**lika qenqaZe**

**devnilTa dasaxlebebi kulturuli travmisa da**

**koleqtiuri mexsierebis TeoriaTa WrilSi**

**(2008 wlis saqarTvelo-ruseTis omi)**

*(daibeWda JurnalSi “civilizaciuri Ziebani”, # 11)*

Cveni kvlevis sagania 2008 wlis agvistos omi da am omis Sedegad devnili mosaxleobis ganwyobisa da damokidebulebaTa ganxilva kulturuli travmisa da koleqtiuri mexsierebis TeoriaTa WrilSi. politikosebi, Jurnalistebi Tu sxvadasxva arasamTavrobo Tu socialuri organizaciis warmomadgenlebi, rogorc wesi, aqcents akeTeben am omiT miRebul materialur zaralze, dakargul teritoriebze da naklebad ixsenieben konkretul adamianebs, romlebic omis Semdgom daarsebul devnilTa dasaxlebebSi cxovroben. maTi problemebis ganxilvisas ki Tema is ZiriTadi sayofacxovrebo problemebia, romelTa pirobebSic maT uwevT cxovreba. samwuxarod, iSviaTad Tu vinme saubrobs maT moralur Tu fsiqologiur mdgomareobaze; gamonakliss Seadgenen fsiqologebi, romlebic sxvadasxva arasamTavrobo organizaciis prooeqtebis farglebSi, saomari moqmedebebis damTavrebis Semdeg muSaobdnen devnilebis nawilTan, Zlier fsiqologiur stresTan gamklavebaSi daxmarebis mizniT. Cveni kvlevis mizania gavarkvioT, gamoiwvia Tu ara am travmam maTSi identobis krizisi? iyo Tu ara maTi erTad dasaxleba swori nabiji kulturuli travmis daZlevis gzaze, Tu piriqiT, es yovelTvis mis gaxsenebas da aqtivacias uwyobs xels? devnilTa sam dasaxlebaSi - werovnis, wilknis da frezeTis - kvleviTi muSaoba mimdinareobda dakvirvebisa da interviurebis meTodebis gamoyenebiT.

**agvistos omi rogorc kulturuli travma**

2008 wlis agvistos omi travmuli movlena iyo mTeli saqarTvelosTvis da qarTuli sazogadoebisTvis, vinaidan mas mohyva mniSvnelovani danakargi rogorc adamianuri msxverplis, aseve teritoriebis saxiT. Cveni naSromis farglebSi SevecdebiT am omis travmuli xasiaTis Seswavlas im socialuri jgufis farglebSi, romelTac omis saSineli Sedegebi sakuTar Tavze iwvnies. aseT socialur jgufs warmoadgenen am omis Sedegad devnili adamianebi, romlebic specialurad maTTvis daarsebul devnilTa dasaxlebebSi cxovroben.

**omi – travma bavSvebisTvis.** omiT gamowveuli travma mniSvnelovan daRs asvams upirvelesad bavSvebs da waruSlel kvals tovebs maT cxovrebaze. amitomac iyo, rom agvistos omis Semdeg saerTaSoriso organizaciebi da saxelmwifo struqturebi yvelaze did yuradRebas uTmobdnen bavSvebis fsiqologiur da socialur reabilitacias. maTi daxmarebebic, pirvel rigSi, bavSvebisTvis iyo gankuTvnili. ltolvilTa da gansaxlebis saministros organizebiTa da sxvadasxva qveynis saelCoebis mxardaWeriT, devnilma bavSvebma sazRvargareT sareabilitacio kursi gaiares. ltolvilTa da gansaxlebis saministros saerTaSoriso urTierTobebis departamentis imdroindeli ufrosis, Tamar basilaias cnobiT, „saqarTvelos okupirebuli teritoriebidan iZulebiT gadaadgilebul pirTagan, ltolvilTa da gansaxlebis saministros organizebiT, sareabilitacio kursi sazRvargareT gaiara 900-mde devnilma mozardma. sareabilitacio kursis farglebSi poloneTSi daisvena 430-ma bavSvma, latviaSi 30-ma, ukrainaSi 231-ma, bulgareTSi 20-ma, xolo saqarTvelos sxvadasxva kurortebze - 105-ma devnilma“.[[1]](#footnote-1)

bavSvebis reabilitacias isaxavda miznad amerikis SeerTebuli Statebis saelCos mier dafinansebuli programac, romlis farglebSi werovnis devnilTa dasaxlebis baga-baRSi devnili bavSvebisaTvis gaxsnili iyo xatvis wre, sadac bavSvebs xatvis gakveTilebs profesionalebi utarebdnen da TavianTi gancdebis qaRaldze gadatanaSi exmarebodnen. swored am programaSi monawileobisas aris daxatuli axalgoris raionis sofel ikoTidan devnil valeri baSarulis naxatebi, romelic am dros 3 wlis iyo (ix. danarTi, sur. 1.1, 1.2).

rogorc j. aleqsanderi aRniSnavs, kulturul travmas iwvevs raRac konkretuli movlena, romelic mniSvnelovan kvals tovebs jgufis Segnebaze, ileqeba maT mexsierebaSi da fundamenturad cvlis maTi cxovrebis gzas. swored aseT movlenadaa qceuli agvistos omi devnili bavSvebisTvis, romlebic am omis Sedegad sakuTar qveyanaSi devnilebad iqcnen da omis saSineleba sakuTari TvaliT naxes. maTi gancdebi da omis maTeuli aRqma kargadaa gadmocemuli or krebulSi, sadac bavSvebis tkiviliani naazrevia Tavmoyrili. es krebulebia „cxovreba omis Semdeg“, romelic mediis ganviTarebis fondis mier aSS saelCos finansuri mxardaWeriTaa Seqmnili da „omis dRiurebi“, romelic momzadebulia „studia axali droebis“ mier. „omis dRiurebi“ omidan 6 Tvis Semdegaa Seqmnili, xolo „cxovreba omis Semdeg“ \_ omidan erTi wlisTavze. am krebulebSi Sesulia bavSvebis rogorc werilobiTi istoriebi, aseve maTi naxatebi da leqsebi.

bavSvebis piradi istoriebi da mogonebebi TiTqos gansxvavebulia erTmaneTisgan, magram yvela mainc raRaciT msgavsia. yvela maTgani omis dReebis gaxsenebiT iwyeba da TiToeuls Zalian mZime tkivilis da monatrebis gancda axlavs Tan.

*„Cems ezoSi Camovardnilma bombma daangria yvelaferi. ra davuSveT, risTvis gagvimetes?“* (zedgeniZe Tamuna. eredvi. „omis dRiurebi“, gv. 77).

*„davinaxe, rogor daiWrnen da daiRupnen Cemi Tanasoflelebi“*  (naTia midodaSvili. eredvi. „omis dRiurebi“, gv. 65).

*„mosaxleoba „padvlebSi“ imaleboda. mec ki viyavi ramdenime Rame „padvalSi“. maxsovs rogor vkankalebdiT da velodebodiT sikvdils“*  (naTia maxniaSvili. vanaTi. „omis dRiurebi“, gv. 112).

*„8 agvistos dedam ZaliT wamomiyvana. ar mindoda mamis datoveba, magram dabombava rom daiwyo, aRar gamaCeres. movdiodi, magram Cemi suli da guli iq rCeboda. ras vizamdi, meti gza ar gvqonda. mTeli sofeli icleboda. ukan rom mivixede, kvamlSi iyo gaxveuli Cemi eredvi da idga wamlis saSineli suni“* (vasil beruaSvili. eredvi. „omis dRiurebi“, gv. 167).

*„Cemi bebo iq darCa, radgan ver SeZlo siaruli da osebma saxlSi cocxali gamowves“* (giorgi maxniaSvili. vanaTi. „omis dRiurebi“, gv. 113).

*„me Zalian miWirs 2008 wlis agvistos omis gaxseneba. es iyo Cems cxovrebaSi yvelaze saSineli wuTebi, romlis daviwyebac ar SemiZlia. radgan am dRis agvistodan Cemi cxovreba Seicvala, TiTqos ukuRma datrialda. ar mindoda imis dajereba, rac xdeboda“*  (nestan goCaSvili. xeiTi. „cxovreba omis Semdeg“, gv. 50).

es Zalian mcire nawilia im mZime gancdebisa, rasac bavSvebi TavianTi sityvebiT omis Sesaxeb yvebian. maT nawerebSi ikveTeba aseve monatrebis didi gancda. bavSvebi, ufrosebisgan gansxvavebiT, romlebic, ZiriTadad, materialuri zaralis gamo wuxan, mtkivneulad aRiqvamen TavianT saTamaSoebTan, bavSvobis adgilebTan ganSorebas, enatrebaT TavianTi saxlebi da cxovelebi.

*„menatreba Cemi sofeli, qsanSi banaoba. axla iq rusi jariskacebi banaoben. Cveni saxli, romelic Jivil-xivils iyo miCveuli, axla sacodavad dums“* (Tamar buTxuzi. axmaji. „cxovreba omis Semdeg“, gv. 6).

*„menatreba Cemi saxli, Cemi lamazi ezo, Cemi patara lekvebi, Cemi kurdRlebi, romlebic marto darCnen da arc ki vici, ra mouvidaT. menatreba Cemi mdinare liaxvi da ulamazesi sofeli“* (mariami xucinaSvili. qurTa. „omis dRiurebi“, gv. 74).

*„me menatreba Cemi sofeli, Cemi dangreuli saxli, Cemi lamazi ZaRli, kata“*  (mariam beruaSvili. eredvi. „cxovreba omis Semdeg“, gv. 43).

