moswavl eebis komitetis Sexvedrasac, sadac antoni emociurad SezRudul ad miicnies.

mister rainerma, antonis special uri ganaTl ebis mas- wavl ebel ma sTxova direktorsa da sxva TanamSroml ebs gan- sakuTrebul i yuradRebiTa da mzrunvel obiT mohkidebodnen 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 o- bac ki iarsebebs. antoni yovel dRiurad or saaTs mister rainterTan atarebs special uri ganaTl ebis resursebis

oTaxSi. miuxedavad imisa, rom saSinao daval ebebi Zal ian
cudad hqonda Sesrul ebul i, mas kiTxvis unarebi Tavisi
kl asis donis Sesaferrisad aqvs ganviTarebul i. biWunam
kiTxvasa 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 sasia-
movno garegnobis bavSvia, romel sac, erTi SexedviT, moswons
skol aSi yofna da swavl a. mister rainerma 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 eebis icavs. direqtori aseve kargad xedavs
im probl emebs, romel ic TiToeul i moswavl is momzadebas-
Tanaa dakavSirebul i. TiToeul i bavSvi xom momaval Si sa-
zogadoebis produqtiul i wevri unda gaxdes! TumcaRa, misis
bl eqs, antonis kl asis damrigebel s, Zal ian uWirda Tavis
Sekaveba da sakuTar gancdebsa da probl emebs direqtorsac
uziarebda. antoni zarmacobda. is xel s uSl ida maswavl e-
bel s gakveTil is CatarebaSi da awuxebda mis garSemo msxdom
bavSvebs. maswavl ebel s imas eWvic ki hqonda, rom antoni
bavSvebisTvis saWml is ful isa da sxvadasxva nivTebis warT-
meviTac 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 probl emebis gareSe
saqme ar mTavrdeboda. is iSviaTad Cerdeboda wynarad, anu
ise, rogorc amgvar SemTxvevebSi Cveul ebriv moswavl es
moeTxoveba. metic, is svamda kiTxvebs Semosul i satel efono
zarebis Sesaxeb, umiznod dabodial obda da yvel asTan, vinc
skol is administraciul SenobaSi Semodioda.

mister morano, antonis mama skol isagan mdgomareobaSi
Sesvl as moiTxovda. mas miaCnda, rom antoni mSvenier ganaT-
l ebas iRebda da misi qcevac nel -nel a swordeboda miuxeda-
vad biWis emociuri probl emebisa. antonis social urma mu-
Sakma mSobl is pozicia srul iad gaiziara da daeTanxma mas.
es special isti adreul i bavSvobidan icnobs moranoebis
oj axs da isic amCnevda pozitiur cvl il ebebs biWunas gan-
viTarebaSi. bol osdabol os, skol as val debul eba aqvs aRe-
bul i am bavSvis winaSe zustad iseve, rogorc nebismieri
sxva bavSvis winaSe. Sesabamisad, ar SeiZl eba skol am zurgi
miaqcios mas - gamoacxada social urma muSakma.

mister qeisi rTul i dil emis winaSi dadga. sad gadis mi-
si pasuxismgebl obis sazRvari, Tu is saqmes rogorc pedago-
gi da skol is xel mZRvanel i miudgeba? unda gauSvas man an-
toni 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 aiRos
pasuxismgebl oba moswavl is winaSe, romel ic swavl as axer-
xebs, miuxedavad misi qceviTi probl emebisa? direqtors xan-
daxan isic ki eCveneboda, rom axal i kanoni, romel ic unar-
SezRudul ebs icavda, saswavl o process aferxebda. meore
mxriv, is kargad aanal izebs am kanonmdebl obis farTo so-
cial ur mniSvnel obasa da zegavl enas.

