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Ethnography of a Georgian Restaurant, and the
migration experiences of Georgian female
migrants in Prague

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Declaration

I declare that I have created the thesis by myself. All sources and literature used have been duly cited. The work was not used to obtain another or the same title.

Prague, 05.05.2023

Signature:

Acknowledgment

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Introduction

I start the introduction with a vignette that depicts social interaction between migrants in the Georgian restaurant SUN.DAY terrace in Prague. The vignette presents a fragment of Georgian immigrants' daily life, especially their relationships and work. It also includes details of how Georgian migrants socialize during and after working hours in Prague.

It was Monday evening of November 2022 when I went to the SUN.DAY Terrace; the restaurant is near the metro station I.P. Pavlova, Prague 2, Lublanská street. Georgian ladies were already expecting me to help them in the kitchen. I entered the kitchen, and as Georgian worker ladies Natia and Ruska saw me, Natia exclaimed, "Oh girl, you are here, come inside and sit on your chair... Do you want something to eat? Maybe coffee? Yes, you love coffee with no sugar", she remembered my preference from the last time I was there. I giggled and agreed. While Ruska was making me a coffee, a Ukrainian waiter came downstairs in the kitchen and told the ladies to prepare Adjaruli Khachapuri, six Khinkalis with mixed meat and mixed Pkhaleuli¹. Natia started making Khachapuri, Ruska opened the fridge and took Pkhaleuli out, and Nani worked on the dough for Khinkhali. While the women were preparing the dishes, a middle-aged, tall, thin man entered the kitchen. His name was Mamuka. He started complaining that he was mad about one of the Georgian restaurant workers; Mamuka asked his co-worker to look after the meat he was preparing, but the latter forgot. Meat burnt, the customer noticed that and complained. He also added that he was tired of the Ukrainian people. The Ukrainian staff members were bartenders and servers; Ukrainians discussed topics that could have been more interesting to him as Mamuka had to prepare several dishes and spent much time communicating only with Ukrainian workers. For instance, Mamuka wants to stay in the kitchen surrounded only by the Georgians for a while since he finds discussions and conversations with Georgians more interesting than with Ukrainians. Natia was preparing

¹ The order includes traditional Georgian dishes. Different regions in Georgia offer a distinct type of Khachapuri. Adjara is the region in the southwest Georgia, presenting the boat-shaped Khachapuri with cheese, raw egg, and butter. Khinkali is a Georgian dumpling with twisted knobs of dough stuffed with meat. Pkhaleuli is the mix of chopped vegetables, walnuts, garlic, and herbs. Vegetables such as cabbage, eggplant, and beets are used for Pkhaleuli.

Adjacharuli Khachapuri, a bread and cheese dish with eggs, and was simultaneously eating Georgian cheese from her plate. The workers started teasing and laughing at Natia; supposedly, she ate a lot before they went to work but she was still hungry: "Natia, you will explode, and then we won't have a kitchen anymore to work in," said Nani. Natia finished making her order, turned around, and yelled, "It is already 9 PM. We can go home. Congratulations, everyone!" Another Georgian male worker Zakro entered the kitchen and commented that the working day was officially over and that he could now sit and relax: "Now we can tell funny stories" he said. Georgian workers gathered the chairs in the kitchen and created the circle. Mamuka, Natia and Nani are siblings. Natia remembered a story about her brother Mamuka when he got drunk while staying together in a hotel in Prague. Natia said she had a video of that day and started searching for it; as she said, Mamuka entered the room talking to himself, then jumped on the bed and hit his head on the wall. Everyone started laughing about it: "Look, it is too funny." Mamuka was also laughing. He said his head still hurts due to that accident: "We have other funny videos here. I will show you". Another video was about all Georgians who work in the restaurant. "We are tipsy here and had a little fun after work. This is the video of Mamuka dancing". Everyone started laughing about how he was dancing. "What would you all do without me," responded Mamuka. As one hour passed since the work ended, Ruska interrupted the small gathering in the kitchen and said, "Okay, let's stand up everyone and clean, then we can go home." I also stood up, took my jacket, and said goodbye to everyone.

The vignette addresses three aspects about Georgian migrants living in Prague; firstly, it indicates that Georgian migrants have distinctive relationships with Georgians and other ethnicities. Georgians can be more attentive and caring towards someone they perceive as an insider, that is, a Georgian. In constructing a so-called „second home” in Prague, ethnicity and gender play a significant role. Both are essential features in the relationships and interactions among the Georgian community. For instance, perceived gender norms regarding cooking are part of the Georgian restaurant’s organizational patterns; for example, Georgian migrants consider particular dishes or cooking techniques as traditionally falling under male or female domains. As a result, Georgians feel less stressed while being around "insiders". Secondly, teasing each other and

laughing is a part of Georgian workers' daily routines. They handle stress and various problems by joking and teasing each other. Finally, collectivism and cooperation among Georgian migrants are central to their interactions. They spend a whole day together, including working in the restaurant, relaxing after work, and sometimes going to bars. This pattern affects their integration into the host country's community and their interactions with other immigrants. For the restaurant staff members, ethnicity is significant because it enhances the feeling of belonging in a foreign country. However, it can also form exclusivity toward non-Georgian communities.

My fieldwork portrays Georgians working in a Georgian restaurant “SUN.DAY Terrace” located in the heart of Prague which offers a wide selection of traditional Georgian dishes. The servers and bartenders are mainly Georgians and Ukrainians, and the kitchen crew consists only of six Georgians - three males and three females. The owners and the manager of the restaurant are Czechs. The thesis presents how Georgian women use material culture, specifically traditional cuisine, to enhance the social bonds between Georgian immigrants and customers from the host country. The relationship between regular local customers and Georgian workers becomes informal, which is how they establish friendships with foreigners and locals.

Social media plays a significant role in Georgian migration to the Czech Republic. Part of the research is the analysis of the Facebook group "Georgians in the Czech Republic," which enables me to identify the patterns of the migration process and Georgian migrants' socialization. Also, social media groups contribute to successful ethnic entrepreneurship in Prague – a Georgian restaurant being an example; particularly, Nani, one of the Chefs in the Georgian restaurant, started selling Georgian traditional homemade products via the Facebook group for income-increasing purposes. She could not bear her previous job as a housekeeper at the hotel in Prague due to the workload and low salary. After the increased demand for Nani's homemade Georgian products co-ethnics, who were Nani's online customers, proposed to establish a Georgian kitchen in Prague. Finally, Nani hired her family members, sister and brother, and two of her friends as chefs and staff members and SUN.DAY Terrace was established as a modern Georgian

restaurant in Prague. Thus, social media contributed to involving a group of Georgian migrants in a successful ethnic entrepreneurship in Prague.

The thesis explores the interactions of Georgian immigrants with each other and other ethnicities in public and private spaces. I will, in this sense, study migration experiences from the gender perspective, exploring the reasons for relocating to a different country and the challenges women face during emigration. Again, the thesis investigates the in-group and out-group relations and attitudes among Georgians with Czech society and other immigrants in Prague, and the importance of gender and ethnicity in establishing social interactions with others. Lastly, the thesis also focuses on the strategies the Georgian diaspora generates to handle the difficulties of integrating themselves into the host country. The research objectives of the thesis are to identify if traditional values, including ethnicity, language, and cuisine, contribute to establishing familiarity in the host country and to understand what strategies Georgian women employ to transform the unfamiliar environment of a host country into a familiar and intimate one. Consequently, I explore the processes that help Georgian migrant workers establish a "second home" in Prague, simultaneously applying gender issues and contributions to the thesis.

Theoretical framework

The subsequent theoretical section explores the current state of knowledge regarding the theories that are essential to be addressed in this study. The theoretical framework is structured as follows: Topics concerning diaspora and transnational communities, the feminization of migration, the integration process in the host country, the role of space and food in constructing a so-called second home in countries of destination, the contribution of social media in migration, and finally the social history of Georgian migration.

Expatriates and immigrants represent the notion of diaspora communities. One of the characteristics of a diaspora is that despite living outside the borders of their motherland, they keep relating personally or indirectly to the country of origin. Also, diasporas acknowledge the importance of shared consciousness and solidarity within

inter-ethnic relationships. William Safran describes diaspora in "Diasporas in Modern Societies: Myths of Homeland and Return" and states, "They [diaspora] continue to relate, personally or vicariously, to that homeland in one way or another, and their ethnocommunal consciousness and solidarity are importantly defined by the existence of such relationship" (Safran 2011, 84). Also, Safran proposes an example of the Chinese diaspora in Southeast Asia, whose intention was to accumulate money in the host country and return the collected capital to their country of origin. Chinese diaspora has established a strongly bonded community within their ethnic group outside of their home country with economic and political advantages. The author claims, "The Chinese community has become so dominant that it has been able to secure an institutionally guaranteed status of its culture- in effect, to recreate a Chinese community outside the original homeland, but with more appealing political and economic conditions" (Safran 2011, 89). The author indicates the characteristics of the diasporic community. One is the desire to be committed to maintaining their home country. Also, the diaspora expresses solidarity within their ethnic relations because they indirectly relate to their countries of origin (Safran 1999, 84).

