nana sumbaZeQ

sazogadoebrivi politikis instituti

**qalaqi da sofeli: mosaxleobis Rirebulebebi da politikuri simpaTiebi**

Tanasworobis miRweva Tu ara, misadmi miaxloeba mainc, kacobriobis istoriis manZilze mravali sazogadoebis amocanas warmoadgenda da kvlav warmoadgens. magram uTanasworoba mainc rCeba nebismieri sazogadoebis damaxasiaTebel Tvisebad. stratifikacia, romelic sazogadoebis erTerT mniSvnelovan maxasiaTebels warmoadgens, asaxvas adamianTa sxvadasxva jgufebs Soris arsebul struqturul uTanasworobas. sazogadoebis stratifikacia SesaZlebelia mravali niSnis mixedviT. Aam niSnebis mniSvneloba icvleba drosTan da sazogadoebis ganviTarebis donesTan erTad. Mmonoba. Kkasta, didgvarovneba, warmoebis saSualebebis flobaze dafuZnebuli klasi warmoadgenda da zogierT sazogadoebaSi kvlav warmoadgens. stratifikaciis Sedegs (Giddens, 1997). Tumca Tanamedrove epoqaSi stratifikacia ufro metad efuZneba maqs veberis mier gamoyofil sam maniSnebels: materialur SesaZleblobebs, prestiJs da Zalauflebas. Eekonomikurma ganviTarebam da demokratiulma mmarTvelobam Searbila gansxvavebebi zemoTaRniSnul maniSneblebis mixedviT da ganviTarebul qveynebTan mimarTebaSi dRes laparakia stratifikaciaze sqesis, eTnurobis, seqsualuri orientaciis, SezRuduli SesaZleblobebisa da asakis mixedviT (Macionis & Plumer, 2008). Tumca zogierTi avtoris azriT (mag. Lipton, 1993) Rarib qveynebSi stratifikacia realurad sacxovrebel adgils emyareba da uTanasworoba yvelaze metad vlindeba qalaqisa da soflis mosaxleobis Sedarebisas.

urbanizmi, rogorc amas adreuli qalaqis sociologebi miuTiTebdnen cxovrebis stils warmoadgens (Wirth, 1938). Q maTive ganmartebiT qalaqi xasiaTdeba didi zomiT, mosaxleobis maRali simWidroviT da socialuri mravalferovnebiT. qalaqis garemos sawinaaRmdegod, soflis sociokulturuli garemosaTvis metad aris damaxasiaTebeli tradiciuli normebisa da konservatuli Rirebulebebisadmi erTguleba. . soflis socialuri garemo “susti kavSirebis” (Granovetter, 1973) damyarebis nakleb SesaZleblobebs iZleva. susti kavSirebi ki areklaven gansxvavebul sxvebTan ufro zedapirul, naklebad intimur urTierTobebs da Sesabamisad daxurul, mxolod msgavsebTaA Soris yofnidan gamosavals. Uurbanizacia anu mosaxleobis qalaqebSi koncentracia globalur process warmoadgens, romelic gansakuTrebiT daCqarda XX saukunis meore naxevarSi. Ggaeros prognozis mixedviT 2025 wels msoflioSi qalaqis mosaxleoba 63 procents miaRwevs.

stratifikacias qalaqsa da sofelSi cxovrebis mixedviT yuradReba mxolod XX saukunis dasawyosidan mieqca (Giddens, 1997). soflidan qalaqad migracia ZiriTadad gapirobebulia qalaqad arsebuli meti SesaZleblobebiT. Ees exeba, rogorc ekonomikur SesaZleblobebs, kerZod dasaqmebas, aseve ganaTlebasTan da kulturasTan dakavSirebul, aseve sxvadasxva da specifiuri, xarisxiani servisis miRebis SesaZleblobebs.

qveynis Siga migracia qalaqSi saqarTvelosaTvis damaxasiaTebel da mzard tendencias warmoadgens. oTxmocdaTian wlebSi dawyebuli mosaxleobis qveynis gareT migracia aisaxa mosaxleobis raodenobis Semcirebaze qalaqad, iseve rogorc soflad, magram ukanasknel wlebSi saxezea did qalaqebSi mosaxleobis zrda. ase magaliTad Tbilisis mosaxleoba 2002 wlidan 2008 wlamde gaizarda 3.0, quTaisis 1.4, baTumis 0.3, rusTavis 0.8, zugdidis 4.4, goris 1.7 da foTis 0.5 procentiT. dRes dedaqalaqsa (1,106,500) da 6 did qalaqSi - quTaisSi (188,600), baTumSi (122,200), rusTavSi (117,300), zugdidSi (72,100), gorSi (50,400) da foTSi (47,400) cxovrobs 1,704,500 adamiani, anu maTSi saqarTvelos mosaxleobis mesamedze meti aris koncentrirebuli (http://www.citypopulation.de/Georgia.html)