Tqven rom interpretivisti iyoT, rogor gaanal izebdiT
am SemTxvevas? riTi iqneboda Tqveni anal izi gansxvavebul i
marqsistis anal izisgan? funqcional istis anal izisgan? ra
rekomendacias miscemdiT mister qeiss antonTan dakavSire-
biT?

sazogadoebis mier wayenebul i pi robebi da Tavisufli eba

a. saxl i da skol a ori faqtorია, romel ic real ur
gavl enas axdens bavSvebze zrdis periodSi. orive faqtori
bavSvebs samyaros erTaderT xedvas uyal ibebs zrdasrul o-
bis asakamde. mxol od Semdeg, zrdasrul asakSi, miecemaT maT
SesaZl 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 arsebo-
ben. Tumca, isaa erTaderTi samyaro maTTvis, radgan bavSvebi
absol uturad damokidebul ebi arian maTze, vinc maT aswav-
l iT. es total uri STagoneba da darigeba bavSvebs sakuTari
kul turis, da xSirad ki zogadad kl asobriv patimrad aq-
cevs. Cven vamtkicebT, rom maT Tavisufli ebisa da damouki-
debl obisatvis aRzrdas veweviT, Tumca, metwil ad es SeuZ-
l ebel ia.

b. Tavisufl eba mxol od maSin xdeba SesaZl ebel i, Tu Sen misi SeuZl ebel i xedva gagaCnia. aravin SeiZl eba iyo oj axisa da skol isgan, enisa da kul turisagan. Cven yvel as gvWirdeba amgvari gamocdil eba, rom pirovnebebad Camovyal ibdeT. amqveynad ar arsebobs iseTi xel Seuxebel i adgil i, sadac es fenomenebi ar arseboben da Tavisufl ebi miRebis saSual ebas iZl evian. Tavisufl eba mxol od imis gamoZieba da garkvevaa, rasac manamde yovel gvvari SekiTxevis gareSe Segaswavl idnen. Tavisufl eba gansjisa da mimRebl obis kargad ganvitarebul i standartia, romel ic Sen saSual ebas gaZl evs, sakuTari pasuxismgebl obis gaazrebiT miRo an uaryo is Sexedul ebebi da normebi, rwmena da faseul obebi, romel Tac Seni saxl i, skol a da kul tura ginergavda. individis sazogadoebaSi arseboba am sazogadoebis memkvidreoba, sazogadobrivi cxovrebaSi monawil eoba da wvl il is Setanaa. swored individebis wvl il i iRebs kritikul i gansjisa da qmedebaTa foras, romel ic gansazRvavs Cveni da sazogadobis raobas da momaval yofas.

a. Seni sityvebi Zal ian ideal isturia. gana saxl sa da skol aSi naswavl i dauwerel i kanonebi da normebi ar ganapirobebs imas, Tu ras miviCnevT Cven sworad da mcdarad adamianis moqmedebes? amasTanave, gana es kanonebi da normebi ar gansazRvavs Cvens kriticizmsa da damoukidebel i azrovnebis meTodebs? gana sxva kul turaTa normebSi ki ar xdeba saRi azris gadacema, Semdegi Taobebis mier memkvidreobis miReba da monawil eobis formebis gansazRvra? Tavisufl ebi `SesaZl o~ xedva ar SeiZl eba dafuZnebul i iyos racional obisa da Tavsebadobis pirad standartebze. aseTi koncefciebi ar arsebobs. arsebobs mxol od sazogadobidan gamosul i gamocdil eba, rwmena da azrovnebis formebi.

b. rasakvirvel ia Cveni sazogadobrivi Sexedul ebebi saerTo da gaziarebul i Sexedul ebebia. rogori absurdi iqneboda, Tu yvel a Cvengani vel osipedis Tavidan gamogonebas Seecdeboda. Tu TiToeul i adamiani aRmoCenebis keTebas TviTon, daxmarebis gareSe daiwyebda da ar gaiTval iswinebda sazogadobaSi arsebul praqtikul gamocdil ebas da im naazrevs, codnas, romel ic amdeni Taobebis ganmavl obaSi individTa wvl il is Setanis saSual ebiT iqmneboda! Cemi Rma rwmeniT, Cven bevrad ufro metis gakeTeba SegviZl ia, vidre pirSi wyal Cagubebul ebs imis TamaSi, rac saxl sa da skol aSi gvaswavl es. Cven viZiebT, vfiqrobT da vmoqmedebT imisaT-