In addition to living outside the homeland borders and simultaneously maintaining the culture and ethnic ties, the notion developed by Steven Vertovec, transnationalism, argues that diasporas across the nation's borders became transnational communities maintained by mobility and communication. The author states, "The dispersed diasporas of old have become today's transnational communities' sustained by a range of modes of social organization, mobility and communication" (Vertovec 1999, 449).

Moreover, Vertovec discusses the remittances issue that transnational individuals highly contribute to the national economies since, for the governments, it is the fastest source of foreign exchange. Also, he states that countries such as the Philippines, Pakistan, and many Latin American states depend entirely on monetary transfers. The author claims, "The relatively small amounts of money which migrants transfer as remittances to their places of origin now add up to at least \$75 billion world-wide" (Vertovec 1999, 453). As discussed, the transnational communities financially aid their families in their home countries. However, from a gender perspective, individuals who

migrate intending to cover household expenditures and financially provide for families might be the subjects of criticism depending on their gender. For instance, Margarita Lundkvist-Houndoumadi's journal article demonstrates qualitative research regarding emigrated Georgian women. The author has collected interviews from Georgian women, and essentially Georgian women's emigration conflicts with the traditional view concerning gendered expectations. From the traditional perspective, an ideology of motherhood is romanticized as a labor of love and taking care in the private sphere. Community members expect women's migration to be based on self-sacrifice, not self-growth and development. The author claims that "The victimization of women and the feeling of self-sacrifice are still prevalent amongst many emigrated women" (Lundkvist-Houndoumadi 2010, 62). The social group who shares this perspective judges emigrated women regarding their decisions since they see migrants as leaving their children behind and betraying their obligations of caring and nurturing. However, migrating women aim to secure and enhance the quality of their children's life. These attitudes and social pressures cause inner conflicts between home country residents and women and among women themselves.

Feminization of migration

Another critical aspect of Lundkvist-Houndoumadi's article is that increasing demand in wealthier countries for domestic workers produces the feminization of migration. The author illustrates the relations between women migrants and migration destination countries and states that "care resources are being pulled from poor countries and transferred to the rich" (Lundkvist-Houndoumadi 2010, 52). Care resources refer to women who desire to migrate and fulfill gendered domestic responsibilities in the host country and families. Barbara Ehrenreich and Arlie Russell Hochschild discuss the reasons behind the growing feminization of migration and the "care deficit" in the article "Global Women in the New Economy." The authors mention that the reasons contributing to the "care deficit" are local women engaging in the workforce and neo-liberal policies such as lack of childcare support and insufficient male contribution to domestic work. For this reason, the demand for migrants from post-Soviet and third-world countries increases to fulfill domestic household duties. The authors illustrate those as mentioned above in the article, the "Care deficit that has emerged in the

wealthier countries as women enter the workforce pulls migrants from the third and postcommunist nations; poverty pushes them" (Ehrenreich and Hochschild 2003, 330). The theory developed by Ehrenreich and Hochschild implies that people from developing countries struggle with poverty, which is one of the main reasons they decide to migrate to developed countries. For instance, the authors compare the salaries of women from the Philippines working in their home country as schoolteachers and the migrant Filipina women fulfilling domestic-related tasks in the host country, Hong Kong. Ehrenreich and Hochschild claim that wages in Hong Kong for being a domestic worker are fifteen times more than the women can earn working as schoolteachers in the Philippines. As a result, Women pursue migration to improve their incomes, but migration might affect their social status, and females might experience downward mobility. Similarly, in some Georgian migrants' cases, Tinatin Zurabishvili claims in her dissertation that Georgians in European countries participate in the lower-prestige workforce compared to their previous jobs in Georgia. The author states, "jobs of lower status and lower prestige than those they held in the country of origin" (Zurabishvili 2022, 20).

Furthermore, the theory developed by Ehrenreich and Hochschild applies to the Czech Republic's case since the above-mentioned "care deficit" (Ehrenreich and Hochschild 2003, 330) has emerged in the country where migrants play a major role in fulfilling the deficit. In this case, the study by Petra Ezzedine illustrates Ukrainian migrants in the Czech Republic who take care of the elderly and illustrates that in contemporary Czech families, both partners provide financially for their households. However, due to women's financially productive activities, they do not have much time to take care of the elderly. Additionally, the data from an interview with one of the agencies that connect Ukrainian migrants and the family of the elderly suggests that "Some want only Czech women, but they [Ukrainian women] are simply cheaper"(Ezzedine 2014, 227-228).

Integration in the host country

Another line of thought concerning migration and integration in the host country demonstrates the importance of acquiring new cultural patterns of the host country for local communities to assimilate recent migrants into the country of destination. The subsequent research by Drew Nesdale and Anita S. Mak demonstrates that the host

countries' inclusion level increases with the adoption of new cultural patterns. However, the study implies that some migrants are psychologically "located" within their ethnic setting. They do not adopt new ways of behaving or social ideas. As a result, the expatriates surround themselves only with their traditional ways of thinking and behaving. Eventually, they distance themselves from the local community. Finally, the authors stated, "The model predicted that the less immigrants restrict themselves to living within their ethnic environment (broadly defined), the greater the likelihood that they would come to identify with the host country" (Nesdale and Mak 2000, 485-486). In the Georgian case of the integration process in the host country, integration progress develops slowly. Cultural and social differences challenge the adaptation process. For example, the research about the Georgian migrants in Portugal demonstrated that a lack of native language skills causes tension and problems in establishing relationships with Portuguese. For this reason, one of the respondents said, "They do not like when you are talking in your language. If you do not know Portuguese, they are saying to you: If you come here, you should know the Portuguese language" (Pirtskhalava 2017,268).

Again, the diverse cultural background is another problem that establishes a barrier between the Georgian and the Portuguese. Some cultural and social norms differ within specific societies, which produces misunderstanding. In this case, the notion of friendship. The author illustrates the definition of friendship by Georgian migrants, "Participants of the study are describing friendships. They admitted the friendship in Europe is different than in Georgia. You are a friend while you are working together." In this example, the author implies that Georgians expect foreigners to be open and attentive as they are. However, making feasts at home and inviting people to their houses, as Georgians often do not characterize Portuguese. Accordingly to Georgian respondents, "the Portuguese are not open people as Georgians. They do not like to invite a friend to their house. Normally, they invite their friends to a café for a birthday party or sometimes they may offer to join them when they are going out to drink beer. They rarely invite you to a wedding party" (Pirtskhalava 2017, 268).

Role of Space and construction of the so-called second Home in the host countries

The current debate about the role of space in migration identifies an interesting viewpoint on the notion of migrants constructing a "second home" in their host countries. The „second home“ is a metaphor for constructing a secure, familiar, and safe place in an unfamiliar environment with close relations and ties with people that evoke feelings like being surrounded by family members in the host countries. The concept of „home“ is socially constructed, changeable, and mobile. Home relates to emotions, experiences, and relations. Several factors determine the construction of a home: social contacts, nostalgic factors, and place identity. For example, the study on mobile people in Hong Kong and Shenzhen through a large-scale questionnaire survey indicates that social contacts such as family, friends and functional factors, workplace, and residence are the most influential elements that develop a sense that a person is emotionally attached to a specific place. The author indicates the importance of social activities and relationships for constructing a home, "Home still refers to the relationship of people to places, but it is based on a new understanding of places as 'intersections of social activities and social relations' (Feng and Breitung 2017, 1-8). The quote implies that the term home holds significant value in relationships and relations with other individuals. Social relations are crucial to establish a sense of familiarity and home in places.

Additionally, homemade food practices contribute to space domestication by evoking nostalgic experiences, emotions, and domestic relationships with individuals. Food practice contributes to constructing a second home because it holds meaning and value regarding family identity and domestic life. Preparing homemade dishes constructs home and practices involving family members. Homemade food comprises the household's character, traditions, and values that mark family roles and relationships (Moisio, Arnould, and Price 2004, 361-364). Notably, the research regarding Ecuadorian restaurants in Madrid by Alejandro Miranda-Nieto demonstrates relationships using material settings that successfully construct a "second home." Two essential factors that establish a sense of familiarity among migrants are ethnic food and the in-group social relationships established through the production process of traditional dishes. The domestication of public space happens through immigrants' conversations evoking their past life, memories, experiences, and rituals while preparing, consuming, and selling

ethnic dishes. The author states, "Domestication does not amount only to the representations of national or ethnic belonging directed to a predominantly immigrant clientele. It also refers to how activities regularly associated with privacy and domestic spaces are enacted in a semi-public setting" (Miranda-Nieto 2020, 1023-1034). In this quote, the author implies that to domesticate the place, social activities and relations that refer to the ethnic culture and traditions are essential, as well as producing and consuming national products. Remarkably, the social activities behind preparing specific dishes, such as communication between the immigrants and preparing dishes based on ethnic rituals and traditions, are significant factors for space domestication.

Role of social media in migration

Another line of thought on the role of space demonstrates that social networks are essential to establishing familiarity among immigrants. Since migration is associated with relocation to a different place with various organizational difficulties and challenges, social networks provide emotional, cultural, and organizational support from ethnic communities that assist newcomers. Jacqueline Maria Hagan expresses the advantages of social networks for newcomers in migration. The author states "Communities with mature networks provide newcomers with emotional and cultural support and various other resources, including initial housing and information about job opportunities" (Hagan 1998, 55).