*„me mwydeba guli Cems saTamaSoebze, saxlze da ZaRlze. menatreba Cemi sofeli“*  (giorgi doTiaSvili. vanaTi. „omis dRiurebi“, gv. 121).

sakuTari soflebis da saxlebis gamo wuxili swored travmisTvis damaxasiaTebeli niSnebia. jana javaxiSvili aRniSnavs, rom arsebul da SeCveul socialur sinamdvilesTan ganSoreba xSirad xdeba travmis gamomwvevi mizezi. „adamianebis socializaciis procesSi erTi Zalian mniSvnelovani fsiqologiuri faqtoria, romelsac “attachment”-s vuwodebT. es “eTeCmentebi”, mijaWvulobebi dabadebis momentidan giyalibdeba – dedasTan, mSoblebTan, ojaxTan, TemTan. rodesac travma xdeba, adamians Cveuli mijaWvulobebi gengreva, anu gerRveva is, rac warmoadgens Sens socialur sinamdviles.”[[2]](#footnote-2) amasTan, mkvlevari aRniSnavs, rom travmisas adamianebs uCndebaT axali mijaWvulobebi im socialuri jgufis mimarT, romelTanac aqvT Tanaziari travmuli gamocdileba da romlis wevrebsac SeuZliaT erTmaneTs gancdebi gauziaron. swored amas aRniSnaven devnili bavSvebi TavianT nawerebSi.

*„davdivar skolaSi da* *Zalian mixaria, rom Cemi axali klaselebi devnili bavSvebi arian. radgan maT me vuziareb Cems dardsa da wuxils. maTze ukeT ki Cems tkivils veravin gaiziarebs“* (nestan goCaSvili. xeiTi. „cxovreba omis Semdeg“, gv. 52).

saubroben imazec, rom es omi, garkveulwilad, wyalgamyofi aRmoCnda maT cxovrebaSi. miaCniaT, rom omis Sedegad maT dakarges bavSvoba da bavSvobisTvis damaxasiaTebeli silaRe. erT–erT krebulsac („omis dRiurebi“) qvesaTaurad gasdevs TamaraSenidan devnili bavSvis nino gagniZis fraza: „Cemi bavSvobis dabruneba minda!“

*„am omma Cemi cxovreba Zirfesvianad Secvala. gaCnda uxilavi xazi, romelmac igi or nawilad gayo. axla Txrobisas xSirad vambob: omamde, omis Semdeg“* (lazare zangalaZe. kexvi. „cxovreba omis Semdeg“, gv. 10).

*„erTi cxovreba iq samaCabloSi davtoveT, davtoveT is, rasac, mgoni, veRarasodes vnaxavT.* *iq darCa Cemi bednieri, laRi da uzrunveli bavSvobac...“* (mariam goCaSvili. xeiTi. „cxovreba omis Semdeg“ gv. 25).

*“gavatare laRi bavSvoba, magram agvistoSi daiwyo omi“* (goderZi WuluxaZe. aCabeTi. „omis dRiurebi“, gv. 136).

bavSvebi gansakuTrebul gulistkivils gamoxataven imis gamo, rom maT aRar darCaT bavSvobis suraTebi. es ki SemTxveviTi ar unda iyos. suraTebi maTTvis warsulTan damakavSirebeli erT-erTi yvelaze mniSvnelovani saSualeba iqneboda, romelic maT travmis daZlevaSi daexmareboda. araerTi bavSvi aRniSnavs, rom naTesavebTan daiwyes surTebis Segroveba, Tuki vinmes eqneboda SemorCenili maTi soflisa da saxlis fotoebi.

*“icleba sofeli, iwveba saxlebi. wvaven yvelafers: Cems saxls, Cems bavSvobas, Cems mogonebebs, iwveba Cemi pataraobis fotoebi, nivTebi da yvelaferi, rasac warsuli hqvia“* (nino yazaxaSvili. avnevi. „omis dRiurebi”, gv. 23).

*“omi marto dakarguli teritoria da iq dangreuli saxli ki ara, Cemi bavSvobis suraTebicaa. Cemi laRi bavSvoba dawves, TiTqos ar varsebobdi... arada ra lamazi suraTebi mqonda gadaRebuli! Cemi Svilebi da SviliSvilebi ver naxaven, rogori viyavi pataraobisas. TiTqos cxovrebis erTi monakveTi davkarge”* (lazare zangalaZe. kexvi. „cxovreba omis Semdeg”, gv. 11).

mdgomareoba, romelic travmuli movlenis monawile pirebs eqmneba, post-travmuli stresis saxeliT aris cnobili. rogorc wesi, stresi ar Cndeba travmuli movlenis moxdenisTanave. igi Cndeba maSin, rodesac individebi iwyeben fiqrs am movlenaze da cdiloben pasuxebi mouZebnon momxdars. didi sizustiT aRweren bavSvebi im ganvlil procesebs, rasac maTTan dakavSirebiT post–travmuli stresi SeiZleba ewodos.

*„omi rom daiwyo, aRaravis gvaxsovda saxli, kari, aveji, tansacmeli, samkaulebic ki. SiSma dagvaviwya mSobliuri miwa-wylis siyvarulic da mxolod sakuTari Tavis gadarCenis instinqtiRa gavmoZravebda. mivrbodiT daqsaqsulebi, deda Svils veRar poulobda da coli – qmars, naTesavi – naTesavs...*

*mere?! mere TiTqos yvelaferi „dalagda“, TavSesafaric mogvces, dagvapures, gvanugeSes...*

*da mere? mere gagvaxsenda mitovebuli saxl–kari, winaparTa saflavebi, skola, sabavSvo baRebi, sayvareli wignebi, megobarTa dRiurebi da vin moTvlis, ramdeni ram...“* (mariam goCaSvili. xeiTi. „cxovreba omis Semdeg“, gv. 24-25).

sagulisxmoa is faqtic, rom TiTqmis yvela bavSvi Tavis nawers asrulebs didi imediT, rom isini aucileblad dabrundebian TavianT soflebsa da saxlebSi (miuxedavad imisa, rom ician maTi saxlebis ganadgurebis Sesaxeb). mniSvnelovania isic, rom am imedebis gamarTlebas bavSvebi sTxoven RmerTs, rac sakralurobis gancdas sZens maT nawerebs. bavSvebi ara marto TxovniT mimarTaven RmerTs, aramed xSirad momxdarze pasuxis gacemasac misgan moiTxoven.

*„yovel dila-saRamos, rodesac vloculob, RmerTs mxolod erTs vTxov, davbrunde Cems sofelSi da omi aRarasodes iyos. imedia, RmerTi Cems locvas Seismens da cxovreba omis Semdeg monatrebiT aRar daiwyeba“* (sofia kvarianTaSvili. axalSeni. „cxovreba omis Semdeg“, gv. 16).

*„Cemi erTaderTi natvraa sofelSi dabruneba. RmerTs yovelTvis magas vTxov, sofelSi damabrunos, Tundac im nangrevebSi vicxovro“* (mariam beruaSvili. eredvi. „omis dRiurebi“, gv. 94).

*„RmerTs vTxov, rom moxdes saswauli da davbrunde Cems lamaz sofelSi, vibanavo Cvens liaxvSi“*  (mariam xaduri. sacxeneTi. „omis dRiurebi“, gv. 106).

*„RmerTo, ratom dauSvi, rom adamians aseTi sababis mogoneba dasWirveboda: erTis viTomda gadasarCenad meores movklav, mesames – saxls davuwvav, meoTxes – davaoblebo. os xalxs vicavTo, russ rom hkiTxo – visgan icavda da, rac mTavaria, rogor daicva? udanaSaulo adamianTa sisxlis fasad, aseulobiT saxlidan ayril adamianTa cremlisa da tanjvis fasad?! isic sakiTxavia, saerTod dacva undodaT?! nuTu osi xalxis dacvis gamo Seesivnen Cvens saxlebsa da baRebs, jer rom gaZarcves da mere gadawves?! Cemi saxli iyo osi xalxis TviTmyofadobis xelisSemSleli, miwasTan rom gaaswores?!“* (lazare zangalaZe. kexvi. „cxovreba omis Semdeg“ gv. 10).

rogorc Tavidanve aRvniSneT, bavSvebi TavianT gancdebs gadmoscemen leqsebiT da naxatebiTac, romlebic aranakleb mniSvnelovani Sinaarsis matarebelni SeiZleba iyvnen. leqsebSic bavSvebis gulistkivili saerToa da maT erTaderT ocnebas saxlebSi dabruneba warmoadgens.

*„male dazamTrdeba da Seimoseba*

*Seni damwvari saxlebi TeTrad,*

*me guli maSin Zlier damwydeba,*

*rom ver SevxvdebiT am zamTars erTad.“*

(nino WuluxaZe. aCabeTi. „omis dRiurebi“, gv. 101).

*„menatrebi Cemo miwav,*

*Cemo gulis lamparo,*

*riRaTiRa ganugeSo,*

*an riTi gagaxaro?!*

*ram gaxada Seni mteri,*

*netav ase ugulo?*

*menatrebi Cemo miwav*

*damwvar –gadabugulo.*

(xatia kopaZe. qurTa. „omis dRiurebi“, gv.165).