vis, rom Sevicval oT da imisaTvis, rom Cveni sazogadoebac Sevcval oT garkveul i Tval sazrisiT. swored es aris Tavisufli eba sazogadoebrivi tradiciebisa da kul turis bor-kil ebs miRma. martivi sul ac araa, magram, SesaZl ebel ia, sxvis mier naswavl ebma Senze gavli ena ar moaxdinos. nu aurev rTul sa da SeuZl ebel s erTmaneTSi! pirovnul i Tavisufli eba ar aris wyal oba, is sirTul eebis gadal axvis SemTxvevaSi moipoveba. is damoukidebel pirovnebad Camoyal ibebis proces-sis nawil ia.

a. is, rasac Sen l aparakob, metad sasiamovno mosasmenia, magram nuTu ver xvdebi, rom Seni msj el oba dasavl eTis l i-beral uri pol itikuri tradiciebis gavli eniTaa gamowveul i? im tradiciebiT, romel Sic Sen gaizarde. Sen sul sxva rwme-na geqneboda, Tu sxva qveyanaSi, gansxvavebul pol itikur ga-remoSi gaizrdebodi da iswavl idi.

b. SeiZl eba Sen marTal ic xar, Tumca me mainc mwams, rom yvel a SemTxvevaSi, viqnebodi is, vinc dRes var Tu is, vinc Sen dauSvi, rom SeiZl eboda vyofil iyavi, mainc davsvamdi kiTxvebs da Sevicvl idi Cems pirvel ad warmodgenas Tavi-sufli ebis Sesaxeb.

a. SeiZl eba marTI ac asema. magram es yvel aferi imdenad hipoteturia, Cven xom arasdros ar viciT zusti pasuxi. ra-tom unda SeviwuxoT Tavebi? ra Seicvl eba, Tu Cven gavagr-Zel ebT erTmaneTTan an sxvebTan diskusias? Cven an varT da an ar varT Tavisufli ebi da Cveni saubari amas ver Secvl is.

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

rogor fiqrob, aris Tavisufli eba SesaZl ebel i? SeiZl eba Tu ara kritikul ad movekidoT viRacis kul turas da mis `kanonier-pretenziebs codnis miRebis formeBTan dakavSire-biT? ganaTI eba kul turul i marwuxebia Tu trampl ini Tavi-sufli ebisaTvis?

interpretacia da epistemikuri rel ativi zmi

a. funkcional istebma da neomarqsistebma unda gaaanal izon, rom isini erTsa da imave movl enebis sxvadasxvagvarad xedaven da arc erTi maTganis xedvaSi simarTI e ar aris asaxul i. mkvl evarTa nebismier j gufs, rel igiuri, eTnikuri da erovnul i j gufebis msgavsadac ki, samyaros xedvis sakuTari `forma- gaaCnia da movl enebis interpretirebasac am xedvis mixedviT axdenen. Cven unda miVxvdeT, rom es xedva imgvaria, rogoric aris da ar SeiZl eba, rom erTi, `swori-xedva veZioT.

b. sxva sityvebiT rom vTqvaT, ar arsebobs sazogadoebasa da skol as Soris arsebul i kavSiris swori daxasiaTeba an aRwera? Tu am l ogikas miVvyvebiT, gamova, rom Cvenc aranairi ufl eba ar gagvaCnia vamtkicoT, rom saskol o an ganaTI ebis kvl evis swori gzebis danaxva SegviZl ia.

a. rogor ar SegviZl ia. warmoidgine, rom akvirdebi sam adamians, roml ebic gansxvavebul i Seferil obis mzis saTval 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 sxvadasxvafrad davinaxav. gansxvaveba isaa, me vici, rom saTval e mikeTia, maT ki es ar ician...

b. namdvil ad SesaniSnavi anal ogi moiyvane. Tumca, nuTu Seni msj el oba ar niSnavs, rom yvel a adamianna unda ataros saTval e? kiTxva ase unda Camoyal ibdes: aris Tu ara saTval e erTgvari interpretivistul i CarCo samyaros Sesacnobad, Tu es sxva adamianebis interpretaciaa?

a. ki batono, magram nuTu ver xedav gansxvavebas imaSi, rom Sen ici, yvel am unda ataros saTval e da imaSi, amis gaazrebis gareSe ubral od amtkicebde, rom Seni xedvaa erTaderTi da WeSmariti?