siRaribe migraciis erTerTi gampirobebeli faqtoria. igi xSirad sacxovrebel adgilTan aris dakavSirebuli. miuxedav rigi makroekonomikuri maCveneblis zrdisa qvynis masStabSi, ekonomikuri zrda aranairad ar aisaxa mosaxleobis keTTildReobaze. oficiluri monacemebi 2004 wlis Semdeg qveyanaSi arsebuli siRaribis donis Taobaze ar gamoqveynebula. @2004 wels siRaribis miRma cxobrobda saqarTvelos mosaxleobis 52 procenti. saerTaSoriso savaluto fondi msoflio bankis monacemebze dayrdnobiT miuTiTebs absoluturi siRaribis zrdaze 2004 wlidan 2007 wlamde (adamianis ganviTarebis angariSi, 2008). saqarTvelos mosaxleobis erTi mesamedi Tavs Raribad miiCnevs da registrirebulia socialurad mowyvlad ojaxTa monacemTa bazaSi. Raribi mosaxleobis 60.0 procenti soflad cxovrobs.

siRaribis yvelaze mniSvnelovan faqtors umuSevroba warmoadgens. saqarTvelos kanonmdeblobis mixedviT TviT-dasaqmebulad iTvleba yvela is piri, vinc flobs miwis nakveTs. Aqedan gamomdinare umuSevrobis maCvenebeli qveyanaSi ar aris maRali. igi 2004 wels Seadgenda 11.5 procents, xolo 2007 wels 13.3 procents. eqspertebis mosazrebiT realuri umuSevroba qveyanaSi 30.0 procents unda Seadgendes (UNDP, 2008).

sacxovrebeli adgilis tipi da zoma garkveulwilad ganapirobebs adamianis cxovrebis stils, gansazRvravs mis msoflmxedvelobas uqmnis ra gansxvavebul sxvebTan urTierTobis, sxvadasxva tipis informaciis miRebis SesaZleblobas. SeiZleba vivaraudoT, rom soflis mosaxleoba, qalaqis mosaxleobaze ufro metad konservatuli damokidebulebebis gamo ufro loialuri unda iyos arsebuli xelisuflebis da ufro erTguli tradiciuli Rirebulebebis mimarT. Aamdenad xelisuflebisadmi erTgulebis gazrdas unda velodoT dasaxlebis zomis SemcirebasTan erTad. Aam SemTxvevaSi xelisuflebisadmi yvelaze mcire keTilganwyobas gamoavlens dedaqalaqis, ufro mets didi qalaqebis da yvelaze mets soflis mosaxleoba. soflis mosaxleoba aseve ufro metad unda uWerdes mxars tradiciul da materialistur Rirebulebebs.

ukanasknel wlebSi saqarTveloSi mimdinare procesebma gamoaSkaraves soflisa da qalaqis, gansakuTrebiT ki Tbilisis macxovrebelTa gansxvavebuli politikuri simpatiebi da Rirebulebebi. qvemoT Cven ganvixilavT gansxvavebebs politikuri Sexedulebebisa da simpaTiebis mixedviT Tbilisis, ^saqarTvelos eqvsi didi qalaqis da mcire qalaqebisa da soflis macxovrebelTa Soris, SevecdebiT gamovyoT mizezebi, romlebic ganapirobeben amgvar gansxvavebas. Nanalizisas Cven daveyrdnobiT sazogadoebrivi politikis institutis mier 2008 wlis noemberSi Catarebul saqarTvelos mosaxleobis reprezentaciuli gamokiTxvis Sedegebs (gamokiTxva ganxorcielda Ria sazogadoebis institutis mxardaWeriT). sami jgufi, romlis mixedviTac aris ganxiluli Sedegebi gamoyofil iqna sacxovrebeli adgilis zomis mixedviT. Ppirvel jgufs Seadgens Tbilisis mosaxleoba (gamokiTxulTa 22.4 procenti), meore jgufSi (gamokiTxulTa 17.1 procenti) gaerTianda im qalaqebis mosaxleoba, romelebSic 45,000-ze meti macxovrebelia, aseTia quTaisi, baTumi, rusTavi, zugdidi, gori da foTi, xolo mesame jgufSi gaerTianda mcire qalaqebisa da soflis mosaxleoba (gamokiTxulTa 60.5 procenti).