Moreover, social networks are dynamic and develop social relations that reduce psychological and economic risks for immigrants since migrants share their experiences, information, and other essential elements with newcomers. Franklin Goza introduces the idea that social networks' contribution to migration is critical for newcomers in the host countries even before the migration process. The author claims, "Social networks are at work long before immigrants arrive in their new host society" (Goza 2004, 3-17). For instance, the research regarding Georgian immigrants in Greece illustrates that social media helps the Georgians organize the migration and integration process since the shared information allows them to reach insider sources that are unofficial and discrete. The author states, "New technologies provide prospective migrants and recently-arrived

migrants with immediate access to insight unavailable to migrants in earlier decades" (Maroufof 2017, 53-54).

Social History of Georgian Migration

Georgian populations have a history of unstable migration processes produced by economic and political movements throughout the country after the end of the Soviet Union. While many Georgians were living in one of the USSR's most prosperous republics, the collapse of the Soviet regime caused a significant economic breakdown, unemployment, and impoverishment. Also, Tamar Zurabishvili and Tinatin Zurabishvili state in their research "The feminization of labor migration from Georgia: the case of Tianeti" that the first years of Georgian independence were followed by predominantly male's migration to Russia, mainly seeking construction jobs due to the unemployment issues in Georgia. Employed individuals in the public and private sectors were not gaining economic advantages due to the low wages in Georgia. The authors explain, "Nor did the employment guarantee prosperity-salaries, especially in the public sector, were low. The private sector, where wages were higher, could not provide sufficient jobs to satisfy the demand for employment" (Zurabishvili and Zurabishvili 2010, 73).

Similarly, Mirian Tukhashvili demonstrates in his research "Retrospective Comprehension of Post-Soviet Georgia's Population Migration" that besides the high unemployment rate and economic decline in Georgia after the end of the USSR, the political chaos and civil war contributed to the decline of the Georgians living standard and increased out-migration rate significantly. The study compares the movement of gender migration. The research illustrates that despite most labor migrants being males before the end of the USSR, the collapse was followed by an increased number of female migrations. The author demonstrates the growing number of Georgian female migrants relates to the increased demand for women workers in the international labor market. Tukhashvili states, "For instance, in Greece, out of all arrivals from Georgia, 83% are females. In Italy- 85.7%, in Turkey- 67.1%. Males mostly leave for Russia (71.1% of the migratory stream), Ukraine (79.8%) and Azerbaijan (60.5%)" (Tukhashvili 2018, 178). Concerning the migration fluctuations in Georgia, the research „The state of migration in Georgia “illustrates the noteworthy changes in Georgia. For instance, between 1989 and 2002, the urban population decreased significantly by 7.7 percent. Remarkably, between

1989 and 2002, the Georgian population was reduced by approximately one million. However, between 2002 and 2015 years, the urban population increased by 9.7 percent (Chumburidze et al. 2015, 8). Moreover, as illustrated above, the drastic increase of the returned migrants in Georgia between 2002 and 2015 might be due to the political movement, the rose revolution, in Georgia. In this case, neoliberal reforms explain the increasing rate of migration flow to Georgia after 2003 that were implemented by the Georgian government since the Rose Revolution to gain short-term economic success in Georgia (Laghidze 2018, 30).

The subsequent research in Totonacapan by Jeff Popke and Rebecca Maria Torres concerning how neoliberal policies affect Mexico's rural households explains neoliberalism and neoliberal policies. Neoliberalism is an economic and political regime that normatively constitutes individuals as entrepreneurs—an ideology of neoliberalism that pictures individuals as rational and calculating who can provide for their needs by themselves, without the help of the state. The authors describe neoliberalism as "normatively constructs and interpellates individuals as entrepreneurial actors in every sphere of life" (Popke and Torres 2013, 225). The policies of neoliberalism include trade and financial liberalization, privatization, deregulation, and decreased public spending on social programs. The government of Mexico implemented these approaches, which later affected the Totonacapan agricultural economy unsuccessfully (Popke and Torres 2013, 225). The authors emphasize that the increased migration rate is the outcome of the government's neoliberal policies.

Similarly, the research by Dimitri Gugushvili illustrates the failure of the neoliberal development model that generates poverty in Georgia. The implementation of neoliberal reform followed Rose Revolution in 2003 in the Georgian capital Tbilisi. Some significant procedures, such as the downsizing of the public sector, canceling 20 of 26 taxes, free trade agreements with major trading partners, and full privatization, affected the economy of Georgia. By 2015 year, the urban unemployment rate was approximately 21 percent (Gugushvili 2017, 5). While in 2000, the urban unemployment rate was 18.4 percent (Labadze and Tukhashvili 2013, 19).

The consequences of the policies implemented by the Georgian government are interesting to observe since they contributed to the population's outflow. In the short run, in 2005, the out-migration rate showed 14-fold positive migration, meaning many emigrated people returned to Georgia, which is explained by promising socio-economic development perspectives and employment plausibility for migrants. However, from 2006 the trend of positive has been replaced by fluctuation. "According to the UN experts in 2005-2010 among all post-Soviet countries, Georgia had the highest negative average rate of external migration; it comprised -11.5 per 1000 persons" (Salukvadze and Meladze 2014, 155). From this study, the negative average rate means a significant imbalance in the external migration statistics. The study also shows that the increasing out-migration connects to the unemployment issue since the unemployment rate reached 32.4 percent in 2012 (Salukvadze and Meladze 2014, 154-155).

Concerning the employment issue, a significant percentage of the unemployment rate intensified the poverty issue in Georgia. For instance, the study conducted regarding poverty in Georgia by surveying 6754 respondents claims that the number of households that live below the poverty line in rural areas is 52 percent. At the same time, in the cities, it is 35 percent. Additionally, political instability intensifies the economic problems in Georgia (Uzagalieva and Menezes 2009, 456). Furthermore, Erin Trough Hofmann and Cynthia J. Buckley demonstrate in "Global Changes and Gendered Responses: The Feminization of Migration From Georgia" that in 2010, the labor force estimation in Georgia showed that 75 percent of men and 50 percent of women were working. The males earn approximately 25 percent more than females. The authors explain the wage gap to the government's insufficient childcare support and maternity leaves. These are the primary reasons why women drop out of work (Hofmann and Buckley 2013, 514). The bits of evidence highlight that the dramatic percentages describing poverty in Georgia, unequally distributed wages regarding gender, and the lack of childcare policies encourage Georgian women to migrate.

The remainder of this paper is structured in following ethnographic chapters: First chapter- Integration, socialization in the Czech Republic, emphasizes the broad migration experiences of Georgian migrant women focused on gender aspects of immigration and adjustment to the host country, its policies, and the social and cultural norms of the

Czech Republic. Particularly, the chapter will discuss the reasons for pursuing migration, the challenges Georgian migrants encounter in the migration process, Georgian migrants' Integration in the Czech Republic, Georgian migrants' relations with foreigners in Prague, and the role of social networks in the migration process. The second chapter- establishing the so-called second home by traditional cuisine and intra-ethnic relations, will focus on the Georgian restaurant, covering topics related to the contribution of traditional food in establishing a second home in Prague, the role of ethnicity and intra-ethnic relations in establishing a sense of home in Prague, contribution of the restaurant space in establishing a sense of home, Georgian migrants' relations with other ethnicities: with Ukrainians and Czechs at the restaurant and finally, the contribution of gender roles in the construction of a so-called second home.

Methodology

In the subsequent section, I will discuss the methods used in my research. As discussed in the introduction, part of the research presents the feminization of migration and explores the reasons that influence Georgian women to migrate to the Czech Republic. Furthermore, the study presents the challenges faced by Georgian women during migration and investigates the strategies they employ to overcome these difficulties. Finally, based on the case of Georgian restaurant workers, the research analyzes how Georgian migrants transform the unfamiliar environment of the host country into a familiar one; specifically, how traditional values and practices, including language, cuisine, and intra-ethnic relations, help Georgian migrants establish a second "home" in Prague. The study focuses particularly on gender and ethnic issues in relation to Georgian migrants' daily practices. For data collection, I employed in-depth interviews with Georgian migrant women and participant observation in the kitchen of the SUN.DAY Terrace. Additionally, I utilized a netnographic approach by Robert V. Kozinets to investigate online interactions and activities between Georgian migrants to identify the patterns of their migration experiences in the Czech Republic. Finally, for data analysis, I employed an inductive approach, which helped me interpret and generalize the research findings through thematic analysis.

Data Collection

To understand Georgian women's migration experiences and strategies in constructing the so-called second home in Prague, part of the data for this thesis was collected through in-depth interviews with Georgian migrant women in Prague. Initially, interviewees were found based on online observations of the Facebook group "Georgians in the Czech Republic," where Georgian migrants actively interact with each other. The group comprises nearly eight thousand members, and I needed help selecting respondents willing to share their migration experiences. Consequently, I posted in the group about my research and asked members to contact me to conduct interviews with Georgian migrants. Ultimately, I received several responses from women and chose four from different age groups, with whom I explored the migrants' general migration experiences. The migrants had different backgrounds and occupations: Eka worked in an international IT company, Inga and Zaira worked as housekeepers at different hotels, and Nani at a Georgian restaurant. As the research progressed, Nani shared an interesting experience related to her participation in an ethnic business; she discussed her interactions and relationships with her co-workers, Georgian migrants. So, I decided to ask if I could also conduct some fieldwork at the restaurant where she worked, and Nani agreed. I conducted four participant observations in the kitchen, and other female Georgian chefs, Natia and Ruska, consented to do interviews. Finally, during the fieldwork, I was part of the Georgian restaurant workers' interactions, which included three females and males. While observing their daily practices, I interviewed Georgian workers, including males-Zakro, Zviadi, and Mamuka. During the fieldwork, I clarified specific information about Georgians' social relations with each other and other ethnicities in the Czech Republic.