*„roca davSordi me Cems xeobas,*

*davkarge Zala da madli misi,*

*me mirCevnia Cemi Raribi,*

*vidre mdidari xeoba sxvisi.“*

*(nino tarielaSvili. eredvi. „omis dRiurebi“ , gv.173).*

iseve rogorc leqsebSi, naxatebSic kargad Cans, Tu rogori gavlena moaxdina omma bavSvebze (ix. danarTi, sur. 1.3, 1.4). sainteresoa merab narouSvilis naxati saxelwodebiT „waruSleli laqa“: adamianis Tavze gamosaxulia saqarTvelos rukis konturi, romelsac aklia afxazeTi, sadac ukve mters dausadgurebia. sazRvrebTan sami mxridanac mteria momdgari da cdilobs mis „dasaxiCrebas“. gamosaxulia aseve eklesia da mze, romlebic SeiZleba imedis momcemad CavTvaloT. TviT am naxatis saxelwodebac ar unda iyos SemTxveviTi.

bavSvebis kvleva am kuTxiT, rogorc Cans, sainteresoa. isini warmoadgenen im Taobas, romelTan dakavSirebiTac saintereso iqneba mexsierebasTan dakavSirebuli sakiTxebis Seswavla.

devnilTa dasaxlebebSi Cveni kvlevis farglebSi gamokiTxvisas gamoirkva, rom devnilTa didi nawili saxelmwifos mxridan meti RonisZiebebis gatarebas miiCnevs saWirod am omisa da omSi daRupuli gmirebis gasaxseneblad. maTi azriT, es, upirvelesad, unda gakeTdes im bavSvebisTvis, romlebic omis dros Zalian patarebi iyvnen da maTTvis, vinc ukve devnilobaSi ibadeba. devnilebi miiCneven, rom am yvelafris gagebas bavSvebi ojaxebSi ki moaxerxeben, magram saxelmwifos mxridanac unda eqceodes yuradReba. es saWiroa imisTvis, raTa aq dabadebul bavSvebs mudmivad hqondeT ukan dabrunebis survili.

*„is bavSvebi, romlebic aq daibadebian da gaizrdebian, aq Tavs rogorc samSobloSi, ise igrZnoben da mere, rogorc CvenTvis iyo mtkivneuli iqidan wamosvla, maTac gauWirdebaT dabruneba“* (naTela borcvaZe. 72 wlis. eredvi).

Tumca ojaxebSi rom patarebi namdvilad informirebulni arian, amas mowmobs mSoblebis saubrebi. isini amboben, rom bavSvebi, romlebic devnilobaSi daibadnen da saerTod ar arian namyofi TavianT saxlebSi, xSirad saubris dros axseneben TavianT soflebs iseT konteqstSi, TiTqos namyofebi arian iq da axsovT iq cxovreba.

*„Cemi Svili, romelic mxolod 5 wlis aris, xSirad tiris xolme, aCabeTSi mindao“* (maka TayaZe. 26 wlis. qvemo aCabeTi).

*„Cemi SviliSvili 8 Tvis iyo, iqauroba rom davtoveT. exla gveubneba xolme, rogor menatreba eredvio. mas, ra Tqma unda, ar axsovs, magram Cven vuyvebiT xolme“* (ciala lazaraSvili. 60 wlis. eredvi).

*„Cems pataras hgonia, rom iq daibada da xSirad axsenebs xolme Zarwems“* (darejan lomsaZe. 44 wlis. Zarwemi).

devnilebTan dakavSirebiT aseve mniSvnelovania maTi TviTidentifikaciis sakiTxis gansazRvra. marTalia, isini kvlav sakuTar samSobloSi cxovroben, magram isini aRar arian TavianT soflebSi, TavianT xeobebSi.

werovnis devnilTa dasaxlebaSi kvlevis dros Segvxvda daaxloebiT 10-11 wlis bavSvebis 5 kaciani jgufi, romelTac davusviT kiTxva, Tu sadaurebi iyvnen isini. maTgan oris pasuxi iyo „eredvelebi“, xolo erTma gvipasuxa \_ „aqaurebi“, risi Tqmis Semdeg danarCenebma ise Sexedes, rom mas TiTqos Sercxva naTqvamis gamo. garda amisa, Cven igive kiTxviT mivmarTeT kidev ramdenime pataras, romlebic pasuxad gveubneboden TavianTi dakaguli soflebis saxelebs da arc erT maTgans ar uxsenebia, rom isini arian werovnelebi, wilknelebi an sxva.

sainteresoa, ra viTareba iqneba ramdenime wlis Semdeg igive dasaxlebebSi (Tu ar moxdeba devnilebis dabruneba)? iqcevian ki isini rodesme werovnelebad, wilknelebad an frezeTelebad? es bavSvebi swavloben skolebSi, romlebic aRar atareben maTi soflebis saxelebs. werovnis magaliTze SeiZleba iTqvas, rom bavSvebi, romlebic werovnis #3 sajaro skolis moswavleebi arian, sportul Tu sxvadasxva RonisZiebebze werovnis saxeliT asparezoben (ix. danarTi, sur. 1.5). amdenad, werovani maT TviTidentifikaciaSi ukve Tavis garkveul adgils ikavebs.

**agvistos omi – travmuli movlena devnili mosaxleobisTvis da posttravmuli stresi.** piotr Stompkas mier dasaxelebuli cvlilebebis im tipebidan, romlebic travmis gamomwvevi xdebian sazogadoebisTvis, SesaZlebelia yvela tipi mivusadagoT agvistos oms da misiT gamowveul Sedegebs devnili mosaxleobisTvis.

* **cvlileba xdeba drois mokle monakveTSi:** rogorc viciT, agvistos oms xSirad moixsenieben xuTdRiani omis saxeliT. saomari moqmedebebi xuTi dRis ganmavlobaSi mimdinareobda da swored am droSi moxda is mniSvnelovani cvlilebebi, rac devnil adamianebs daatyda Tavs.
* **cvlileba exeba cxovrebis mraval aspeqts:** agvistos omma Secvala devnili adamianebis politikuri, ekonomikuri, socialuri mdgomareoba, damokidebuleba sxva adamianebTan.
* **cvlileba exeba cxovrebis siRrmiseul da fundamentur aspeqtebs:** agvistos omis Sedegad adamianebs mouwiaT sakuTari teritoriebis da sacxovreblebis mitoveba, axal sacxovrebel adgilTan Segueba, fsiqologiuri stresis gadalaxva, sakuTari identobisa da, Sesabamisad, „sxva“ jgufebis xelaxla gansazRvra.
* **cvlileba xasiaTdeba moulodnelobiT:** cvlilebis es tipic namdvilad esadageba agvistos oms. devnili adamianebi sruliad moulodnelad iqcnen „devnilebad“ sakuTar samSobloSi.

amdenad, SegviZlia vTqvaT, rom 2008 wlis agvistos omi namdvilad iyo travmuli movlena devnili adamianebisTvis.

travmuli movlena, rogorc wesi, dakavSirebulia tragikul SemTxvevasTan, romelsac moyveba danakargi. agvistos omis Sedegad devnilebma mravalgvari danakargi ganicades. maT ara marto materialuri zarali naxes, aramed omis Sedegad dakarges axlo naTesavebi da ojaxis wevrebi. danakargi rom travmis centraluri Temaa, kargad ikveTeba devnilebis pasuxebSi, romlebsac isini gvcemdnen Cvens mier dasmul kiTxvaze: ***raze gwydebaT guli yvelaze metad?***

*„guli mwydeba imaze, rom Cveni lamazi xeoba, ZirZveli qarTuli miwa davkargeT“* (medea zangalaZe. 55 wlis. qvemo aCabeTi).

*„Cemi cxovreba, rac wvalebiT da SromiT Sevqmeni, is rom davkarge, imaze mwydeba guli yvelaze metad“* (elza amirumovi. 60 wlis. disevi).

*„Cemi mama-papeuli adgili davkarge“* (zaqro maisuraZe. 32 wlis. zemo aCabeTi).

*„guli mwydeba, rom davkargeT axalgori, sadac davibadeT da gavizardeT“* (marine milaZe. 42 wlis. axalgori).

devnilebi yvebian imasac, Tu rogor gaxdnen mezoblebis da axlo naTesavebis daRupvis, aseve sakuTari saxlebis dawva-ganadgurebis TviTmxilvelebi.

*„Cemi dedamTili am oms Seewira“* (nino gagniZe. 35 wlis. qvemo aCabeTi).

*„guli mtkiva, is xalxi rom maxsendeba, romlebic daixocnen. Cveni mezoblebic dawves“* (ciala lazaraSvili. 60 wlis. eredvi).

*„Cems qmars Tavis TvaliT acqerines, rogor dawves Cveni saxli“* (darejan xalaZe. 77 wlis. zemo aCabeTi).

*„boselSi viyavi Zroxis mosawvelad, Cems saxls rom bombi daeca“* (qeTo cotniaSvili. 78 wlis. eredvi).

garda adamianebis sikvdilisa, devnilebi mtkivneulad ganicdian sakuTari saxlebsa da warmoSobis adgilebTan ganSorebas, maTTvis mtkivneul faqtors warmoadgens isic, rom isini veRar axerxeben misvlas naTesavebis saflavebze.

*„Cemi miwa-wyali davtove iq. Cemi saxlis darCenili saZirkveli mirCevnia aq sasaxleebs“* (zeinab mamisaSvili. 50 wlis. qurTa).

*„mkvdaric calke dagvrCa upatronod. Cemi Svilebi natroben imas, rom papis saflavze gasvla SeeZloT“* (lia Jamureli. 28 wlis. qenqaani).

*„Cveni kuTxeebi davkargeT. veRar mivdivarT mama-papis saflavebze da Wiqas ver vuqcevT micvalebulebs“* (vano oTinaSvili. 18 wlis. qemerti).