sul gamokiTxuli iyo 1156 adamiani (48.9 procenti kaci da 51.1 procenti qali) saqarTvelos cxrave regionSi da TbilisSi. respondentebi SerCeul iqnen saqarTveloSi qalaqad da soflad, sxvadasxva asakisa da sqesis mixedviT mosaxleobis arsebuli ganawilebis Sesabamisad ierarqiuli SemTxveviTi SerCevis meTodis gamoyenebiT. Aamdenad gamokiTxva reprezentaciuli da miRebuli Sedegebi SeiZleba generalizebul iqnen saqarTvelos mTel mosaxleobaze. Gyvelgan, sadac laparakia jgufebs Soris gansxvavebebze, gansxvaveba statistikurad mniSvnelovania (hi kvadrati <.05-ze)

**interesi politikis mimarT**

mosaxleobaSi sakmaod didia interesi politikis mimarT da es interesi klebulobs dasaxlebis zomasTan erTad. TbiliselTa 76.8 procenti, did qalaqebis macxovrebelTa 66.5 procenti da soflis mosaxleobis 50.7 procenti Tvalyurs adevnebs qveyanaSi mimdinare politikur movlenebs. amasTan mosaxleobis naxevarze meti televiziiT uyurebs axal ambebs (64.4 procenti TbilisSi, 60.3 procenti did qalaqebSi da 54.0 procenti soflebSi).

telearxebis sainformacio gadacemebidan yvelaze meti ndobiT TbiliselTa Soris sargeblobs “kavkasiis” (66.5 procenti), didi qalaqisa da soflis macxovrebelTa Soris ki “imedis” sainformacio gadacemebi (72.0 procenti).

tabula 1

|  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | **sainformacio gadacemebi** | **Tbilisi****procenti** | **Ddidi qalaqebi procenti** | **soflebi****procenti** |
| 1 | moambe (sazogadoebrivi televizia) | 39.1 | 36.6 | 42.7 |
| 2 | kurieri/post skriptumi (rusTavi 2) | 48.4 | 58.4 | 50.1 |
| 3 | qronika/droeba (imedi) | 53.5 | 72.0 | 60.6 |
| 4 | dRes (kavkasia) | 66.5 | 12.2 | 14.0 |
| 5 | axali ambebi (aWara) | 17.8 | 12.2 | 12.0 |
| 6 | adgilobrivi televiziis axali ambebi | 8.1 | 34.5 | 21.6 |
| 7 | rusul arxebis sainformacio programebi | 12.8 | 3.0 | 4.2 |
| 8 | evroniusi, bi-bi-si an si-en-eni | 20.5 | 19.3 | 11.0 |

dasaxlebis tipis mixedviT mkveTri gansxvaveba kavkasiasa da adgilobriv telearxebTan mimarTebaSi am arxebis gavrcelebis arealiT aris gapirobebuli. kavkasiis gadacemebis yureba Tbilsis gareT faqtiurad SeuZlebelia.

**politikuri simpatiebi**

mTlianobaSi saqarTvelos mosaxleoba ufro metad endoba xelisuflebas (31.1 procenti), vidre opozicias (7.3 procenti). Ggansxvaveba xelisuflebisadmi damokidebulebis mixedviT Zalze didia dasaxlebis zomis mixedviT. gamokveTilia aSkara tendencia, romlis mixedviTac yvelaze did ndobas da Sesabamisad yvelaze nakleb kritikul damokidebulebas xelisuflebisadmi avlens didi qalaqebis mosaxleoba, xolo yvelaze naklebad xelisuflebas Tbilisis mosaxleoba endoba.

ase magaliTad, xelisuflebas ndobas ucxadebs TbiliselTa 14.0 procenti, didi qalaqis mosaxleobis 42.1 procenti da soflis mosaxleobis 33.5 procenti. opozicias endoba TbiliselTa 14.0 procenti, didi qalaqis macxovrebelTa 4.6 procenti da soflis macxovrebelTaA 5.6 procenti. qveyanaSi Zalze didia politikuri nihilizmi, gansakuTrebiT dedaqalaqis macxovreblebs Soris, romelTa naxevari (50.2 procenti) acxadebs, rom arcerT politikur Zalas ar endoba, kidev 19.8 procents uWirs arCevanis gakeTeba. 