Furthermore, I focused on the challenges of Georgian migrant women during the interviews with females who contacted me via the Facebook group and women who worked at the restaurant. Mainly, the migrants shared their migration experiences, including why they migrated from Georgia and what obstacles they encountered during emigration. Particularly, I concentrated on women's problems before they relocated to the Czech Republic, including uncertainty about legal migration procedures and

scamming issues. Also, I explored how challenging the adjustment process was for females in the Czech Republic and what strategies they employed to overcome the difficulties. Finally, I asked about their employment issues, if they encountered any problems finding jobs in the Czech Republic, or if they experienced some complications related to their work.

Additionally, during the participant observations, I interviewed all Georgian male and female workers regarding the specifics of the Georgian restaurant and ethnic relations. I focused on the restaurant's organizational structure, how tasks were divided between co-workers, and Georgian workers' relations with other ethnicities. Also, I concentrated on intra-ethnic relations and explored the migrants' interactions during and after their working hours, how much time they spent together, and if they interacted with other ethnicities outside of work. Finally, when significant occurrences happened during the fieldwork or Georgian migrants mentioned emic terms within their interaction, I clarified the concepts and migrants' behaviors during the fieldwork.

Moreover, immersing myself in the migrants' daily work activities aided in the interpretation and generalization of the findings from the raw data collected during the fieldwork. Participant observation assists in studying the targeted group since it helps the researcher to be part of the social interaction and collect all kinds of data related to the research. Participant observation allows one to experience the lives of the people the research focuses on and to interpret and generalize the data from emic perspectives (Bernard 2013, 344). Such methodologies aid in understanding social interactions that were heard and seen in specific moments. In particular, through participant observation, the researcher learns the communication style and the specificities of the in-group interaction, which further helps to understand the relations among the targeted group, values, and perspectives.

In this case, I conducted four participant observations at the Georgian restaurant SUN.DAY Terrace, specifically in the kitchen area, and visited the restaurant on the 11th, 17th, 18th, and 19th of December in 2022. Each time, I participated for approximately three to four hours. Also, I did not experience any difficulties or problems in gaining

permission for participant observation, as all of the Georgian workers consented. The kitchen is a part of the restaurant where Georgian workers spend their whole day interacting with each other. Since the fieldwork aimed to explore social interactions between immigrants, I was offered the opportunity to join the kitchen group and help Georgian workers with simple tasks. In the process, I focused on intra-ethnic interactions, how Georgians communicated with different dialects, the task distribution based on their ethnic origins and gender, inter-ethnic relations with Ukrainian and Czech co-workers, and identifying the Georgian migrants' perspectives related to other ethnicities. Also, I concentrated on Georgian migrants' interactions after working hours and how they socialized while relaxing and having fun in the kitchen.

In addition to conducting fieldwork and immersing oneself in migrants' working activities, I also studied Georgian migrants' online interactions. The digital data collection and representation are called netnography (Kozinets 2015, 1). The "netnographic" approach by Robert V. Kozinets is essential to employ in the observation of online interactions. In this case, I joined the Facebook group "Georgians in the Czech Republic" and observed the online communication between Georgian migrants and read their posts daily. As I mentioned, the group comprises nearly eight thousand members, and essentially, Georgians posted about their problems. Moreover, the group was active, as people interacted daily, responding to and helping each other. Specifically, I observed the patterns of the challenges migrants faced, such as legal procedures, migrant scamming, and obtaining visas and working permits in the Czech Republic. Also, Georgians use the Facebook group not only for communication but also for promoting their businesses and services within the Georgian transnational community. In terms of the Georgian restaurant, exploring the migrant group is essential, as it is connected with establishing Georgian cuisine in the SUN.DAY Terrace. For instance, the Georgian migrant Nani promoted her homemade dishes in the "Georgians in the Czech Republic" group. The demand for traditional Georgian dishes in the Czech Republic contributed to the successful establishment of the Georgian kitchen in Prague.

Data Analysis

I used an inductive approach in my research. It helped me generalize and interpret research data through specific observations and pattern recognition of migrants' general migration experiences and Georgian restaurant workers' social interactions. For example, David R. Thomas explains, "The primary purpose of the inductive approach is to allow research findings to emerge from the frequent, dominant, or significant themes inherent in raw data, without the restraints imposed by structured methodologies" (Thomas 2003, 2). Specifically, I used the inductive generalization method because the research samples are Georgian migrants who live in Prague, and part of the group works at the restaurant SUN.DAY Terrace, and I generalized the data based on the targeted group. To describe my research's inductive process, I first interviewed Georgian female migrants and transcribed the interviews. Also, I made field notes during the fieldwork in the restaurant's kitchen. After collecting the data, I analyzed the interviews and field notes via thematic analysis, which involved coding transcribed interviews and searching for patterns to generate themes. Finally, the findings of the research discussed the main themes.

Thematic analysis contributed to developing essential themes of migration experiences and challenges of constructing familiarity among the Georgian community in the host country. Also, the thematic analysis helped generate the themes of exploring intra-ethnic relations and constructing the so-called second home in Prague. The thematic analysis comprised categorizing large bodies of data and studying the patterns of social interactions of Georgian migrants in Prague.

Moreover, in terms of the approaches to data analysis, thick description and triangulation are essential to discuss. The thick description implies a "stratified hierarchy of meaningful structures" in which actions are produced, perceived, and interpreted (Appleby et al. 2020, 312). Accordingly, the interpretation of the data occurs from multiple perspectives, such as self-reflexive thoughts, interviews, and field notes. In my research case, I analyzed the Georgian restaurant worker's case study through thick description since, during the participant observation, some details concerning Georgians' intra-ethnic relations and relationships with other ethnicities were significant in

constructing a so-called second home in Prague. However, it was not directly observable. Therefore, I interpreted the data from multiple perspectives through interviews with restaurant workers and participant observation, including reflecting on self-reflexive thoughts.

Furthermore, triangulation analyzes and enhances the validity of the research findings of the work from different sources of information. The data is analyzed using multiple perspectives based on interviews, fieldwork, self-reflection, and literature review. Data triangulation is a part of the data analysis process, as the research uses different sources of information that increase the validity of the results (Guion 1969, 1). For instance, I analyzed the patterns of Georgian migrant women's migration experiences through in-depth interviews with females and reviewed the literature regarding migration topics. Also, I analyzed the Facebook group to recognize the challenges that Georgian migrants face in the Czech Republic. The results showed that the main patterns of migration experiences matched from different sources.

The Methodological Limitations

It is essential to identify the limitations of my study, as acknowledging limitations is crucial for maintaining transparency and claiming general validity. Due to restrictions in methodology or research design, limitations might affect the research conclusion. Several limitations occurred in my work. Firstly, the sample is small, and I am generalizing the conclusions based on the patterns I have recognized within the targeted group.

Secondly, migrants working in different fields had diverse migration experiences. For instance, restaurant chefs and Eka, one of the Georgian members who work in the IT department, earn more than other migrants who work at the hotel as housekeepers. Consequently, the finances of Georgian migrants contribute to their migration experiences, and they might differ from each other.

Third, during the fieldwork in the restaurant SUN.DAY Terrace, the restaurant was always fully booked, and Georgian personnel worked intensively without lunch breaks. As a result, it was difficult to communicate with Georgian female workers and engage in

their discussions due to the intensive working schedule. Additionally, as for my research experience, it was necessary to work in a restaurant kitchen. I could not participate directly in helping workers manage the kitchen and service business. Due to the hectic working schedule, I was mainly in the position of an observer. Despite the lack of communication during the fieldwork, I managed to identify the concepts crucial for the research by observing and conducting additional interviews with the female workers.

Fourth, another limitation appeared to be my limited knowledge of the Russian language. The staff members of the restaurant are mainly from Georgia and Ukraine. The primary language for communication between Georgians and Ukrainians is Russian. During the fieldwork, there were moments when workers communicated in Russian, and I could not fully comprehend the dialogue; this led to some gaps in my field notes. Also, I wanted to discuss restaurant organizational issues with the owner or manager. However, I could not directly communicate with them due to my lack of knowledge of the Czech language.

Finally, due to the time limitation, I conducted only four fieldwork sessions. Remarkably, I might have some gaps in the field notes concerning Georgian migrants' relations and social interactions with Ukrainian and Czech co-workers. However, the number of fieldwork sessions was sufficient for observing the intra-ethnic relations since the patterns already occurred during the last visit to the restaurant.