*„Zalian mtkivneulia, rodesac gaSoreben Sens kuTxe-adgilebs, sadac daibade da gaizarde“* (lela didebaSvili. 45 wlis. axalgori).

jefri aleqsanderi aRniSnavs, rom travma umetesad adamianis qvecnobierSi Tavsdeba. amis dasturad Cven SegviZlia moviyvanoT devnilTa damokidebuleba sizmrebisadmi (sizmaric xom qvecnobierTan dakavSirebuli movlenaa). isini acxadeben, rom sizmarSi ZiriTadad TavianT saxlebSi arian, TavianT Zvel garemoSi.

*„wuxelisac sizmarSi iq viyavi“* (monika. 37 wlis. zemo aCabeTi).

*„yovel Rame sizmarSi sul iq var“* (domenti lafaCi. 68 wlis. TamaraSeni).

*„yovel RamiT sizmarSi vxedav Cems sofels“* (maka qenqaZe. 34 wlis. largvisi).

*„sizmars rogor vnaxav werovanSi?!“* (Salva iluriZe. 53 wlis. boli).

*„ukve ramdeni xania aq varT da werovani ar damsizmrebia arasdros“* (Tea guTniaSvili. 35 wlis. ikoTi).

travmis fenomenze momuSave Teoretikosebi travmisTvis damaxasiaTebel simptomebad asaxeleben aseve am travmaze saubars da dumils. Cveni kvlevis farglebSi am sakiTxTan dakavSirebiT devnilebs mivmarTeT Semdegi kiTxviT: ***saubrobT Tu ara xSirad am omiT gamowveul tkivilze?*** am kiTxvaze devnilebis pasuxebi araerTgvarovani iyo. zogierTi ambobda, rom am Temaze saubari devnil mosaxleobaSi TiTqmis yoveldRiurad mimdinareobs. gamokiTxulTa nawili ki gvpasuxobda, rom cdilobs saerTod ar isaubros amaze. es ar aris SemTxveviTi: travmirebuli sazogadoebisTvis damaxasiaTebelia travmaze saubaric da dumilic. *„mtkivneuli SemTxvevis dafarvis survilsa da misi xmamaRla warmoTqmis survils Soris mudmivad aris konfliqti, rac warmoadgens travmis centralur dialeqtikas“* (Kuhner 2002: 24).

*„Tavidan ufro mets vsaubrobdiT, magram exlac xSirad vsaubrobT“* (nugzar midodaSvili. 51 wlis. eredvi).

*„xSirad vsaubrobT. guSinac visxediT da vsaubrobdiT am Temaze“* (leila metreveli. 62 wlis. eredvi).

*„sakmaod xSirad gviwevs am Temaze saubari“* (sandro RunaSvili. 24 wlis. korinTa).

*„sul vsaubrobT. TandaTan kidev ufro gvenatreba da ufro xSirad vsaubrobT“* (lali morbedaZe. 50 wlis. korinTa).

*„yoveldRe vsxedvarT da guls vifxanT xolme mezoblebi“* (zeinab mamisaSvili. 50 wlis. qurTa).

es adamianebi amboben, rom xSirad saubroben omze, omiT gamowveul tkivilze da es maT garkveulwilad exmarebaT am tkivilis daZlevaSi. erT-erTi devnili amas „gulis mofxanas“ uwodebs, rac namdvilad maniSnebelia imisa, rom saubari da erTmaneTisTvis tkivilis gaziareba xels uwyobs maT posttravmuli stresis daZlevaSi.

devnili adamianebis meore nawili ki ambobs, rom isini, umetesad, eridebian am Temaze saubars. maTi azriT, am yvelafris gaxseneba maT tkivils ayenebs da hgoniaT, rom Tuki masze aRar ilaparakeben, es daexmarebaT daviwyebasa da tkivilis daZlevaSi. devnilebi, romlebic aseT pasuxs gvcemdnen, ufro metad travmirebuli Candnen. zogierTma CvenTan saubris gagrZelebac veRar SeZlo da zogma tirili ver Seikava.

*„ar vsaubrob. roca saubari Camovardeba xolme, me SeiZleba gaverido“* (zemfira beReluri. 70 wlis. disevi).

*„Cven ar vsaubrobT am Temaze. ise menatreba, magram SvilebTan ar vambob“* (medea zangalaZe. 55 wlis. qvemo aCabeTi).

*„vcdilobT, rom aRar gavixsenoT es mZime dReebi da ar visaubroT masze“* (qeTevan cqvitiSvili. 53 wlis. avnevi).

es SeiZleba CavTvaloT travmis ignorirebis mcdelobad, rasac, rogorc mkvlevrebi miiCneven, ar moyveba dadebiTi Sedegebi adamianisTvis. rodesac travmis ignorirebis mizniT adamianis cnobieri ar aanalizebs momxdars da Tavs aiZulebs, daiviwyos igi, aman SesaZlebelia gamoiwvios posttravmuli stresi (Alexander 2004: 5).

xSir SemTxvevaSi adamianebs uCndebaT gauazrebeli survili, mudmivad darCnen travmasTan. amis Sedegad travmirebuli adamianebi dausrulebeli glovis procesSi xvdebian. Cveni kvlevisas, am kuTxiT saintereso aRmoCnda is, rom devnilebis nawili saxlSi inaxavs TavianTi damwvari saxlebis suraTebs. es suraTebi maT glovas garkveul ganmkurnav funqcias aniWebs.

travmuli procesebi da posttravmuli stresi aucileblad dakavSirebulia gaxsenebis momentTan. posttravmul stress swored warsulis gaxseneba da momxdaris gaanalizeba iwvevs. warsulis gaxsenebaSi ki, rogorc Cvenma kvlevam aCvena, Zalze mniSvnelovan rols asrulebs suraTebi. devnilebi didi gulistkiviliT saubroben imaze, rom maT ar SemorCaT suraTebi. maTTvis ki, visac es suraTebi SemorCa, maT TiTqos sakraluri datvirTva SeiZines. magaliTad, qvemo aCabeTidan devnil metrevelebis ojaxSi kedelze ekidaT TavianTi saxlis suraTi, romelic ar SemorCeniaT, magram arqiteqtorma ojaxis ufrosma mexsierebiT aRadgina.

*„suraTic ki ar gamogvyolia iqidan da Zalian ganvicdi“* (ciala lazaraSvili. 60 wlis. eredvi).

*„guli mwydeba bavSvobis suraTebze“* (vano oTinaSvili. 18 wlis. qemerti).

*„saxlidan wamoviRe suraTebi da omidan ori Tvis Semdeg vaCvene meuRles. mas es Zalian gauxarda. faqtiurad siurprizi aRmoCnda misTvis“* (maka TayaZe. 26 wlis. qvemo aCabeTi).

*„rom gamovrbodiT, pirvel rigSi suraTebis albomi Cavde, rodesac fulic mqonda karadaSi 400 lari da is saerTod ar gamxsenebia“* (elza nozaZe. 37 wlis. ikoTi).

garda suraTebisa, devnilebi didi siyvaruliT da rudunebiT inaxaven sxvadasxva nivTebs, romlebic gamoyvaT da iq yofnas axsenebs.

*„iqidan wamoRebuli yavis Wiqebi maqvs. yurebi daatydaT, aRar varganan. meCxubebian Svilebi, gadayareo, magram ver velevi, iqaurobas maxseneben“* (elza amirumovi. 60 wlis. disevi).

*„me erTi televizoris pulti wamomyva da vinaxav. mezoblis 8 wlis bavSvs Turme erTi qva wamouRia iqidan. axla im qvas WiqaSi Cadeben xolme da sadRegrZelos ise svamen“* (leila metreveli. 62 wlis. eredvi).

is adamianebi ki, vinc yvelafris gareSe gamorbodnen, inaxaven im tansacmels, romlebic wamosvlisas ecvaT. elguja borcvaZem gvaCvena Tavisi perangi, romelic ecva iqidan wamosvlisas da aseTi sityvebi daayola: *„am „saroCkiT“ wamovedi da rom davbrundebi, isev es unda Cavicvao“.*

kvlevis procesSi gamoikveTa, rom devnilebSi posttravmuli stresis daZlevaze laparaki jerjerobiT naadrevia. es kargad aCvena maTma pasuxebmac Cvens mier dasmul kiTxvaze: ***SeegueT Tu ara cxovrebas devnilTa dasaxlebaSi?*** devnilTa pasuxebi, ZiriTadad, ase gamoiyureboda: *nawilobriv, sxva ra gzaa, bolomde jer vera.* garda amisa, iyo mkveTrad uaryofiTi pasuxebic \_ rodesac devnilebi ambobdnen, rom saerTod ver eguebian cxovrebas axal dasaxlebebSi. SeguebaSi xelisSemSlel mizezebad devnilebi mraval faqtors asaxeleben. Tumca pirvel mizezad devnilebi socialuri problemebis arsebobasa da umuSevrobas miuTiTeben. aseve mniSvnelovan mizezad saxeldeboda mudmivi fiqri danakargze da monatreba. aRsaniSnavia isic, rom devnilebi, romelebic ar cxovroben Tavis Zvel mezoblebTan erTad, amas mtkivneulad gancdian da Seugueblobis mizezad asaxeleben (miuxedavad imisa, rom zogierTma aseTi arCevani, sxvadasxva mizezebis gamo, TviTon gaakeTa).

erT-erTi mniSvnelovani momenti, romelic Cveni kvlevisas gamoikveTa, aris garkveuli sircxvilis gancda da Seguebis araRiareba. am TvalsazrisiT, saintereso iyo pasuxebi kiTxvaze: ***xvalve rom mogeceT SesaZlebloba, dabrundebiT Tu ara Tqvens saxlebSi?*** am kiTxvaze devnilebi pasuxobdnen, rom, ra Tqma unda, didi siamovnebiT dabrundebodnen, magram amasTanave aRniSnavdnen, rom zogierT maT axlobels da mezobels aRar surda dabruneba. amis mizezad ki asaxelebdnen aq gaumjobesebul sacxovrebel pirobebs (magaliTad, devnilobamde Tu erT saxlSi ramdenime ojaxi cxovrobda, devnilobaSi cal-calke miiRes kotejebi); axalgazrdebisTvis da, kerZod, studentebisTvis centrTan siaxloves (wilknisa da werovnis dasaxlebebi axloa TbilisTan, rac studentebs SesaZleblobas aZlevs, saxlebidan iaron universitetebSi) da sxva mizezebs.