cxrili 1

ndoba xelisuflebasa da opoziciis mimarT

partiebidan yvelaze meti mxardamWeri nacionalur moZraobas yavs. kiTxvaze, xval rom tardebodes saparlamento arCevnebi, romel partias miscemdiT xmas, 24.1 procentma upasuxa, rom nacionalur moZraobas (TbiliselTa 12.4 procenti, qalaqis mosaxleobis 28.4 procenti da soflis mosaxleobis 27.2 procenti). Qqristianul-demokratiuli partiisaTvis mzad iyo xma mieca TbiliselTa 4.3 procents, qalaqis macxobrebelTa 11.2 procents da soflis macxovrebelTa 11.7 procents. saqarTvelos leiboristul partiis mxardamWerTa yvelaze didi nawili TbilisSi cxovrobs (8.1 procenti). Mpartias mxars uWers soflis macxovrebelTa 6.7 procenti da didi qalaqebis mosaxleobis 2.5 procenti. gamokiTxulTa Zalze didi nawils, TiTqmis mesameds (Tbilisis macxovrebelTa 26.0 procenti, qalaqis macxovrebelTa 29.4 procenti da soflis macxovrebelTa 26.6 procenti ) isev da isev uWirs arCevanis gakeTeba.

prezidentis yvelaze sasurvel Tvisebebad miCneulia samarTlianoba, principuloba, momavalze orientacia, pirovnuli siZliere da qveynis interesebis viwro politikur interesebze ufro maRla dayeneba. Yyvela es Tviseba oris garda, ufro mniSvnelovnad aris aRqmuli Tbilisis mosaxleobis mier da maTi mniSvneloba klebulobs dasaxlebis sididesTan erTad. pirovnuli siZliere yvelaze mniSvnelovania didi qalaqebis da yvelaze nakleb mniSvnelovani Tbilisis macxovreblebisaTvis, xolo samarTlianoba yvelaze metad mniSvnelovnad Tbilisis macxovreblebis mier aris Sefasebuli. amasTan didi qalaqebis macxovreblebTan SedarebiT igi ufro mniSvnelovnad soflis macxovrebleblebs miaCniaT.

Tbilisis, didi qalaqebisa da soflis mosaxleoba gansxvavebul simpatiebs amJRavnebs politikuri liderebis mimarT.

tabula 5

politikur liderTa mowoneba (cxrilSi warmodgenili arian politikosebi, romlebic gamokiTxulTa meoTxedze metis mowonebas imsaxureben)

|  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| pirovneba | Tbilisi | Ddidi qalaqi | sofeli | sul |
| mixeil saakaSvili | 23.3 | 56.2 | 55.9 | 48.3 |
| giorgi TargamaZe | 22.6 | 53.8 | 52.7 | 45.2 |
| nino burjanaZe | 38.1 | 39.9 | 47.4 | 43.9 |
| gigi ugulava | 41.2 | 51.8 | 41.1 | 42.8 |
| levan berZeniSvili | 45.9 | 31.1 | 42.8 | 41.8 |
| TinaTin xidaSeli | 41.3 | 28.8 | 40.3 | 38.7 |
| daviT gamyreliZe | 53.7 | 24.2 | 34.0 | 37.5 |
| daviT usufaSvili | 46.3 | 31.2 | 33.5 | 36.4 |
| irakli oqruaSvili | 37.4 | 46.0 | 39.4 | 35.7 |
| salome zurabiSvili | 42.8 | 18.4 | 35.1 | 34.4 |
| kaxa kukava | 34.5 | 24.8 | 31.1 | 31.0 |
| levan gaCeCilaZe | 43.6 | 9.8 | 30.6 | 30.9 |
| eka beselia | 36.6 | 25.0 | 29.4 | 30.4 |
| daviT baqraZe | 37.4 | 52.1 | 37.6 | 29.9 |
| koba daviTaSvili | 33.9 | 19.5 | 31.1 | 29.9 |
| Salva naTelaSvili | 40.1 | 16.2 | 28.1 | 29.3 |

opoziciis liderebs yvlaze meti mxardamWeri dedaqalaqSi, Semdeg ki soflad yavT. Ggamonaklis xelisuflebis yofili wevrebi nino burjanaZe da irakli oqruaSvili warmoadgenen. Nnino burjanaZes yvelaze meti mxardamWeri soflad, xolo yvelaze naklebi TbilisSi yavs. oqruaSvils da giorgi TargamaZes mxars yvelaze metad didi qalaqis mosaxleoba, xolo yvelaze naklebad Tbiliselebi uWeren. Ddidi qalaqebi rogorc Cans xelisuflebis ZiriTad dasayrdens warmoadgenen da maT warmomadgenlebsac swored iq uWeren yvelaze metad mxars.

politikur simpatiebi udaod mosaxleobis mier qveyanaSi arsebul mdgomareobis da xelisuflebis moqmedebebis efeqturobis aRqmis Sedegia. Aaqac mkveTradaa gamokveTili gansxvaveba dasaxlebis tipis mixedviT. Yyvelaze kritikuli xelisuflebisadmi isev dedaqalaqis, xolo yvelaze nakleb kritikuli didi qalaqebis macxovreblebi arian.