Positionality

In fieldwork, it is important to situate oneself in terms of the research in three ways: fixed, subjective, and textual. The fixed position implies how age, gender, class, nationality, race, and other unchangeable factors influence the data interpretation (Lander 2001, 297). Examining my fixed positions in the thesis was important because nationality and gender played a significant role in my participation and interaction during the fieldwork. It became apparent from the interactions with Georgian workers in the restaurant that nationality played a significant role in gaining trust and being welcomed by the Georgian workers. During the fieldwork and my interviews with the workers (both females and males), they emphasized that it is easier to trust and welcome a stranger into

their private space, the kitchen, to do the fieldwork among them if the individual is Georgian rather than a foreigner; a shared cultural background and history, therefore, significantly aided me in establishing a close relationship with the migrant workers.

Furthermore, Georgian workers felt comfortable during my fieldwork in the kitchen despite my presence in their private space. Nationality contributed to making workers more open and inviting. Being able to speak their native language, my knowledge of Georgian culture, and our conversations on topics about our Georgian places made them feel comfortable and secure. Observing was not an issue during the fieldwork, as the workers did not feel disturbed or violated. Georgian workers were highly hospitable to me. They expressed their hospitality by offering various dishes on each fieldwork session, Georgian wine, and always had a caring attitude. Additionally, gender identity was also a crucial element that significantly contributed to or affected my research.

For instance, I gained more trust from the female workers because they shared more personal migration experiences than male workers, including relations with their children and other household members. Another example of positionality that contributed to my research is the lack of work experience. The Georgian workers had to teach me the basic tasks related to food preparation, and nationality played a major role in that I was able to study the teaching process. Explaining and understanding are easier in the native language than in the second language.

The evidence highlights that the inductive approach helped my research to identify the patterns of the social activities of Georgian migrants in Prague and aided in interpreting the patterns of migration challenges as well as gendered and ethnic issues of migration. Participant and online observation, developing essential themes by coding data, including field notes and in-depth interviews with Georgian women, helped to answer the main research question.

Ethical Consideration

It is important to maintain ethical relations while conducting research and interpreting data. Informing participants about the research and applied methods is an

essential ethical principle that respects the targeted social group. However, translations need accuracy to maintain the original context of the thought and valid interpretation (Marshall 1992, 1). In terms of the thesis, all individuals in the Georgian restaurant were fully informed about the topic and the purpose of the research, thus avoiding unethical issues. For instance, the Georgian migrants who contacted me via Facebook were fully informed about my research because I explained it in detail in the Facebook post that I wrote. The Georgian restaurant workers were also informed about the methods and purpose of my participation in the kitchen since I asked Nani's permission to do the fieldwork at the restaurant. Moreover, regarding the translation issue, the Georgian workers have different dialects, which might be an ethical issue since the Georgian dialects are complicated to translate into English. Finally, in terms of online research, I have not used any specific personal information of the Facebook group members.

Integration, socialization in the Czech Republic

The following ethnographic chapter will address three essential aspects of Georgian women's migration into the Czech Republic by reviewing interviews with Georgian women from different backgrounds and age groups. Firstly, the chapter will explore the broad migration experiences of Georgian women in the Czech Republic and their challenges. Secondly, the chapter focuses on integration and adaptation issues in the host country, including migrants' socialization with each other, locals, and other immigrants in the Czech Republic. Thirdly, the chapter examines the contribution of social media to the migration process.

The reasons for pursuing migration

The phenomenon of migration is a part of human history and civilization. The individuals' intentions to migrate vary depending on their country's social, political, and economic developments. For instance, the research by Tamar Mermanishvili regarding Georgian migration to the EU countries interviewed 136 Georgians, of which 60 percent were women. The author developed a sociological survey based on a random selection method and concluded the main reasons Georgians migrate to EU countries. Based on the survey results, the primary issues that Georgian migrants experienced in their home country were unemployment, a low-quality education, limited self-realization, and other

financial constraints. Moreover, the research illustrates that 58 percent of Georgians migrate for education, 40 percent seek life condition improvement, and seven percent migrate due to job offers (Mermanishvili 2022, 97-104).

Furthermore, the research by Eka Beraia concerning reasons for Georgian migration collected 36 interviews of Georgians, who emigrated to the US. The author claims, that Georgians employed in the US improve their family's living conditions in Georgia since remittances are the only monthly income for some Georgian households. The author states, "The average income of migrants is 700-800 USD a week. The major percentage of the income of the immigrants is sent to Georgia" (Beraia 2020, 121). As a result, the study illustrated, that the primary intention for leaving Georgia and settling in the US was covering migrant households' financial needs. However, some respondents claimed additional reasons for migration, such as the political situation and receiving education abroad. In this case, the author states, "50% of migrants presented unemployment as the main reason, 42% of Georgian women migrate because of the political situation, while 8% shared the following reason: family conditions and study abroad" (Beraia 2020, 123).

Moreover, during the in-depth interviews with Georgian women, with whom I discussed migration experiences, four women indicated the reasons that pushed them to migrate. The responses concerning the motives for pursuing migration were different. Three women described that satisfying financial needs were the primary reason for migration. At the same time, only one respondent indicated that career and personal development motivated her to pursue migration. To commence with the collected data concerning Georgian women's reasons for migration, I start with Zaira, 35 years old woman who migrated with her husband to the Czech Republic in 2017. She describes that the economic factor was the significant motive for leaving her home country and relocating to the Czech Republic. Zaira portrays her employed life in Georgia as "low-paid," "minimum wage," "unstable," and with a "lack of opportunities" (personal communication, 26.10.2022). While interviewing Zaira, she explained, "We have three children for whom we wanted to create a better future. We thought that pursuing a career in the Czech Republic would be a good opportunity for us to arrange a better life

for our children." (personal communication, 26.10.2022). Also, single mothers view migration as an opportunity to economically improve their children's lives, whom they leave behind since single mothers have the financial burden of covering living and studying expenses for their children. However, the children sometimes lack emotional assistance from their mothers since transnational mothers might fail to support their children emotionally. As previously discussed in the introduction, Margharita Lundkvist-Houndoumadi's journal article illustrates that society might judge transnational mothers because of leaving their children behind, and they do not fulfill mothers' obligations to nurture children. (Lundkvist-Houndoumadi 2010, 62) In this case, Nani, a chef at the Georgian restaurant, mentioned, "I have children, and my husband and I are separated. The boy is 22 years old, and the girl is 18. They are in Georgia, and I am here. Practically they rely on remittances due to the low wages in Georgia." (personal communication, 06.12.2022) Also, during the interview with Nani, she remembered the conflict with her daughter. Nani said that her daughter was graduating high school and was upset because Nani could not attend the graduation ceremony. She concluded that a long-distance relationship with her family members is emotionally challenging. Nani stated, "Mary, my daughter, graduated. She agitated and told me she would not talk to me if I did not arrive in Georgia for her graduation ceremony. The long-distance mother-daughter relationship is complicated. (personal communication, 06.12.2022)

Furthermore, restricted financial conditions affected women's lives in Georgia. The women's low salaries could only cover the basic expenses related to food consumption, rent, and other household bills and the educational expenses of their children. For instance, another Georgian restaurant worker Natia, mentioned while I interviewed her, "I left Georgia due to financial problems. It was a tough decision because I have two children, a boy, and a girl, and it was challenging to leave them. However, if I did not move to Prague, I could not afford to give my children the proper education and lives" (17.02.2022). Some young Georgian women view migration as a career opportunity, a chance to enhance their skills and expand their social networks. For example, Eka, 30 years old, relocated to Prague with her partner in 2019 for career development. Eka perceives migration as a "challenging" process that aids personal and career growth. She explained, "I studied IT in Georgia, likely a male-dominated field, and I found it difficult to

find jobs that would pay a sufficient amount. Luckily I encountered a job in the Czech IT company, which pays well and is an excellent opportunity for career development" (09.12.2022).

The challenges of migration for Georgian migrant women

Some people find migration complicated because it includes obtaining visas or working permits in destination countries. Acquiring visas and permits requires the proper knowledge of the document requirements and filling out the paperwork to submit the applications to the embassies. Throughout the history of the migration flow, the smugglers were always in the picture, deceiving migrants into ensuring visas or working permits in exchange for money. In the research by Gabriella Sanchez, "Critical Perspectives on Clandestine Migration Facilitation: An Overview of Migrant Smuggling Research," the author illustrates how smugglers take advantage of naive migrants. Also, the author states that between smugglers and migrants relations, the emigrants do not necessarily perceive smugglers as criminals. However, they are aware that the actions in which migrants participate are illicit. Finally, the author illustrates that sometimes smugglers disappear before they fulfill the task that migrants pay in exchange for the services. Sanchez claims, "Migrants report smugglers often charge additional fees, fail to deliver contracted services, or even disappear prior to any services being provided or completed, taking any fees that already have been paid with them" (Sanchez 2017, 11-17). Also, Khalid Koser proposes in his research "Why Migrant Smuggling Pays" that the definition of smuggling is a system of institutionalized networks involving agents, individuals, and institutions for commercial gain (Koser 2008, 5).

Based on the in-depth interviews with the Georgian migrants, three women indicated that they were the victims of the migrant smugglers. As mentioned in Sanchez's article, the Georgian women paid the scammers to receive the services related to obtaining work permits and visas in the Czech Republic. For instance, Nani remembered that she was in the Czech Republic two years ago, and her visa had expired. Unfortunately, Nani did not receive help from anyone to extend her visa or apply for a working permit. So, while searching for a solution to stay legally in the Czech Republic, Nani's acquaintance introduced an Armenian woman willing to help Nani obtain the visa.