*„Cemi Svilebi studentebi arian da kmayofilebi arian aq wamosvliT. aq ufro laRad grZnoben Tavs. me ki guli mtkiva amaze, magram ras vizam“* (mzia wiptauri. 45 wlis. korinTa).

*„me sixaruliT waval, magram zogierTi iq daberda da imaT ar undaT wasvla“* (qeTevan cqvitiSvili. 53 wlis. avnevi).

*„me siamovnebiT gaviqcevi, magram imaTi mikvirs, rom iq daberebulebsac aRar undaT wasvla“* (baCo odiSvili. 27 wlis. korinTa).

CvenTan saubarSi TiTqmis aravis surda amis piradad Tqma da aRiareba, rac gvaZlevs imis Tqmis safuZvels, rom devnilebs rcxveniaT imis xmamaRla aRiarebisa, rom dabruneba aRar undaT. es ki gasakviri ar aris da, piriqiT, logikuricaa iseTi travmirebuli sazogadoebisTvis, rogorsac warmoadgens devnili sazogadoeba.

devnilTa travma iseTi travmaa, romlis daviwyeba da daZlevac, albaT, yvelaze Znelia, vinaidan devniloba ar moiazreba mudmiv kategoriad da yovelTvis figurirebs azri, rom isini aucileblad unda dabrundnen. devnilebisTvis saxelmwifos mier gadacemul kotejebsac maTi droebiTi sacxovrebeli qvia da maT axal misamarTebs \_ droebiTi misamarTebi. Sesabamisad, es droebiToba maT mudmivad afiqrebs dabrunebaze. SesaZloa, swored es iyos imis mizezi, rom devnilebi ver da ar eguebian axal cxovrebas, rom dabrunebis SemTxvevaSi igive tkivili ar ganicadon.

Cveni kvlevis farglebSi devnilebs mivmarTeT Semdegi kiTxviT: ***gaqvT Tu ara dabrunebis imedi?*** Cvens mier gamokiTxul devnilTa 65% acxadebda, rom maT aqvT dabrunebis imedi, 23% ar hqonda amis imedi, xolo 12% gauWrda am kiTxvaze pasuxis gacema. Cveni dakvirvebiT, SeiZleba iTqvas, rom im adamianebs, romelTac dabrunebis imedi hqondaT, ufro metad uWirdaT axal cxovrebasTan Segueba.

xSirad devnil sazogadoebas sakuTar travmirebulobaze afiqrebs sazogadoebis darCenili nawilis maTdami damokidebuleba, rac gulisxmobs devnilTa tanjvis gaziarebas da imas, rom Tavs movaled Tvlian, maTTan erTad iyvnen am tanjvaSi. angela kuneri, hans kailsonis Teoriaze dayrdnobiT, ambobs, rom aseT damokidebulebas aqvs politikuri mniSvneloba da am yvelafers devnilobis politikas (Flüchtlingspolitik) ukavSirebs. Tumca iqve dasZens, rom aseTma midgomam, SesaZloa, Seqmnas sazogadoebis retravmatizebis (Re-Traumatisierung) safrTxe (Kuhner 2002: 27), am yovelivem ki, SeiZleba, sazogadoeba travmafiliamde miiyvanos. Tumca am konkretul SemTxvevaSi, rodesac omidan mxolod 5 welia gasuli, aseT mdgomareobaze laparaki naadrevia.

**ori „Cven“ jgufi werovanSi.** werovnis devnilTa dasaxleba aris yvelaze didi im dasaxlebebs Soris, romlebic 2008 wlis agvistos omis Semdeg devnili mosaxleobisTvis aSenda. aq cxovroben devnilebi rogorc axalgoris raionidan, aseve goris raionis okupirebuli soflebidan.

rogorc werovanSi Casaxlebuli devnilebi acxadeben, iq dasaxlebis pirvel etapze arsebobda garkveuli dapirispireba axalgorisa da goris raionebidan devnil mosaxleobas Soris. es dapirispireba xSirad gadaizrdeboda xolme kamaTSi, urTierTSelaparakebasa da, axalgazrdebis SemTxvevaSi, fizikur dapirispirebaSic ki.

Cveni kvlevis farglebSi am sakiTxiTac davinteresdiT da werovnis denilTa dasaxlebaSi maT am dapirispirebazec vusvamdiT kiTxvebs. am sakiTxTan dakavSirebiT Cven sami kiTxviT SemovifargleT. es kiTxvebia:

* ***Tqveni azriT, ram ganapiroba is, rom aq dasaxlebis pirvel etapze arsebobda dapirispireba axalgorisa da goris raionebidan devnil mosaxleobas Soris?***
* ***dReisaTvis amowurulia Tu ara es dapirispireba?***
* ***Tu amowurulia, ra faqtorebma Seuwyo xeli (Tu ara - ra uSlis xels) amas?***

kvlevisas gamoirkva, rom gamokiTxulTa mcire nawili saerTod ar aRiarebs am dapirispirebis arsebobas. magram isini, ZiriTadad, is adamianebi arian, vinc ar cxovroben meore jgufis warmomadgenlebTan axlos da arc samsaxurSi an sxvagan uwevT maTTan xSiri Sexeba. danarCen gamokiTxulTa pasuxebi ki naTlad aCvnebs, Tu rogori urTierTSeuTavsebloba iyo axalgorisa da goris rainebidan devnil mosaxleobas Soris werovanSi.

dapirispirebis ZiriTad mizezad orive mxare asaxelebs imas, rom maTi travma ar iyo erTmaneTis msgavsi da axalgoris raionidan devnilma mosaxleobam namdvilad ar ganicada imdeni tkivili da materialuri zarali, rogoric goris raionidan devnilebma (rogorc cnobilia, am omis dros axalgoris raionSi ar yofila saomari moqmedebebi, arc saxlebia ganadgurebuli da arc erTi adgilobrivi mSvidobiani mosaxle ar Sewirvia oms. axalgoris dakaveba moxda cecxlis Sewyvetis Sesaxeb xelSekrulebis dadebis Semdeg). am yvelaferma ki omgadatanil xalxSi gamoiwvia Suri da agresia. Sesabamisad, axalgoris mosaxleoba ambobs, rom agresia ufro metad maT winaaRmdeg iyo mimarTuli.

*„Cveni xalxi agresiulad iyo ganwyobili, imitom rom maT yvelaferi dakarges da fiqrobdnen, ratom axalgorlebmac ar dakargeso“* (maka askilaSvili. 33 wlis. eredvi).

*„erTxel eqskursiaze erTi axalgoreli mSobeli SemekamaTa. rodesac saubrisas Tqva, rom Cven erTi tkivili gvaqvso, me vuTxari, RmerTma dagifaroTo. Cven erTi tkivili ar gvaqvs. axalgorlebi ar unda wamosuliyvnen. isini saxelmwifom dasva xelisgulze da ise gamoiyvana, Cven kidev TiTqmis yvela talaxiani kaloSebiT wamovediT“* (Sorena metreveli. 30 wlis. xeiTi).

*„maT ufro meti tkivili hqondaT gadatanili, vidre Cven (axalgorlebs), rac maTi mxridan agresias ganapirobebda“* (elza nozaZe. 37 wlis. ikoTi).

*„isini iyvnen agresiulebi imitom, rom Tqven dagraCaT yvelaferi, Cven arao“*  (lia midelaSvili. axalgori).

*„isini ufro dazaralebulni iyvnen, maT yvelaferi dakarges da es viTareba warmoSobda gaugebrobebs“* (amiranaSvili Tamari. 26 wlis. axalgori).

*„axalgorlebi mglebiviT gviyurebdnen“* (borcvaZe elguja. eredvi).

*„CvenTvis es saxlebi marTla TavSesafaria, axalgorlebisTvis ki es aris damatebiTi sacxovrebeli“* (arboliSvili malxazi. 62 wlis. eredvi).

*„neta axalgorlebisnairi devnilebi Cvenc viyoT. Cvennairi mdgomareobisgan RmerTma yvela daifaros“* (qeTino vaniSvili. 56 wlis. kexvi).

marTalia, devnilebis orive mxare Tanxmdeba imaze, rom maTTvis omiT gamowveuli zarali \_ materialuri Tu sulieri \_ gansxvavdeboda erTmaneTisgan, maT Soris konfliqturi situaciebi mainc warmoiqmneboda xolme. amis mizezi is aris, rom axalgorlebic sakmaod dazaralebulebad Tvlidnen Tavs da Tanac maTi danaSauli xom ar iyo, rom goris raionis soflebidan devnilebma aseTi didi zarali ganicades. dapirispirebis meore mizezad SeiZleba CavTvaloT is, rom ricxobrivad werovanSi mcxovrebi axalgoreli ufro meti iyo, vidre goris raionidan devnilni. werovanSi arsebuli skolis direqtori axlgoreli iyo, iseve rogorc baga-baRis direqtori. aman goris raionidan devnil mosaxleobas gauCina gancda, rom isini am dasaxlebaSi meorexarisxovnebi iyvnen da werovanSi nebismieri gadawyvetilebis mimRebni axalgorelebi iqnebodnen.