didi qalaqebis mosaxleobis 36.5 procents, soflis mosaxleobis 25.7 procents da Tbilisis mosaxleobis 13.6 procents miaCnia, rom xelisufleba usmens da iTvaliswinebs xalxis azrs.

didi qalaqebis mosaxleobis ufro did nawils (48.7 procenti), soflis (41.0 procenti) da Tbilisis mosaxleobasTan (39.1procenti) SedarebiT miaCnia, rom qveyana ganviTarebis swor gzaze dgas.

Tbilisis mosaxleobis 64.5 procenti fiqrobs, rom SesaZlebeli iyo agvistos omis Tavidan acileba. Am azrs iziarebs didi qalaqebis mosaxleobis 55.7 procenti da soflis mosaxleobis 56.4 procenti.

saqarTveloSi demokratia da liberaluri demokratiis Rirebulebisadmi erTguleba zogadad kritikulad aris Sefasebuli. Aam mxriv gansakuTrebiT gamokveTilia dedaqalaqis macxovrebelTa pozicia. dRes saqarTveloSi demokratiis arseboba realobad miaCnia Tbilisis mosaxleobis mxolod 8.5 procents, soflis mosaxleobis 24.0 procents, didi qalaqebis macxovrebelTa 34.0 procents . adamianis uflebebi daculad miaCnia Tbilisis mosaxleobis 9.3 procents, soflis mosaxleobis 20.8 procents, didi qalaqis macxovrebelTa 31.4 procents. kanonis winaSe Tanasworobis principi daculad miaCnia Tbilisis mosaxleobis 14.8 procents, soflis mosaxleobis 22.7 procents, didi qalaqebis macxovrebelTa 32.0 procents. Tavs usamarTlobisgan daculad grZnobs Tbilisis mosaxleobis 10.5 procenti, soflis mosaxleobis 26.7 procenti, didi qalaqebis mosaxleobis 30.5 procenti. qveyanaSi kerZo sakuTreba daculad miaCnia Tbilisis macxovrebelTa 7.4 procents, soflis macxovrebelTa 26.2 procents da didi qalaqebis macxovrebelTa 37.1 procents.

**Rirebulebebi**

politikuri simpatiebisa da liberaluri demokratiis Rirebulebebis dacvasTan arsebuli mdgomareobis Sefasebebisgan gansxvavebuli kanonzomiereba SeimCneva demokratiuli uflebebis da Rirebulebebis mniSvnelobis SefasebaSi. soflis mosaxleoba, Tbilisisa da didi qalaqebis mosaxleobaze ufro nakleb mniSvnelobas aniWebs demokratiuli uflebebis dacvas. ase magaliTad, 7 noembers mitingis darbeva mniSvnelovnad miaCnia Tbilisel respondentTa 90.6 procents, didi qalaqebis mosaxleobis 80.6 procents da soflis mosaxleobis 71.9 procents. Sesabamisi cifrebi telekompania imedSi SeWris Taobaze aris 91.0 procenti, 78.1 procenti da 71.5 procenti. agvistos oms mniSvnelovan movlenad afasebs TbiliselTa 98.0 procenti, did qalaqebis macxovrebelTa 93.4 procenti da soflis mosaxleobis 85.0 procenti.

demokratia mmarTvelobis saukeTeso formad miaCnia ufro metad qalaqis (75.2 procenti TbilisSi, 75.3 procenti didi qalaqebSi) vidre soflis mosaxleobas (65.1 procenti).

sityvis Tavisufleba bevrad ufro mniSvnelovnad miaCniaT Tbilisis (37.6 procenti), vidre soflis (27.6 procenti) da didi qalqis macxovreblebs (21.8 procenti).

liberaluli demokratiis arCeviTi demokratiisagan erTerT ganmasxvavebel niSans mosaxleobis mier gadawyvetilebebis miRebaze zegavlenis qona warmoadgens. swored mosaxleobis monawileobaa miCneuli efeqturi demokratiis maCveneblad (Welzel & Inglehart, 2008). monawileoba dakavSirebulia ndobasTan. saqarTvelos mosaxleobis mxolod erT mesamedze odnav mets sjeravs, rom adamianTa umravlesoba ndobas imsaxurebs. ndoba ufro didia Tbilisis macxovrebelTa Soris (42.8 procenti), vidre soflisa (38.6 procenti) da didi qalaqis macxovreblebSi (30.8%).