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 nacrisfrad an yavisfrad? Cven im saTval es varCevT, romel ic

ukeT miesadageba Cvens subieqtur mizezebs da ara imitom, rom erTi ufro mkafiod gvaCvenebs samyaros, vidre meore.

a. Sen Cems anal ogs araswori mimarTul ebiT iyeneb, magram me minda vifiqro, rom arsebobs ukeTesi da uaresi interpretaciebi. rigi interpretaciebi ukeT arian faqtebs ukeT arian morgedul ebi, sxvebi ki faqtebs argeben sakuTar interpretaciebs. arsebobs iseTi interpretaciebic, roml ebic saerTod ar arian morgedul ni imgvar movl eneb, roml ebic intuitiuradac ki mniSvel ovani unda iyos.

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

a. aris, da es hermenevtikaa.

ras fiqrob am dial ogze? SeiZl 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 Statebidan sadoqtoro programis damTavrebis Semdeg, xuTi wl isTavze dabruna, am periodis ganmavl obaSi misi qveyana gansakuTrebiT ar Secvl il a. kol onial uri reJimidan damoukidebl obis miRwevis 25-e wl isTavze qveyana kvl avac pol itikurad arastabil uri iyo. agrokul tura qveynis mTavar ekonomikur sayrdenad rCeboda mosaxl eobisaTvis, agrokul tura mosaxl eobisaTvis sakuTari Tavis gamokvebis wyarosa da imavdroul ad eqsportis warmoebis saSual ebas warmoadgenda. swored agrokul turul i produqtebis eqsportiT miRebul Semosaval s iyenebdnen adamiანიebi saWiro teqnikiuri produqciis SesaZenad. erovnul i gegmis mesveurebis ocneba iyo ukeTesi ganaTl ebis uzrunvel yofa qveyanaSi. ganaTl ebas isini axal i samuSao Zal is warmoqmniSaTvis real ur gZad miiCnevden. pol itikis mesveurebs surdaT, rom mosaxl eobas qveynis nedl eul i ara agrokul turul i produqtebis warmoebisaTvis gamoiyenebina da am produqtebis eqsportiT dakavebul iyo. gegmis avtorebs swored am strategiit undodaT mieRwiaT, rom adamiანიebi fermebisa da mindvrebis mZime samu-

Sao pirobebida ufro sasiamovno SromiT pirobebze gada-
sul iyvnen da metSemosavl iani urbanul i industriul i sa-
zogadoeba ganv iTarebinaT.