*„aq privilegia yvelaferSi axalgorlebs hqondaT. adgilobrivi TviTmmarTveloba maT ufro exmareboda“* (darejan lomsaZe. 44 wlis. Zarwemi).

*„axalgorlebi ise iqceodnen, es omi viTomda iq moxda. magaT ukeTesi pirobebi hqondaT gamgeobis mxridan Seqmnili“* (mamisaSvili zeinabi. 50 wlis. qurTa).

am mosazrebebs ar eTanxmebian axalgorlebi da miaCniaT, rom aseTi Sexedulebebi, garkveulwilad, gazviadebuli da realobas moklebuli iyo.

*„maT egonaT, rom xelisuflebis mxridan yuradReba ufro axlgorlebisken iyo mimarTuli, rac ar aris marTali. Cven aq ukve erTnair pirobebSi viyaviT“*  (mzia qenqaZe. 45 wlis. largvisi).

*„maT egonaT, rom Cven met yuradRebas gvaqcevdnen viTom. marTla ase iyo Tu ara, me ar vici“* (lela didebaSvili. 45 wlis. axalgori).

sainteresoa axalgazrdebis mosazrebebi am dapirispirebasTan dakavSirebiT. isini gaugebrobebis mizezad asaxeleben stresul mdgomareobas da imas, rom werovani aris Zalian mWidrod dasaxlebuli da aq erTmaneTis gverdiT cxovreba mouwiaT erTmaneTisTvis sruliad ucxo adamianebs.

*„omiT gamowveulma stresma xasiaTi gaufuWa adamianebs da mere erTmaneTisTvis ucxo adamianebi veRar ewyobodnen erTmaneTs“* (ilia bunturi. 16 wlis. axalgori).

*„naomari, ganerviulebuli xalxi iyvnen, Tan ucnobebic bevri moxvdnen erTad da es ganapirobebda maT Soris dapirispirebis warmoSobas“* (vano oTinaSvili. 18 wlis. qemerti).

*„amdeni ucxo xalxi erTad rom movxvdiT aq, swored aman gamoiwvia gaugebrobebi.“* (vano Sermadini. 20 wlis. largvisi).

kidev erTi mizezi agresiis gaCenisa, rogorc devnilebi asaxeleben, aris is, rom axalgorel devnilebs SesaZlebloba hqondaT, Sesuliyvnen axalgorSi da moenaxulebinaT TavianTi saxlebi (amisaTvis maT WirdebodaT specialuri sabuTi, romelsac gascemda osuri mxare mxolod adgilobrivi macxovreblebisTvis \_ forma # 9, romelic ar hqonda yvela axalgorels. Tumca Cveni kvlevisas gairkva, rom umetesobas igi hqonda da axerxebda kidec Sesvlas axalgorSi). igive SesaZlebloba ar gaaCnda goris raionis soflebidan devnil mosaxleobas, rac maTi mxridan erTgvar Surs iwvevda da amas arc malavdnen. aqedan gamomdinare, Cven axalgorel devnilebs davusviT aseTi kiTxva: ***TqvenTvis axalgorSi Sesvla da saxlebis monaxuleba tkivils amsubuqebs?*** am kiTxvaze axalgorlebis pasuxebi orad gaiyo. maTi nawili miiCnevda, rom axalgorSi Sesvla namdvilad amsubuqebs tkivils. Tumca nawili miiCnevs, rom iq Sesvla bevrad ufro Trgunavs maT da amis mizezebsac asaxeleben.

*„ara, iq misvla tkivils ar amsubuqebs. Sens xeobaSi rom mters xedav, Zalian Zneli sanaxavia“* (naira parsaliSili. 42 wlis. maxiareTi).

*„me piradad iq misvla tkivils ar mimsubiqebs. skola iq davamTavre da axla rom Sevdivar, vfiqrob, saerTod rogor vCerdebodi iq. rusebs rom vxedav, miTumetes Zalian meSleba nervebi“* (sandro RunaSvili. 24 wlis. korinTa).

*„im bunebaSi rom midixar, ki gixaria, magram marto isini rom arian da Cveniani aravinaa, guli gwydeba da didxans ver gaCerdebi iq“* (marine milaZe. 42 wlis. axalgori).

*„zogjer iq Sesvla adamians ufro amZimebs. is situacia aRar aris, nacnobi xalxi ar gxvdeba quCaSi. TiTqos sxva qalaqSi moxvdi, magram quCebi da saxlebi nacnobia“* (lela didebaSvili. 45 wlis. axalgori).

axalgoridan devnilTa es ganwyoba ar aris gasakviri. travmuli procesi or monawile mxares gulisxmobs \_ msxverpls da damnaSaves. axalgoridan devnilebs ki iq Sesvlisas uxdebaT maT tanjvaSi uSualo damnaSvesTan pirdapiri kavSiri, rac maT ususurobis gancdas uCens da ufro metad aRizianebs.

es dapirispireba da agresia devnilebs Soris mowmobs imas, rom werovnis devnili mosaxleoba omis Sedegad iyo travmirebuli. rogorc angela kuneri acxadebs, travma adamianebs ar cvlis ukeTesobisken, piriqiT, agresiis es gamovlineba swored travmisTvis damaxasiaTebeli simptomia. travmirebul adamianebs xSirad tanjavT SurisZiebis survili. “mogvwons Tu ara es Cven, travmaze adamianebis bunebrivi reaqcia aris survili imisa, rom sxvasac igive damarTos. Tu SesaZlebelia, es pirvel rigSi mimarTulia damnaSaveze, magram, Tu es SesaZlebeli ar aris, maSin sxvebze“(Kuhner 2002: 37). amdenad, imas, rac werovanSi mcxovreb devnilebTan dakavSirebiT davinaxeT, mkvlevari uwodebs travmaze bunebriv reaqcias. werovanSi Casaxlebul devnilebs, ra Tqma unda, damnaSavesTan urTierTobis SesaZlebloba ar eZleodaT, amitom maT agresia erTmaneTisken mimarTes, ramac maT Soris dapirispireba gamoiwvia.

werovnis devnilTa dasaxlebaSi mcxovrebi adamianebi dReisaTvis am dapirispirebas amowurulad Tvlian. maTi azriT, xalxi ukve SeeCvia erTmaneTs, emociebic ufro Cacxra. aseve, am adamianebma daiwyes erTmaneTTan naTesauri kavSirebis gabma.

*„amJamad es dapirispireba amowurulia, rasac xeli Seuwyo erTmaneTSi danaTesavebam. Cveneburebi imaTebze gaTxovdnen da piriqiTac moxda“* (naTia jabauri. 37 wlis. axalgori).

*„exla erTmaneTSi danaTesavdnen, Txovdebian, bavSvebs unaTlaven erTmaneTs“* (qeTo cotniaSvili. 78 wlis. eredvi)*.*

Tumca mosaxleobis mcire nawili acxadebs, rom urTierTSeuTavsebloba mcire doziT mainc arsebobs. amas, marTalia, aRar moyveba dapirispireba da kamaTi, magram qvecnobieris doneze SeuTavsebloba mainc grZeldeba.

*„dapirispireba met-naklebad daZleulia, magram urTierTobebSi mainc distancias vicavT“* (vano Sermadini. 20 wlis. largvisi).

*„cot-cota mainc aris dapirispireba, magram ra Sedarebaa. rom CauRrmavdebian, mainc gulSi aqvT, Tumca aRar gamoxataven“* (maka askilaSvili. 33 wlis. eredvi).

es yvelaferi adasturebs, rom werovanSi arsebobs ori „Cven“ jgufi. rogorc aleqsanderi aRniSnavs, travmirebuli adamianebi xSirad usvamen sakuTar Tavs aseT kiTxvebs: vin varT Cven? sadaurebi varT da saiT mivdivarT? (Alexander 2004: 5). am kiTxvebze pasuxis gacema ki WirdebaT imisTvis, rom xelaxla gaiazron TavianTi vinaoba axal realobaSi da ar daikargos TviTmyofadoba. swored TviTmyofadobis SenarCunebis mcdelobad SeiZleba CavTvaloT erTmaneTisagan garkveuli distancirebis survili. marTalia, isini yvela qarTvelebi da saqarTvelos moqalaqeebi arian, magaram maTi identoba kidev viwrovdeba da dadis eredvelobaze, TamaraSnelobasa da sxva adgilebisadmi mikuTvnebulobaze.

ori „Cven“ jgufis arsebobas adasturebs isic, rom devnilebi CvenTan saubrisas TavianTi jgufis aRsaniSnavad xSirad iyenebdnen nacvalsaxels „Cven“, xolo meore jgufis aRsaniSnavad – „isini“, miuxedevad imisa, rom Cven mier dasmul kiTxvebSi es sityvebi ar figurirebda. es imis maniSnebelia, rom es adamianebi Tavs sxvadasxva jgufs miakuTvneben. werovanSi mcxovrebi devnilebi erTmaneTis gacnobisas xSirad svamen kiTxvas: xeobeli xar Tu axalgoreli? magram isic unda aRiniSnos, rom es ori jgufi ufro metad axalgorlebisTvis arsebobs. isini, axalgorlebis garda, sxvebs uwodeben „xeobelebs“, romlebic realurad sami xeobis \_ didi liaxvis, patara liaxvis da frones xeobebis macxovreblebi iyvnen. isini aseve sxvadasxva municipalitetebSi cxovrobdnen, Tumca 2007 wlidan, samxreT oseTis droebiTi administraciis Seqmnis Semdeg, am administraciis SemadgenlobaSi Sediodnen, iseve rogorc axalgoris raioni mTlianad. TviTon es meore jgufi \_ „xeobelebi“ ki saerTo „Cven“ jgufad identificirebas swored axalgorlebTan sakuTari Tavis SedarebiT axdenen. unda aRiniSnos isic, rom dReisaTvis am or jgufs metyvelebis gansxvavebuli kilo aqvT da swored es ganasxvavebT maT yvelaze metad.