qalaqisa da soflis mosaxleoba aseve gansxvavebulad afasebs sazogadoebriv procesebSi mosaxleobis monawileobis mniSvnelobas. Tbiliselebs igi soflisa da didi qalaqis macxovrebelebze bevrad ufro Rirebulad miaCniaT. TbiliselTaA74.5 procenti, soflis mosaxleobis 68.1 procenti da didi qalaqis mosaxleobis 56.4 procenti fiqrobs, rom prezidenti unda usmendes da akeTebdes imas, rasac xalxi moiTxovs da ara imas, rac misi azriT warmatebas moutans qveyanas. gamokiTxulTa naxevarze mets qveyanaSi arsebuli problemebis gadaWris aucilebel pirobad moqalaqeTaAmonawileoba miaCnia. ase fiqrobs Tbiliselebis ufro did nawili (66.8 procenti), vidre didi qalaqebisa (56.1 procenti) da soflis macxovreblebi (52.2 procenti). moqalaqeTa monawileobis aucileblobis rwmenis am fonze Zalze mcirea monawileobis SesaZleblobis aRqma. A TbiliselTa Zalze mcire odenobas (19.5 procenti) miaCnia SesaZleblad zemoqmedeba moaxdinos mTavrobis gadawyvetilebebze. Aam SesaZleblobas cota ufro metad xedaven didi qalaqis (27.2 procenti) da soflis (24.5 procenti) macxovreblebi.

Zalze umniSvneloa mosaxleobis monawileobis gamocdilebac. gamokiTxlTa mxolod 2.8 procentma aRniSna, rom 2007 wlis noembridan 2008 wlis noembramde monawileoba miiRio raime koleqtiur aqciaSi. rac Seexeba im formebs, romelsac, mosaxleoba SesaZleblad Tvlis gamoiyenos xelisuflebis mier misi uflebebis darRvevvis SemTxvevaSi, yvela CamoTvlili ToTxmeti saxis aqtiobis ganxorcielebis mimarT mzaoba ufro didia Tbiliselebis, Semdeg didi qalaqebis macxovreblebis da yvelaze mcire soflis mosaxleobis Soris. Uufro xSirad respondentebi arCeven monawileobis nakleb aqtiur formebs, rogoricaa mag. moTxovnaze xelmowera, Sexvedrebze da mitingebze daswreba, azris gamoTqma. amis sawinaaRmdegod xelisuflebaze mosaxleobis zemoqmedebis efeqturobis Sefasebisas upiratesobas ufro Aaqtiur formebs aniWeben, iseTebs rogoricaa gaficva, xalxmravali mitingebis mowyoba, problemis mogvarebaSi presisa da saerTaSoriso organizaciebis CarTva. Aaqac yvelaze didi aqtioba Tbilisis macxovrebelTaA Soris aRiniSneba.A

saqarTvelos mosaxleoba sacxovrebeli adgilis mixedviT ar gansxvavdeba im problemebis identifikaciaSi, romellic maT saqarTvelosaTvis yvelaze mniSvnelovnad miaCniaT. Eesenia adamianebis uflebebis dacva, samuSao adgilebis Seqmna da fasebis zrdis SeCereba.Ggansxvaveba aris am prioritetuli sferoebis SedarebiT mniSvnelobaSi.

yvelaze mkveTri gansxvaveba problemebis mniSvnelobis SefasebaSi ikveTeba adamianis uflebebis dacvis sakiTxTan mimarTebaSi, romelic prioritetulia Tbilisis mosaxleobisaTvis da romlis mniSvnelobas mkveTrad klebulobs dasaxlebis tipsa da zomis SemcirebasTan erTad. didi qalaqebisa da soflis macxovreblebi upiratesobas samuSao adgilebis Seqmnas aniWeben.

msgavsi kanonzomiereba vlindeba qveynis prezidentis funqciebis mniSvnelobis Sefasebisas. sami CamoTvlili funqciidan:

1.icavdes adamianis uflebebs da idges samarTlianobis sadarajoze;

2.icavdes mosaxleobas sagareo da saSinao safrTxeebisagan;

3. uzrunvelyofdes normaluri cxovrebisaTvis aucilebel pirobebs.