Finally, the Armenian woman scammed Nani into paying for the service to obtain the legal document. Nani states, "Armenian woman promised me that If I paid her, she would manage to give me a 4-month visa for staying in the Czech Republic. So I paid the money and had to proceed with the documents to apply for the visa application. Armenian woman was supposed to take care of all the ongoing visa processes. Finally, when I was going to apply for the application, the woman disappeared. (personal communication, 06.12.2022) As previously discussed in Sanchez's article, mainly the involved third parties in the migration process are scammers who trick migrants by taking their money and disappearing.

Moreover, Zaira shared her story concerning a Georgian scammer. She remembered that when Zaira was planning to migrate to the Czech Republic with her husband, she needed clarification on the legal procedures regarding obtaining a working permit in the host country. Zaira's co-worker advised her to communicate with the Georgian girl who deals with migration issues in exchange for money. After contacting the Georgian girl, she promised Zaira that she would manage to obtain a working permit for her. Surprisingly, Zaira and her husband received the working permits and went to the embassy of the Czech Republic in Georgia to complete their legal procedures. Finally, the embassy informed Zaira that each application's unique codes were copied, and other Georgians had applied with the exact codes for obtaining visas and working permits in the Czech Republic. As a result, the Georgian girl forged the documents and used Zaira and her husband's application codes to deceive other people by taking their money. Zaira states, "The young Georgian girl forged our documents, which we presented to the embassy of the Czech Republic in Georgia for working permits. We still had our documents, but she copied our codes and scammed others by promising our working permits in the Czech Republic" (personal communication, 26.10.2022).

In addition to the scamming problems, some Georgian female migrants' jobs are problematic in migration. For instance, the research by Heide B. Weishaar, "Consequences of international migration: A qualitative study on stress among Polish migrant workers in Scotland," describes the experiences of Polish migrants who work in low-skilled jobs in Scotland. The author indicates that Polish migrants were stressed due

to the inappropriate working conditions in the host country. Migrants challenged the difficulties, such as unfamiliarity with the labor system and language issues. In addition, the author conducted eight qualitative interviews and two focus groups with Polish migrants working in Edinburgh. The results indicated that respondents were not treated fairly by their employers. Polish workers experienced high stress due to the excessive working hours. However, despite the high workloads, migrants were not paid sufficiently. The author stated, "Working 6 or even 7 days/week and 70-80 h/week was not uncommon. Working unsociable hours and split or night shifts were further identified as complicating their daily life." (Weishaar 2008, 1253) Also, the author remarked that some employers treated migrants disrespectfully. For instance, employers avoided giving contracts to the migrants, paid less than the workers were expecting to receive, and ignored employment legislation (Weishaar 2008, 1253).

Moreover, the research by Emily Q. Ahonen and her colleagues, "A qualitative study about immigrant workers' perceptions of their working conditions in Spain," indicates the working experiences of immigrants in Spain from Morocco, Romania, Colombia, sub-Saharan Africa, and Ecuador. The results from semi-structured interviews illustrated that employees were working under conditions with a high possibility of harming themselves. In this case, the author stated, "Risks described by these participants were mostly associated with excessive noise, repetitive or awkward moments, standing of long period of time, sharp objects and temperature conditions" (Ahonen et al. 2009, 938).

In the Georgian migrants' case in Prague, two women indicated during the interview that they had experienced unbearable working conditions in the Czech Republic. For instance, the migrants find themselves in unbearable working conditions with lower incomes than expected, working long shifts without sufficient payment and fulfilling complicated tasks that can cause specific health issues. For example, during the interview with Zaira, she indicated that she switched jobs several times in Prague. She explained that the reason for changing jobs was the inappropriate working conditions, such as the excessive workloads and working hours. Firstly, Zaira started working in storages for big supermarket chains, then switched to the bakery shop, and finally started

working as a housekeeper at a hotel in Prague. While Interviewing Zaira, she described working conditions that she has experienced in the Czech Republic as "unbearable," "very cold," and "complicated." (personal communication, 26.10.2022) Zaira claimed she felt unwell and cold during work at one of the company's "Tesco" storage. The temperature was low in the storage, and the employees had to bear with the cold while working a minimum eight hours shift. She claimed, "It was minus seven degrees at the storage where I worked. I wore a special uniform to withstand the cold, but it did not help. Plus, it was December, and I had a high temperature and flu when I returned home that day." (personal communication, 26.10.2022) As previously mentioned journal article by Ahonen and her colleagues stated, immigrants faced the risk of harming themselves by working for excessive hours and spending whole days at work in harmful temperature conditions. Also, Zaira had a problem with the regulations and systematic issues since the special uniform to work in the low temperature was insufficient to bear the coldness for a minimum of eight hours shift.

Additionally, Zaira added to the discussion of her migration experiences and said that after quitting her job in Tesco's storage, she started working at the bakery with a Georgian migrant group. She was fulfilling different tasks, such as cleaning and supporting the storage of the bakery. Zaira explained that she was working with ten Georgian migrants since the migrants asked the bakery owner to hire a group of Georgians, and the owner agreed. Unfortunately, Zaira and other Georgian migrants experienced unjust and disrespectful behaviors from their employers. Remarkably, the migrants were working for two months at the bakery. Based on their job contract, the bakery owner agreed to pay each Georgian 16 500 crowns monthly. Zaira stated that the owner paid the workers only half of the agreed salary. During the interview, Zaira stated, "We [Georgian migrants] worked at the bakery for the Ukrainian owner. He had to pay each of us 33 000 Czech crowns. We asked the bakery owner to meet us to discuss our salary issues. He arranged the meeting in the public place at the center and only paid us 16 500 instead of 33 000 Czech crowns for our two months' work." (personal communication, 26.10.2022) As has been noted by Weishaar, employers sometimes disrespect migrants by not paying the agreed salaries and ignoring the employment legislation (Weishaar 2008, 1253).

Furthermore, the study by Marie-Anne V. Sanon regarding agency-hired hotel housekeepers demonstrates that hotel housekeepers are mainly immigrants. The workload of housekeepers is intense since it involves constant moving and changing body postures, including heavy lifting. In addition, the workload comprises various tasks, such as changing sheets, polishing furniture and floor, vacuuming, dusting, and other duties. However, most housekeepers' do not earn sufficient amounts concerning their workload and intensity of their work (Sanon 2014, 81-82). In addition, the study by Sirena Liladrie, 'Do not disturb/please clean room': hotel housekeepers in Greater Toronto," illustrates that housekeeping involves forceful movements, and there is a great chance for housekeepers to injure themselves. Particularly, the housekeepers have low back pain and shoulder and knee injuries. The author suggests, "Hotel workers are 48 percent more likely to be injured on the job than a typical worker in the service sector. They also have higher rates of serious, disabling injuries which often require days off or reassignment." (Liladrie 2010, 60)

In this case, a Georgian migrant, Nani, shared her experience of why she resigned from the hotel in Prague. Nani worked as a hotel housekeeper for three months. Nani mentioned that the hotel was in the center of Prague, and it was receiving many guests daily. Nani claimed that she had an intense schedule during her work in the hotel. During the interview, she said, "It was a disastrous working experience in the hotel as a housekeeper. I had eighteen rooms to clean daily. The rooms were messy and super untidy. The hotel manager only paid me eighty Czech crowns per hour. It is a meager salary." (personal communication, 06.12.2022) In addition, Nani claimed that she felt exhausted during work because there was no elevator in the hotel, and she had to move frequently between different floors. Also, due to the intense working schedule, Nani experienced muscle and back pain. She said, "Most of the time, I felt that my back and muscles hurt so much due to the heavy lifting and constant moving between floors."(personal communication, 06.12.2022) As mentioned in Sanon's article, the housekeepers have an excessive workload that sometimes ends with the workers injuring themselves (Sanon 2014, 81-82).

Georgian migrants and the issue of integration in the Czech Republic

To further understand the migration experiences of Georgian women in the Czech Republic, this section explores the adjustment process of women in the host country. The migration process can be emotionally challenging for migrants. Some researches show that migrants employ the strategies of collectivist approaches to surround themselves with intra-ethnic communities. For instance, the research by Hongfei Du and his colleagues, "Collectivistic Orientation, Acculturative Stress, Cultural Self-Efficacy, and Depression: A Longitudinal Study Among Chinese Internal Migrants" discusses the internal Chinese migrants' collectivistic orientation. The authors claim that migrants commonly experience stress during migration. For some people adaptation to a new culture is a challenging process. However, strengthening relations with ethnic cultures and people who share cultural backgrounds reduces stress level. For instance, internal Chinese migrants are characterized by a highly collectivistic orientation and handle the stress of new cultural adaptation. The authors suggest, "Individuals with a high collectivistic orientation should be easier to obtain a sense of efficacy to exercise control over cultural adaptation than those with a low collectivistic orientation." (Du et al. 2015, 241)

Furthermore, another strategy migrants use to combat the emotional difficulties in the migration process is receiving support from their friends. For instance, the following research by Noraini M. Noor and Muhamad Nabil Shaker illustrates the mental health of Indonesian migrant workers in Malaysia. The authors investigate migration-related stress among migrants and claim that emigrants change their coping strategies through different migration phases. For instance, the authors give an example of female domestic workers from the Philippines. Firstly, female workers used problem-oriented coping strategies before migration, such as securing finances and preparing for departure. Finally, workers acquired an emotion-focused coping strategy during the migration, implying that emigrants received their friends' support in the host country to challenge life stressors. Remarkably, the authors describe Indonesian migrants' strategy to handle the stress, "Similar to these Indonesian migrant workers, though they may lack personal (e.g., low education) and social (family support) resources, they do have some support from their network of friends." (Noor and Shaker 2017, 26)