**devnilTa dasaxlebebi da koleqtiuri mexsiereba**

agvistos omi mniSvnelovani movlenaa qarTuli koleqtiuri azrovnebisTvis. Cven koleqtiur mexsierebas ganvixilavT ufro mcire socialuri jgufis \_ devnili mosaxleobis magaliTze. halbvaqsidan dawyebuli, TiTqmis yvela mkvlevari Tanxdeba imaze, rom garda naciebisa, koleqtiuri mexsiereba aqvT mcire socialur jgufebsac. SevecdebiT ganvixiloT, Tu rogor da ra saSualebebiT iqmneba devnili sazogadoebis koleqtiuri mexsiereba.

Cveni kvlevisas devnilebs koleqtiur mexsierebasTan dakavSirebiTac vusvamdiT kiTxvebs. erT-erTi kiTxva, romliTac maT mivmarTavdiT, aseTi iyo: ***xSirad uyvebiT Tu ara Svilebs (bavSvebs) istoriebs warsulze?*** amaze devnilebi pasuxobdnen, rom diax, uyvebodnen da es aucilebel movaleobadac miaCndaT. zogierTi adamiani, romelsac ojaxSi bavSvi ar hyavda, gvpasuxobda, rom mezoblebis an naTesavebis bavSvebs esaubrebodnen TavianT sofelze da iqaur ambebs xSirad uyvebodnen.

Semdegi kiTxva gaxldaT: ***Tqveni azriT, mova dro, rodesac aRar emaxsovrebaT es omi?*** am kiTxvaze devnilebi gvpasuxobdnen, rom es TiTqmis SeuZlebelia, vinaidan moxdeba mexsierebis Taobidan Taobaze gadacema.

*„es omi mudam darCeba istoriaSi da Taobidan Taobebs gadaecema“* (naTela qristesiaSvili. 59 wlis. eredvi).

*„me iseTi gancda maqvs, rom Cems STamomavlobas arasodes daaviwydeba es omi“* (leila metreveli. 62 wlis. eredvi).

*„me wignidan imdeni ar vicodi samamulo omze, ramdenic papaCemis monaTxrobidan. am omis Sesaxebac gadascemen Taobebs“* (ameli maisuraZe. eredvi).

*„ara, es omi ar daaviwydebaT. miTumetes manam, sanam ar davbrundebiT“* (Tamar amiranaSvili. 26 wlis. axalgori).

alaida asmani miiCnevs, rom koleqtiuri mexsierebis ganxilvisas mniSvnelovani da yuradsaRebi faqtoria daviwyebis fenomenic. *„rodesac Cven vfiqrobT mexsierebaze, unda daviwyoT daviwyebiT“* (Assman A. 2010: 97). sainteresoa, ra viTarebaa am kuTxiT devnil mosaxleobaSi, ras ixseneben isini da ras Tvlian daviwyebis Rirsad.

Cvenma kvlevam aCvena, rom devnilebs warsulidan, ZiriTadad, dadebiTi emociebi gadmoyvaT da miaCniaT, rom warsulSi yvelaferi kargad iyo. es Sedegi aCvena kiTxvam: ***ras ixsenebT yvelaze xSirad omamdeli warsulidan?***

*„warsulidan yvelafer kargs vixseneb. amis Semdeg yvelaferi airia da yvelaferi cudi xdeba Cvens cxovrebaSi“* (qeTino kobauri. 28 wlis. saZeguri).

*„iqauri cudic ki kargad gvaxsendeba exla“* (zaqro maisuraZe. 32 wlis. zemo aCabeTi).

*„yoveli dRe erTmaneTze ukeTesi iyo iq“* (zeinab mamisaSvili. 50 wlis. qurTa).

*„cudi aRar maxsendeba araferi“* (marine gogiZe. 52 wlis. qemerti).

rogorc devnilTa pasuxebidan Cans, maT warsulidan uaryofiTi movlenebi TiTqmis daiviwyes. isini saubrebSi yvebian, rom iq cxovrebisas Zalian didi fizikuri Sroma uxedebodaT, magram es yvelaferi axla kargad axsendebaT da isev im drois dadgomaze ocneboben. devnilebi amboben, rom maSin iq cxovrebas saTanadod ver afasebdnen da xSirad mosabezrebladac eCvenebodaT iq yofna. es yovelive ki SeiZleba maT travmul mdgomareobas mivaweroT.

amdenad, SegviZlia vTqvaT, rom devnilTa koleqtiuri mexsiereba warsulis naTel da dadebiT suraTs inaxavs.

**ra saSualebebiT iqmneba devnilTa koleqtiuri mexsiereba?** koleqtiuri mexsierebis Seqmnasa da CamoyalibebaSi ian asmani did mniSvnelobas aniWebs koleqtiuri mexsierebis figurebs, rasac pier nora mexsierebis xatebs/adgilebs uwodebs. es mexsierebis figurebi asmanTan warmoadgenen raRac modelebs, nimuSebs, romlebic, garkveulwilad, gakveTilis maswavlebelnic arian jgufisTvis da maTSi gamoixateba jgufis sayovelTao saxe. isini ara marto warsulis ganaxlebas axdenen, aramed gansazRvraven jgufis xasiaTs, Tvisebebs, sisusteebs (Assmann J. 1992: 40).

i. asmani aseve saubrobs mexsierebis adgilebze da miiCnevs, rom adamianisTvis gaxsnebis procesSi didi mniSvneloba eniWeba misTvis SeCveul bunebriv garemos, rogorsac warmoadgens ojaxisTvis \_ saxli, glexisTvis \_ sofeli da xeoba, qalaqis macxovreblebisTvis \_ qalaqi da sxva. „yoveli jgufi, romelsac konsolidireba surs, miiswrafvis Seqmnas adgilebi, romlebic iqnebian maTi identobis simboloebi da gaxsenebis sayrdeni wertilebi“(Assmann. J. 1992: 39).

Cven SevecdebiT, ganvixiloT is saSualebebi, romlebsac devnili adamianebi TavianTi koleqtiuri mexsierebis Sesaqmnelad iyeneben da cdiloben sakuTari identobis SenarCunebas.

am TvalsazrisiT, devnilTa dasaxlebebSi upirvelesad TvalSisacemia maTi soflebis saxelebis trafaretebi. werovnis dasaxlebaSi aseTebia zemo aCabeTi, Zarwemi, qemerti, kexvi; wilknis dasaxlebaSi \_ yanCaveTi, wirqoli, saZeguri da sxva (ix. danarTi. sur: 2.1, 2.2, 2.3).

amiT devnilebi, maTi azriT, ucxo da stumrad mimavali adamianebisTvis akeTeben miniSnebebs. magram devnilTa dasaxlebebSi misamarTebis gansazRvra ufro rigebis mixedviT xdeba da iq soflis saxelebs rigi xSirad arc aqvT miTiTebuli. SegviZlia vivaraudoT, rom es maTi lokaluri identobis gamoxatvis arealebia da miuTiTebs imaze, rom isini ara mxolod werovnis an wilknis ama da am rigis mkvidrebi arian, aramed maTTvis mniSvnelovania swored warmoSobis adgilebi. amiT isini lokaluri identobis SenarCunebis survils gamoxataven.

garda amisa, werovanSi soflis saxelebi qvia maRaziebsac. aq SegxvdebaT „marketi boli“, „marketi axalgori“. aseve, werovanSi quCebSi gvxvdeba nimuSebi, romlebic migvaniSnebs, rom sazogadoebis yuradReba mudmivad unda iyos fokusirebuli warsulze.

koleqtiur mexsierebas qmnian aseve adgilobrivi media saSualebebi, esenia gazeTebi „axalgori“ da „liaxvis xeoba“. am gazeTebSi, garda devnilebisTvis aqtualuri mimdinare sakiTxebisa, xSirad warsulzec maxvildeba yuradReba. gvxvdeba statiebi istoriuli warsulis Sesaxeb, zog SemTxvevebSi ki pirdapiri miniSnebebia imisa, rom maT unda axsovdeT da uyvardeT dakarguli teritoriebi. aseve xdeba imis Sexseneba, rom aucileblad dabrundebian.

suraTebi 2.4 gazeT „axalgoris“ 2013 wlis nomrebidanaa. aq yovelgvari teqstis gareSe mocemulia axalgoris RirsSesaniSnaobebis suraTebi, romelTac axlavs mxolod patara minawerebi \_ erTgvari mowodebebi axalgoris ardaviwyebisken.

erT-erT mniSvnelovan saSualebas koleqtiuri mexsierebis SeqmnaSi warmoadgens literatura. iva mindaZe miiCnevs, rom literatura mnemoteqnikis erT-erTi saukeTeso saSualebaa: „literatura mravali saukunis ganmavlobaSi xdeba jgufis koleqtiuri xatebis ara mxolod „cirkulaciis“, aramed sakuTari koleqtiuri xatebis – gnebavT, kulturis – sxvebisTvis gacnobis (Targmanis gziT) da aseve, cxadia, sxvebis kulturis Semecnebis ZiriTadi saSualeba”(mindaZe 2005: 58).