kote erT-erT momavl is l iderad da ganaTI ebis sis-
temis mSenebl ad miiCnies. am samomavl o pasuxismgebl obis
Rirseul ad Sersul ebisaTvis, kote sazRvargareT miavl ines
saswavl ebl ad. amerikis SeerTebul StatebSi studentobis
periodSi kotem gaicno funqional 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 ime xedva Seeswavl a, axl a mSvidad dabrundeboda sam-
Sobl oSi, miuj deboda pol itikis mesveurebs da miexmareboda
maT erovnul i saganmanaTI ebl o sistemis awyobaSi. am
SemTxvevaSi igi ganaTI ebis sistemas mraval mxrivi perspeq-
tividan aRar Sexedavda da dakisrebul pasuxismgebl obasac
kargad Seasrul ebda. marqsistul i gadmosaxedidan, is kargad
xedavda, rom qveyanaSi kl asobrivi diferenciacia kidev
ufro iyo gaZl ierebul i, radgan mcire raodenobiT warmod-
genil i mdidrebi, roml ebsac kargi poziciebi ekavaT, cdi-
l obdnen, damoukidebl obis periodSic SeenarCunebinaT sa-
kuTari gavlena da sakuTari keTil dReoba. rasakvirvel ia,
isini didi siamovnebiT SesTavazebdnen masebs ganaTI ebas.
oRond es ganaTI eba sakmarisi iqneboda imisaTvis, rom mo-
saxl eobas imdeni codna SeeZina, ramdenic am mdidari ada-
mianebis qarxnebsa da fabrikebSi muSaobisaTvis dasWirdebo-
daT, magram ara imdeni, ramdenic mosaxl eobas qarxnebis me-
patroneebad aqcevd. funqional istis perspeqtividan, kote
xedavda ganaTI ebis sistemaSi cvl il ebebis ganxorciel ebis
aucil ebl obas, raTa gansakuTrebiT niWi erebi SerCeul iyvnen
da ganv iTarebul iyvnen. swored amgvar niWier adaminebs un-
da SeeqmnaT axal i sazogadoeba, romel ic gaemij neboda pri-
mitiul agrokul turul formebs da industrial izaciisa da
ekonomikuri ganv iTarebis axal eraSi Seabij ebda. amgvari
sazogadoeba ki SeZl ebda srul iad mosaxl eobisaTvis Seeqmna
ukeTesi sakvebis, j andacvisa pirobebi da material uri dov-
l aTi. meqrTameoba da biZaSVil oba aRar unda yofil iyo pi-
robebi, roml ebic arakompetenturi adaminebis maRal pozi-
ciebze daniSvnas uzrunvel yofda. interpretivistis xedviT
ki, kote xedavda imis aucil ebl obas, rom skol ebSi agro-
kul turidan da saTemo tradiciebidan bevri kargi da sasari-
gebl o mimarTul eba unda SenarCunebul iyo. swored agro-

kul turul i mimarTul ebebisa da tradiciebis SenarCunebiTa da skol aSi dankvidrebiT gaxdeboda SesaZl ebel i sazogadoebis erTianobis, keTil dReobisa da sakuTari cxovrebis wesiT kmayofil ebis SegrZnebis gaZl iereba. im cxovrebiT wesiT, romel ic, kol oniur periodis miuxedavad, qveyanaSi ayvavda da ganviTarda. imisaTvis, rom mosaxl eobaSi TviTmyofadobisa da mTI ianobis SegrZneba am swrafad ganviTarebad msofi ioSi ar dakargul iyo, kotes Tanamoqal aqeebisTvis sakuTari cxovrebis wesis SenarCuneba da Taobidan Taobaze gadacema iqneboda upriani.

kotes adgil ze, ra tipis rCevebs SesTavazebdiT Tqveni qveynis erovnul i saganmanaTI ebl o sistemis cvl il ebisaTvis? SesaZl ebel ia Tu ara, rom es gansxvavebul i xedvebi kargad gaazrebis SemTxvevaSi praqtikaSi Tavsebadi iyos?

kurikul umi

a. Cveni dawyebiTi da saSual o skol ebis saswavl o gegmebis umravl esoba uzrunvel yofs moswavl eebis im zogadi unarebiTa da codniT, romel ic yvel a adamianisaTvisaa saWi-ro saerTo sazogadoebriv cxovrebaSi monawil eobisa da CarTul obisaTvis.

b. ra aris sazogadoebrivi cxovreba? arseboben mdidrebi da Raribebi, gavl eniani da susti, privil egirebul i da danarCeni adamianebi. Cven Cvens adgil s vswavl obT skol aSi, xol o usamarTI oba, romel ic sazogadoebriv cxovrebaSi arsebobs, kargad aris SenarCunebul i da dakanonebul i sistemis mier. saswavl o gegma araswor cnobierebas ayal ibebs.

g. me ki daveTanxmebi a-s msjel obas. saswavl o gegmebis umravl esoba, gamocxadebul ia igi Tu farul i, adamianebs sazogadoebaSi efeqturi funqcionirebisaTvis amzadebs. swored amgvarad eZl evaT adamianebs SesaZl ebl oba, miarWi on warmatebas cxovrebaSi. Cven amas ver SevZl ebdiT, Tu kiTxva da wera ar gvocodineboda. Sesabamisi ganaTI ebis gareSe Cven adamianebs imasac ki gavagebinebdiT, ra aris araswori cnobiereba. kurikulumi adamianebs im rTul i da mra-val mxrivi teqniki samyaroSaTvis amzadebs, romel Sic maT

unda icxovron da imuSaon. skol ebi aviTareben biznessa da industriaSi dasaqmebisaTvis aucil ebel unarebsa da damokidebul ebebs. es biznessi 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 cxovrebisatvis.