In this case, migration is also stressful for some Georgian migrants who collectively handle migration difficulties with other Georgians. While Interviewing Inga, who migrated to Prague in 2016, she indicated that the decisions are made collectively concerning migration, learning the local language, starting or switching jobs, and finding places to spend leisure time with the Georgian migrants' group. Also, she discussed the importance of being within the Georgian community in Prague because she perceives other Georgian emigrants as people who understand and know her. She mentioned, "You must know other Georgians in Prague, and you must not lose each other since they are the people who understand you and will help you." (personal communication, 10.11.2022) Inga implied that Georgian networking in the host country is essential since it simplifies the adjustment process by having someone who knows and understands her. Additionally, Zaira shared her migration experience and mentioned that she met other Georgian migrants in Prague and started mainly socializing with them. Zaira said, "Having the Georgian friend group in Prague is comforting. I do not feel lonely anymore since we practically do everything together." (personal communication, 26.10.2022)

However, another angle on the collectivist approach is that Georgians might exclude other ethnicities in the Czech Republic due to their unwillingness to establish close relationships with them. As previously mentioned by Du and his colleagues, by strengthening ties with whom migrants share cultural backgrounds, they reduce stress and enhance the adaptation process in the host countries. (Du et al. 2015, 241) Nevertheless, locals and other foreign immigrants might be excluded from the migrants' daily lives. For instance, the study by Carolin Fischer and his colleagues, "Revisiting Borders and Boundaries: Exploring Migrant Inclusion and Exclusion from Intersectional Perspectives," suggest that boundaries are social constructs. It separates people into different groups and strengthens the feeling of belonging, similarity, and exclusion. Consequently, the boundaries involve cultural and social differences among people that might establish the exclusion of different social groups. (Fischer, Achermann, and Dahinden 2020, 480-481) Regarding the Georgian migrants in Prague, Zaira mentioned during the interview that she interacted and socialized only with Georgians during her first four years after she came to Prague. "I have been working with Georgians for four

years in Prague and spoke only Georgian. I did not have time or opportunity to learn the local language during my free time, so I only interacted with Georgians". (26.10.2022)
Concerning Zaira's example, some Georgian migrants establish their boundaries in Prague by distinguishing themselves from locals and other immigrants. In particular, Georgian migrants constructed a minor community in Prague based on their cultural similarities, including communicating in their native language and mainly socializing with Georgians.

Language learning for integration purposes in the Czech society

Some Georgian migrants interact with other ethnicities, such as the local community in the Czech Republic. Learning the local language increases the opportunities for Georgian migrants to integrate into Czech society successfully. For instance, based on the interviews with Georgian female migrants, only two indicated that they learned the Czech language to further integrate into Czech society. Therefore, local language acquisition is essential for social inclusion in the host country. Remarkably, the subsequent study by Larissa Remennick explains that integration refers that a minority group is maintaining its ethnic identity and gradually finding common ground with the local community. The author suggests, "Immigrants add new layers to their old ethnic identity and lifestyle by way of adaptation to the new social environment"(Remennick 2004, 436). Also, the author indicates that bilingualism and biculturalism help immigrants adopt new cultural patterns and simultaneously maintain their ethnic lifestyle (Remennick 2004, 436). During the interview with Georgian migrant Inga, she explained the importance of learning the Czech language. Inga claimed that she intended to integrate into Czech society and that learning the local language is helpful for the integration process. She said, "When I arrived in the Czech Republic, I took a course to learn the Czech language. I wanted to learn Czech, so It would be easier for me to communicate with locals. Now I have several Czech friends and converse with them in Czech." (personal communication, 12.12.2022) Also, while interviewing Nani, she explained that after engaging in the Georgian restaurant business in Prague, she decided to learn Czech because it would help her communicate with local customers. She mentioned, "I met several Czech people at the restaurant. They are our restaurant's regular clients and also my dear friends. Also, they helped me to practice the Czech language." (personal communication, 06.12.2022)

In addition to the local language acquisition, Nani claimed that career advancement often is related to the fact that Czech employers admire the dedication of recent migrants who try to learn the local language. Employers encourage and support migrants who try to learn Czech. In this case, Nani explained that when she was working at the hotel previously, her employer encouraged her to learn the Czech language by promising promotion, she said "Czech boss contacted me a week after I started the job in the hotel and asked if I knew Czech. He told me to learn some words and simple phrases, and that he would promote me. Of course, I agreed." (personal communication, 10.11.2022)

However, another factor in the adjustment issues that my interlocutors mentioned is that Georgians prefer and feel comfortable communicating with Georgians instead of Czechs. The Georgian migrant Eka had difficulties in integrating into Czech society from the first day when she started her job in the Czech Republic since Czechs, as she claims, were not communicating with her on the first day of work, and she described Czech society while I was interviewing her as "not communicative." (personal communication, 12.12.2022) Moreover, Eka emphasized that although she started working in an international IT company in Prague with international co-workers, Czech workers communicated in Czech and did not speak with foreigners in English or socialize with them. She said that "Czech people mostly speak in Czech even if I do not understand it well." (personal communication, 12.12.2022) Additionally, Eka noted that in cases when she needed help at her work, "They [Czechs] do not take time to help others." (personal communication, 12.12.2022) From some Georgians' viewpoints, such as Eka and Zaira, such experiences with Czech society, in effect, enable closed migrant communities that do not interact with many members of the local Czech society. Further, during my interview with Eka, she compared the differences in Georgian and Czech behavior and noted that their communication styles differ. She said, "Imagine when a foreigner is in Georgia, and Georgian is a difficult language, and he cannot understand something, and you start explaining it in Georgian. Our [Georgian] instinct will be to explain in English and make them understand, and the Czechs will instinctively try to explain in Czech." (personal communication, 12.12.2022)

Ethnic stereotypes in the integration process

Ethnic stereotypes influence the migrants' integration process in the host countries. For example, the subsequent research by John C. Brigham, "Ethnic Stereotypes," discusses stereotypes and discriminatory behavior issues. The author defines a stereotype as a culturally defined perception concerning other cultures and ethnicities. Brigham gives an example of the research conducted by Katz and Braly at Princeton and describes the results of one hundred students who listed the traits of ten different ethnic groups. For instance, Africans were described as superstitious and lazy. Also, the perception of Germans was that they were scientifically minded. Finally, in the following quote, the author phrases Katz and Braly's conclusion that defines the stereotypical perception. "A Stereotype is a fixed impression, which conforms very little to the facts it tends to represent, and results from our defining first and observing second" (Brigham 1971, 17). As previously mentioned, respondent Eka commented further on the unsuccessful attempts to bond with the Czech community. Eka attributed stereotypical characteristics to Czech society. She introduced the notion of Georgian friendship and explained that Czechs and Georgians socialize differently. She said, "Czechs do not know Georgian friendship. For example, we have amicable situations at work in Georgia. There is still a friendly atmosphere when I go to work, but not in the Czech Republic. Eka said, "I will have fun going out for a beer with a Czech colleague, but that person will not be my friend. Czechs are greedy, as I noticed." (personal communication, 12.12.2022). Also, she added, "We [her husband and she] were on vacation in Croatia, and we could tell who was the Czech on the beach. Czech people only spend a little money on anything. However, we were at the place where people should not have financial problems since it was a luxurious resort, and still, they complained about prices in those moments." (personal communication, 12.12.2022)

Additionally, according to Georgian migrants that I interviewed, the cultural differences between Georgians and Czechs are visible during the gatherings where people socialize outside of the working environment. For example, Eka mentioned, "If you go to a bar or someone invites you to a birthday party [In bar], they [Czechs] for themselves. On the contrary, in Georgia, it is considered the host's obligation to pay in full, but not here.

Maximum to pay for beer." (personal communication, 12.12.2022) In this quote, Eka differentiates between different cultural approaches of the Czech and Georgian people, indicating that in Georgia, if the person celebrates some special occasion and invites a group of people to the celebration party or dinner, the host's cultural obligation is to cover the financial expenses, including the food and beverages. At the same time, she implies that Czech society does not have this custom where the host pays the whole bill on special occasions. With this, she also points out the perceived differences in hospitality and generosity between Czechs and Georgians.

Furthermore, the Georgian migrants illustrated the importance of punctuality in the Czech community. While interviewing Natia, she emphasized how Czech people value their time and feel disrespected if someone wastes their time by being late. Natia perceives that unpunctuality is considered unethical behavior among locals and that Georgian migrants consequently try to fit in the Czech society by adopting local habits, such as punctuality. Natia also compared the Czech and Georgian perspectives on punctuality, saying, "Even the transport system is so organized that you should not have any problems being on time anywhere you go. In Georgia, it is frequent to say, 'Sorry for being late, it was traffic', and it is okay because Georgians are not punctual. However, if you want to fit in the Czech society, unpunctuality will not help you." (personal communication, 10.11.2022) In the second ethnographic chapter, I will illustrate the stereotypical descriptions of the Georgian community from Czech society's perspective.