Tbiliselebi upiratesobas adamianis uflebebis dacvas (38.3 procenti) didi qalaqisa (44.6 procenti) da soflis macxovreblebi (55.7 procenti) ki cxovrebis pirobebis gaumjobesebas aniWeben.

gamokiTxulTa umravlesoba (58.6 procenti) dasaxelebuli oTxi Rirebulebidan, romlidanac 2 materialisturia (qveyanaSi wesrigis damyareba da fasebis zrdis SeCereba) da 2 post-materialisturi (adamianebs qondeT meti saSualeba zegavlena moaxdinon qveynisaTvis mniSvnelovani gadawyvetilebebis miRebaze da sityvis Tavisufleba) arCevans erT materialistur (ufro xSirad qveyanaSi wesrigis damyarebaze da erT post-materialistur (ufro xSirad monawileobis SesaZleblobaze) akeTeben.

zogadad or materialur Rirebulebebs bevrad ufro meti respondenti (35.6 procenti) irCevs, vidre or post-materialurs (4.8 procenti). amasTan, materialur Rirebulebas yvelaze metad soflis macxovreblebi irCeven (38.4 procenti), Semdeg ki didi qalaqebisa (34.0 procenti) da Tbilisis (33.7 procenti) macxovreblebi. Sesabamisad post-materialistur Rirebulebebze arCevans ufro metad Tbiliselebi akeTeben (7.0 procenti), vidre didi qalaqis (6.6 procenti) da soflis (3.6 procenti) macxovreblebi.

amdenad post-materialuri da liberaluri demokratiisaTvis damaxasiaTebeli Rirebulebebis mniSvneloba zogadad klebulobs dasaxlebis zomasTan erTad.

**Sejameba**

gamokiTxvis monacemTa ganxilvam respondentTa sacxovrebeli adgilis tipisa da zomis mixedviT daadastura am parametris mixedviT mosaxleobis stratifikaciis Rirebuleba imdenad, ramdenadac asaxa mosaxleobis politikur simpatiebsa da RirebulebebSi arsebuli mniSvnelovani gansxvavebebi.

informatuli da Rirebuli aRmoCnda qalaq-soflis parametris detalizacia da Tbilisis sxva qalaqebidan gamoyofa. Ggarda qveynis dedaqalaqis funqcionaluri datvirTvisa, Tbilisi zomiTYbevrad aRemateba qveynis yvela sxva qalaqs. mosaxleobis raodenobis mixedviT igi TiTqmis eqvsjer didia quTaisze, saqarTvelos zomiT meore qalaqze. Mmas vercerTi qalaqi ver Seedreba adamianebTan kontaqtis, informaciis xelmisawvdomobis, gansxvavebuli azrisa Tu cxovrebis stilis eqsponirebis, ganaTlebis, kulturis da sxvadasxva servisebis xelmisawvdomobis mixedviT. Mmonacemebi erTmniSvnelovnad migvaniSneben arsebul gansxvavebebze Tbiliselebsa, didi qalaqebis da aseve soflis macxovreblebs Soris maT SefasebebSi, damokidebulebebsa, Rirebulebebsa da politikur simpaTiebSi..

xelisuflebisadmi loialobis gacilebiT meti xarisxi dadasturda didi qalaqebis mosaxleobas, vidre soflisa da miT ufro dedaqalaqis macxovrebelTa Soris. Ggamomdinare qveynis ekonomikuri mdgomareobidan SeiZleba davuSvaT, rom gansxvavebis mizezi SeiZleba mosaxleobis keTidldReobis xarisxi iyos. Mmagram gamokiTxvis monacemebi ar adastureben am faqtoris mniSvnelobas politikuri simpatiebis CamoyalibebaSi. dasaxlebis tipis mixedviT respondentebi erTmaneTisagan ar gansxvavdebian sakuTari ojaxis ekonomiuri mdgomareobis SefasebaSi, Tumca aris gansxvaveba Tbilisel da danarCen respondentebs Soris yovelTviuri Semosavlis odenobaSi. TbiliselTa yvelaze didi nawili (20.8 procenti) miuTiTebs saojaxo Tviuri Semosavalis 500-dan-1000 laramde odenobaze, maSin rodesac qalaqebisa (19.0 procenti) da soflis macxovreblebi (21.1 procenti) yvelaze xSirad asaxeleben 200-300 lars. Aaqve unda aRiniSnos, rom es gansxvaveba SeiZleba ar areklavdes realur gansxvavebas keTildReobis doneSi, radgan cnobilia rom qveyanaSi saSualod mosaxleobis Semosavalis naxevari sasursaTo produqtebis SeZenaze ixarjeba. Tu gaviTvaliswinebT imas, rom soflis da aseve qalaqebis mosaxleobas dedaqalaqis mosaxleobaze bevrad ufro meti SesaZlebloba aqvT sursaTis usasyidlod miRebisa, SeiZleba gansxvaveba ekonomikur keTildReobaSi dedaqalaqis macxovrebelTa da sxva adgilebSi dasaxlebul pirTa Soris arc arsebobdes.