b. maS ratom aris social ur-ekonomikuri fena da warmoSoba ase dadebiT korel aciuri saskol o miRwevebsa da sam-saxureobriv-poziciur ekonomikur keTil dReobasTan? axl ave agixsni T!

im dros, rodesac skol ebi cruoben da yvirian, rom Tanabar SesazI ebl obebs uzrunvel yofen yvel asaTvis, sinamd-vil eSi dabal kl asebs mtkiced unergaven da iTiteben saku-Tar adgil s sazogadoebaSi. skol ebi maT morCil samuSao Zal ad zrdian, im muSakebad, visac am xel ovnurad SeTiTx-nil i saWiroebebiT gadavsebul i cxovrebis maRal i mimReoba gaaCniaT. saWiroebebiT, romel ic savsea dabal fasiანი pro-ductebiTa da garTobis saSual ebebiT, roml isgan miRebul i Semosaval i, sxvaTa Soris, isev mdiდრების j ibeebSi Caedineba.

a. saqme isaa, rom arc erTi 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 miReba? nuTu Cveni skol a ar gvaswavl is, rogor unda gaxdeT gaziarebul sa-zogadoebriv yofaSi aqtiuri da srul ufl ebiani monawil e?

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

g. zogi kurikul umi marTI ac rom `farul ia-. TumcaRa kvl evebis wyal obiT, axl a Cven is ukeT SegviZI ia SevicnoT. Cven vaswavl iT im normebsa da damokidebul ebebs, rac mniSv-nel ovania demokratiul sazogadoebaSi warmatebis misaRwe-vad. ra aris mere amaSi cudi? ra aris cudi imaSi, rom vis-wavl oT damoukidebl oba, miRwevebis xasiaTi, specifikuroba da universal izmi? es xom ukeTes individebs da ukeTes sa-zogadoebas ayal ibebs! `a- aseve marTal ia, rom sagnebi, roml ebic skol aSi Seiswavl eba codnis sistemis ga-fil tvris Sedegad miReba. im codnisa, romel sac Cven ro-

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

a. Cven aseve gagvaCnia gaziarebul i rwmenebi da normebi, rac fundamental uria da Zal ian mniSvnel ovani imisaTvis, rom individebi damoukidebel i pirovnebebi iyvnen. me Rmad var darwmunebul i Cvens val debul ebaSi, vaswavl oT adamia-nebs is, rac maT Cvens sazogadoebaSi damoukidebel monawil eebad Camoayal ibebs. 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 ibebs. kurikul umi agreTve unda exmarebodes moswavl eebis imis danaxvaSi, rom swored esaa sazogadoebrivi cxovreba da rom Cven yvel a Cvens wvl il s vdebT mis SeqmnaSi. da bol os, moswavl eebma unda dainaxon, rom mxol od romel ime sazogadoebriv sistemaSi aqtiuri monawil eobis pirobebSi SegviZl ia viswrafoT Cveni individual uri saWiroebebis da adamanuri miznebis miRwevisaken.

b. saWiroebebsa da miznebs kl asobrivi cnobiereba gansazRvrvs!

g. ara! maT progresis social uri konteqsti gansazRvrvs. `a"-s anal izi mokl ebul ia humanuri politikis perspeqtivas da amitomacaa, rom misi Teoria safuZvel s mokl ebul ia. me da `b- kurikul umis garkveul i politikuri Teoria mainc gagvaCnia, miuxedavad imisa, rom erTmaneTs ver veTanxmebiT. `a- Zal ian gul ubryvil o unda iyos, rom kurikul ums politikuri perspeqtividan ver xedavdes. kurikul umi apolitikuri verasdrov ver iqneba.

kurikul umis xedvis romel i perspeqtivaa Sentvis ufro metad misaRebi? ratom? SeiZl eba, rom kurikul umi apolitikuri iyos?

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