literatura, ra Tqma unda, devnilebSic iqmneba. wera maTTvis stresis daZlevis saSualebasac warmoadgens. Tanamedrove iraneli poeti qali goli Tarayi giorgi lobJaniZesTan interviuSi ambobs, rom weras misTvis Terapiis rolis Sesruleba SeeZlo. „roca xsenebuli ori wignis ("gabneuli mogonebebi" da "ori samyaro") wera wamoviwye, es saqme CemTvis fsiqoanalizis erTgvari, ufro ukeT rom giTxraT, erTaderTi saxeoba iyo, romlis meSveobiTac moZalebuli avadmyofobisagan gankurneba msurda da amitomac bavSvobis mogonebaTa gulwrfel gaxsenebas Terapiis roli unda eTamaSa.“[[3]](#footnote-3) gagacnobT devnilTa ramdenime leqss, romelTa nawili Cveni kvlevisas moviZieT, nawili ki adgilbrivi gazeTebidan amovkribeT.

wilknis devnilTa dasaxlebaSi axalgoris raionis sofel wirqolidan devnilma 11 wlis rusudan fsuturma wagvikiTxa Tavisi dawerili leqsi, romelsac qvia „Cemi sofeli“:

*„me menatreba Cemi sofeli,*

*didi mTebi da gaSlili veli,*

*Cemi qsani da Cemi CanCqeri*

*mosCqefs da moaqvs mware naRveli.*

*me guli mtkiva, me xom bavSvi var*

*da gavxdi didi ramis mnaxveli,*

*magram me mjera rom davbrundebi*

*Cems samSobloSi, Cems axalgorSi.“*

rogorc rusudanma gviTxra, mas saskolo RonisZiebebis dros akiTxeben xolme am leqss da klaselebsac xSirad uyveba.

devnilTa leqsebs aqveynebs gazeTi „liaxvis xeoba“. am leqsebsac monatrebis tkivilis gancda dasdevs Tan.

***monatreba***

*„me mesizmreba Cemi sofeli*

*mamis saflavi, damwvari saxli,*

*me menatreba yvela nacnobi,*

*mimofantuli is Cemi xalxi.*

*me menatreba Cemi ubani,*

*didi, patara, kaci Tu qali,*

*lia, Tamriko, nino, manana,*

*Tiniko, sofo, irma Tu lali.*

*me menatreba, rom erTi wamiT*

*Semovexvio Cem saxlis kedlebs,*

*mere Tund ZirSi mosaWrelada*

*CemiT gavuwvdi mters damWknar xelebs.*

*es monatreba, es mogoneba,*

*es yvelaferi sizmrebSi qreba,*

*im dawyevlili agvistos mere*

*Tvalebze cremli yoveldRe Cndeba.“*

*(nuca arboliSvili. gaz. „liaxvis xeoba“ 2011. #1).*

*„uimedobam xeli Camavlo,*

*gaugebrobis cecxlSi Camagdo,*

*Tavs ar manebebs warsulze fiqri*

*da jojoxeTis cxel qvabSi viwvi.*

*ar vici, ra mWirs, ar vici, vin var,*

*vis, an ras vebrZvi ase Zalian,*

*me me aRar var, ar vici sad var,*

*Cems samSobloSi stumris rangSi var.“*

*(nino WuluxaZe. gaz. „liaxvis xeoba“ 2011. #1).*

amdenad, SegviZlia vTqvaT, rom devnilebis da devnilobis literatura ukve iqmneba da misi gadacema farTo sazogadoebisTvis gazeTebis meSveobiT xdeba.

dReisaTvis devnilebis da, gansakuTrebiT, devnili axalgazrdebis koleqtiuri mexsierebis CamoyalibebaSi mniSvnelovan rols asrulebs aseve interneti da socialuri qselebi. am ukanasknelSi devnili axalgazrdebis mier Seqmnilia jgufebi, romlebic warsulis Senaxvas cdilobs da qmnis socialur gaerTianebebs, romelTac saerTo warsuli akavSirebT. aseTi jgufebia, magaliTad, **„Cven gvaxsovs da gviyvars samaCablo“**[[4]](#footnote-4) da **„qsnis xeoba – „patara mTiuleTi“**[[5]](#footnote-5). am gverdebze axalgazrdebi warmoadgenen TavianTi soflebis Tu xeobebis rogorc omamdel, ise omis Semdgom suraTebs, erTmaneTs uziareben tkivilisa da monatrebis gancdebs. SemTxveviTi ar unda iyos isic, rom amave jgufebis gverdebze didi yuradReba eTmoba Zveli istoriuli movlenebis amsaxvel masalebs, rac legitmurs xdis maT moTxovnas sakuTar saxlebSi dabrunebasTan dakavSirebiT. rogorc cnobilia, istoria xSirad Terapiis rolsac asrulebs da, SesaZloa, axalgazrdebic amitom mimarTaven mas.

Yotube-ze SesaZlebelia aseve devnili adamianebis mier Seqmnili klipebis naxva, romlebic warsulis Senaxvas cdiloben. aseTi klipebi Seqmnilia omis Sedegad dakarguli teritoriebis fotoebiT, sevdiani musikis fonze. magaliTad, klipi „axalgori”[[6]](#footnote-6) iwyeba fraziT *„gvaxsovdes qsnis xeoba“,*  mTvrdeba aseTi teqstiT: *„klipi eZRvneba yvelas, visac enatreba qsnis xeoba“.*

**daskvna**

devnilTa dasaxlebebis da iq mcxovrebi adamianebis kvleva kulturuli travmisa da koleqtiuri mexsierebis WrilSi saintereso da mniSvnelovani aRmoCnda. kvlevam aCvena, rom devnilebi omidan xuTi wlis Semdegac travmul mdgomareobaSi arian da devnilTa posttravmuli stresi Zalzed Zneli dasaZlevia im pirobebSi, rodesac devniloba miCneulia droebiT kategoriad da mudmivad saubaria maTi dabrunebis aucileblobaze.

kvlevisas gamoirkva da dasaxelda is simptomebi, romlebic arsebobs devnil sazogadoebaSi, rogorc travmirebul sazogadoebaSi; naCvenebi iqna bavSvebis, rogorc yvelaze mgrZnobiare kategoriis damokidebuleba travmul movlenebTan.

kvlevam werovanSi aCvena, rom iq mcxovrebi devnilebi, garkveulwilad, inarCuneben sxvadasxva „jgufisadmi“ mikuTvnebulobis gancdas (miuxedavd imisa, rom xSirad travmuli movlenebis Semdeg socialuri jgufebi cdiloben „Cven“ jgufis gafarToebas). werovnis SemTxvevaSi es yovelive, SesaZloa, lokaluri identobebis SenarCunebis mcdelobad CaiTvalos.

gamoCnda isic, rom devnilebi TviTon qmnian TavianTi koleqtiuri mexsierebis simboloebs. marTalia, isini ar ageben Zeglebs an monumentebs, romlebic koleqturi mexsierebis ZiriTad simboloebad da gamovlinebad iTvleba, magram qmnian leqsebs, klipebs, romlebsac erTmaneTs uziareben socialur qselebSi Seqmnili jgufebis meSveobiT.

SeiZleba iTqvas, rom agvistos omi mTeli saqarTvelosTvis iyo travmuli movlena, magram devnilebSi travmam da posttravmulma stresma misTvis damaxasiaTebeli simptomebiT hpova gamovlineba. rac Seexeba koleqtiur mexsierebas, Tuki danarCeni qarTuli sazogadoebisTvis agvistos omi mniSvnelovania mTlianad qarTuli nacionaluri identobis konteqstSi, devnilebisTvis prioritetuli gaxda maTi lokaluri identobebis dacva-SenarCuneba. isini Zalian ganicdian devnilobas sakuTar samSobloSi da sakuTar Tavs omidan xuTi wlis Semdegac im dasaxlebebis „stumrebad“ da „mdgmurebad“ ganixilaven.

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1. [http://mra.gov.ge/main/GEO#readmore/278](http://mra.gov.ge/main/GEO) (nanaxia 30.05.2013) [↑](#footnote-ref-1)
2. <http://shokoladi.ge/content/nulovani-mentaloba> (nanaxia 30.05.2013) [↑](#footnote-ref-2)
3. [http://shokoladi.ge/content/goli-taraqi-gmertma-nu-knas-mteli-msoplio-ertnairi-iqos?page=3](%20http://shokoladi.ge/content/goli-taraqi-gmertma-nu-knas-mteli-msoplio-ertnairi-iqos?page=3) (nanaxia 30.05.2013) [↑](#footnote-ref-3)
4. <https://www.facebook.com/pages/%E1%83%A9%E1%83%95%E1%83%94%E1%83%9C-%E1%83%92%E1%83%95%E1%83%90%E1%83%AE%E1%83%A1%E1%83%9D%E1%83%95%E1%83%A1-%E1%83%93%E1%83%90-> %E1%83%92%E1%83%95%E1%83%98%E1%83%A7%E1%83%95%E1%83%90%E1%83%A0%E1%83%A1-%E1%83%A1%E1%83%90%E1%83%9B%E1%83%90%E1%83%A9%E1%83%90%E1%83%91%E1%83%9A%E1%83%9D/303078563125280?fref=ts (nanaxia 30.05.2013) [↑](#footnote-ref-4)
5. <https://www.facebook.com/groups/417197691635157/?fref=ts> (nanaxia 30.05.2013) [↑](#footnote-ref-5)
6. <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=rdmjmW4hneg> (nanaxia 30.05.2013) [↑](#footnote-ref-6)