mniSvnelovani da sainteresoa ekonomikuri mdgomareobis erTgvarovnebis fonze gansxvaveba ekonomikur optimizmSi. qalaqis macxovrebelTa bevrad ufro didi nawili (30.6 procenti), dedaqalaqis (11.2 procenti) an soflis (17.9 procenti) macxovreblebTan SedarebiT miiCnevs, rom misi ojaxis ekonomikuri mdgomareoba gasul welTan SedarebiT gaumjobesda. amasTan qalaqebis mosaxleobis 59.0 procenti, soflis macxovrebelTa 44.7 da Tbilisis mosaxleobis 44.3 procenti moelis cxovrebis donis gaumjobesebas erT weliwadSi. kidev ufro didia optimizmi sam wlian periodTan mimarTebaSi (78.5, 58.4 da 55.4 procenti qalaqis, Tbilisis da soflis mosaxleobaSi Sesabamisad elis ekonomiuri mdgomareobis gaumjobesebas).

ekonomikuri optimizmiT Tanmimdevrulad ver aixsneba xelisuflebisadmi qalaqebis macxovrebelTa gamokveTilad dadebiTi damokidebuleba, radgan es rom ase iyos adgili ar unda qondes mniSvnelovan gansxvavebas msgavsi ekonomikuri optimizmis maCveneblebis mqone Tbilisis da soflis macxovrebelTa Sefasebebs Soris. Uufro metad damajereblad mimaCnia gansxvavebis axsna im saxelmwifo politikiT, romelsac xelisufleba bolo periodSi axorcielebs saqarTvelos did qalaqebSi. Cans moxda politikuri fokusis gadanacvleba Tbilisidan sxva qalaqebze. Aamis dasturad gamodgeba zogierTi saxelmwifo dawesebulebis Tbilisidan quTaissa Tu baTumSi gadatanis gadawyvetileba, foTSi Tavisufali ekonomikuri zonis Seqmna, mTavrobis sxdomebis sxvadasxva qalaqebSi Catareba, infrastruqturisa da Senobebis reabilitaciis proeqtebi da prezidentis xSiri stumroba saqarTvelos qalaqebSi. Aamdenad xelisuflebis politika qalaqebSi mxardamWerTa mosapoveblad sakmaod efeqturi aRmoCnda.

gamokiTxvis monacemebma gviCvenes, rom politikuri simpatiebisagan gansxvavebiT Rirebulebebis gaziareba Seesatyviseba molodins soflad ufro tradiciuli da materialisturi, xolo qalaqad ufro kosmopolituri da post-materialisturi Rirebulebebis siWarbisa. es rogorc zemoT avRniSneT gapirobebuli unda iyos qalaqSi da gansakuTrebiT did qalaqSi arsebul sxvadasxva SesaZleblobebis, susti kavSirebis, informaciis xelmisawvdomobis, gansxvavebul ideebTan Tu adamianebTan eqsponirebis SesaZleblobebTan, aseve mosaxleobis ganaTlebis donesTan, romelic bevrad maRalia qalaqad (TbilisSi umaRlesi ganaTleba aqvs 49.6 procents qalaqebSi 46.4 procents), vidre soflad, sadac mosaxleobis 29.3procenti aqvs umaRlesi ganaTleba.

Tu Cven SefasebiTi kuTxidan SevxedavT mosaxleobis RirebulebiT orientirebs da daveTanxmebiT azrs imis Sesaxeb, rom demokratia mmarTvelobis saukeTeso formas warmoadgens, Cveni sazrunavi gaxdeba TviT-gamoxatvis, post-materialisturi Rirebulebebis damkvidreba. post-materialisturi Rirebulebebi da zogadad liberaluri demokratiis mxardaWera dakavSirebulia TviT-gamoxatvis RirebulebasTan, romelic eyrdnoba ra ndobas sxva adamianebis mimarT, xazs usvavs mosaxleobis monawileobas politikur da sazogadoebriv procesebSi, genderul Tanasworobas, sxva jgufebis mimarT tolerantobas. warmoadgens ra samoqalaqo sazogadoebis Semadgenel nawils TviT-gamoxatvis Rirebuleba gadamwyvet rols TamaSobs demokratizaciis procesSi (Wenzel & Ingelhart, 2008; Welzel., Ingelhart., & Deutch, 2005). amdenad qveynis politika mimarTuli unda iyos ndobisa da monawileobis gazrdaze, da am mxriv dedaqalaqi SeiZleba ganxilul iqnes, rogorc qveynis masStabiT arsebul saukeTeso magaliTi da aseve demokratiis mxardamWeri politikis ganxorcielebis poligoni.

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