[Georgian migrants' relations, perceptions of foreigners in Prague](#)

In addition to the adjustment process in the Czech Republic, Georgian migrants usually find it less complicated to socialize with people from other migrant communities, such as people from Slovakia, Russia, and Ukraine, rather than with people from the Czech Republic. For example, the Georgian migrant Nani described her relationships with Slovaks as one with "no language barrier with them," and she describes Slovaks as "willing to help" and "sociable." Also, Georgians portray Slovaks as people willing to help foreigners during the crises in the Czech Republic. For instance, she said, "Slovaks are more straightforward than Czechs. They do not have a language barrier. Slovak will not require me to speak their language, but Czechs will. For example, Czech might say 'speak

in Czech; otherwise, I do not understand'". (personal communication, 10.11.2022) In addition to the Georgians' relations with members of different ethnic backgrounds, the restaurant worker Zviadi, a middle-aged man, claimed that Slovaks are willing to help other people if they miscommunicate or do not understand something completely. Zviadi gave an example: "The employee in the police in Slovakia could not communicate with me properly because he [Police employee] did not know Russian well. I only speak Russian and Georgian, so I was communicating with the employee in Russian. He [the police employee] translated the sentence from Slovak to Georgian to make it clear. Something like that will happen elsewhere but not in the Czech Republic. For instance, I had some business with the police regarding documents, and a Czech employee understood that I did not know the Czech language. He did nothing to help me and said, 'We are unsure we can help if you do not speak Czech.'" (personal communication, 11.12.2022)

Moreover, some Georgian migrants stressed that they feel comfortable speaking in Russian rather than Czech or English. Ukrainians and Russians are the ones who mostly communicate in Russian with Georgians. Some Georgians feel cultural resemblance is close to those two nations and feel comfortable communicating with them. During the interview, Natia commented on these issues in the following way: "They [Ukrainians and Russians] understand Georgians the most. Maybe because of the historical interactions, religion, or similar cultural and traditional practices that bond us [Georgians] with Russians and Ukrainians." (personal communication, 17.12.2023)

Similarly, Eka mentioned in her interview that a Russian girl was the only one who helped her navigate the organizational structure during her first day at work. However, she did not have any responsibility or obligation to do so. Eka said, "I remember clearly, that the Czech manager did not show up on my first day of work, and I was completely alone with the documents and people I did not know. Russian girl was the only one who helped me in that situation. She showed me the building and introduced my co-workers. She translated some documents to English which were [originally] in Czech, and I had to sign them for my boss." (personal communication, 12.12.2022). Eka added that Russians are "willing to help you." (personal communication, 12.12.2022)

Nani indicated that Ukrainians are "friendly" people, and she interacts with Ukrainians since she has Ukrainian co-workers and has established friendly relationships with them. "Ukrainians have a friendly attitude; they are open to socializing with a foreigner. Unlike Czechs, they do not seem that open and friendly at first as Ukrainians do." (personal communication, 06.12.2022)

The role of social media in the migration process

In this last section, I discuss the impact of social media on Georgian migration in the Czech Republic. Social Media not only enable the sharing of information but also help construct online communities. So, establishing social relationships through the Internet can be very helpful, particularly for migrants or those considering migration. For instance, the subsequent study by Lee Komito suggests that social media helps migrants to relocate efficiently and easily. Migrants share necessary information through the internet regarding migration issues and help others in relocation processes. Also, social media helps migrants establish close relationships with others; it extends immigrants' social ties in the host country. Finally, the author suggests, "They[migrants] make it even easier to maintain contact with individuals who may help in future relocations and these applications assist migrants in their efforts to maintain participation in a diasporic cultural identity (Komito 2011, 1084). The previous quote implies that besides emigrants aiding others in the migration processes, they also have the opportunity to maintain their cultural identity by interacting with people with whom they share ethnicity and culture. As a result, social media allows migrants to engage with their diasporic communities.

Moreover, the author emphasizes that social media enable immigrants to connect with people in their home country, including their family members and friends. As a result, migrants do not feel away from their homes and families. Komito phrases migrants as: "'virtual migrants': Their physical locality can be irrelevant for their identity, as they continue to participate in the various dimensions of their home community, regardless of where they (or other people they grew up with) currently live" (Komito 2011, 1084).

As my study shows, Georgian migrants actively participate in social media networks, online discussions, and conversations with other immigrants in Prague. This section will therefore show the essential purposes of social media, particularly Facebook and WhatsApp, in the Georgian female migrants migration process. According to my interview data, active engagement in social media has several purposes for them. First, social media enable Georgian migrants in Prague to maintain a connection with their family members in Georgia. Despite the long distance between migrants and their families, social networks help emigrants to be part of their children's and other family members' lives. For instance, a restaurant worker Nani commented on the benefits she received from social networks during the migration and said, "My daughter and I always talk via video calls. Thank god that social media exists because it is easier for me to maintain a close relationship with my daughter. If something important happens in her life, she immediately notifies me (personal communication, 06.12.2022). Also, another Georgian restaurant worker Natia mentioned that she mostly talks to her son during the day via video call. Natia shared that she tries to support her son emotionally through social media daily. She emphasized how important it is for children to feel their mother's support and love. Natia claimed, "My son is ten years old. It is hard to explain why I left Georgia to a four years old child. However, I still try to communicate frequently and always ask him about school, homework, friends, and other important life events. I do not want my son to feel like I am no longer part of his life, and social networks help me to interact with him (personal communication, 17.03.2023).

Nevertheless, some Georgian migrants experience difficulties in virtual communication with their children. For instance, Ruska, who also works at the restaurant, shared that she has a twenty-five-year-old son who lives in Georgia. Ruska stated that her son is rarely available because he has an intense work schedule and does not have time for talking via Internet. She said, "My son always works and never calls me. It is hard to communicate with him because he is always busy. I miss him very much (personal communication, 17.12.2022).

In the following paragraph, I will analyze the Facebook group "Georgians in the Czech Republic." The group has multiple functions, and I will explain the main topics that

Georgian migrants discuss. Firstly, the group includes information concerning obtaining every essential legal document people need to apply for a visa in the Czech embassy. Additionally, people frequently ask other Georgian immigrants to navigate through the legal procedures. Finally, Georgians who plan migration ask questions about finding accommodation in the Czech Republic. Also, Georgians ask the migrants to share their experiences regarding the overall migration expenses, including travel, accommodation, and visa.

Moreover, Georgian migrants discuss employment issues. Georgian emigrants recommend employers to newcomers and help each other find jobs. For instance, one of the Georgian migrants, Zaira, works at one of Prague's hotels. During the interview, she demonstrated that Zaira found the job from the Facebook group mentioned earlier. She claimed, "This is a beneficial group for migrants. Especially for newcomers, because many people try to trick the recent immigrants into schemes, and such groups help people to identify the scammers and find the job from hundred percent trusted employers." (personal communication, 26.10.2022)

Another function of the Facebook group "Georgians in the Czech Republic" is that some Georgians establish friendly relationships via social media. Two Georgian women claimed during the interviews that social media helps them to extend their social connections, which aids in the adaptation process. For instance, Nani shared her experience "I had many people from the Facebook group on my friends list on the social network, but I did not know them personally. Then, I started communicating with them, and now we are very close friends." (personal communication, 06.11.2022). Also, while interviewing Ruska, she mentioned that the adaptation process was challenging because she had no friends in Prague, and the Facebook group helped her meet new people. After Ruska registered in the Facebook group, she soon interacted with a Georgian woman, and they became friends. Ruska said, "When I arrived in Prague, I felt lonely and depressed. Also, it was hard for me to interact with Czechs and foreigners. So I searched some groups on Facebook and found 'Georgians in the Czech Republic.' I communicated with a Georgian woman online, and then we started going out. She is one of my closest friends, and we do everything together now." (personal communication, 17.12.2022)

Furthermore, the Facebook group "Georgians in the Czech Republic" promotes ethnic entrepreneurship—the following study by Abdus-Samad Temitope Olanrewaju and his colleagues, "Social media and entrepreneurship research: A literature review," investigates the relationship between social media and entrepreneurship. The authors suggest that social media helps entrepreneurs to market their products and services. Also, social media contributes to entrepreneurial businesses' survival and growth, allowing entrepreneurs to create and promote their products at the lowest costs. Another benefit of social platforms concerning entrepreneurial business is that people with low skills in the business can still achieve customer engagement and the efficient advertisement of their products or services. For instance, the authors claim that approximately two million businesses use Facebook for direct advertisement, and it is the dominant social platform investigated in promoting various businesses. (Olanrewaju et al. 2020, 90-96)

Finally, the authors comment on the importance of social media marketing for businesses, "Studies agree that social media marketing had been vital to the survival and growth of the entrepreneur's business." (Olanrewaju et al. 2020, 97) Additionally, the study by Zifei Fay Chena and June Y. Lee demonstrates the contribution of social media to transnational entrepreneurship. The study is based on the example of Korean female immigrants who relocated to San Francisco. The females own small businesses such as cloth brands, food services, and event planning. Immigrants mainly utilize social media to promote their businesses. Social media benefited Korean entrepreneurs by allowing them to start businesses with lower operational costs and increase client engagement through marketing tools. Moreover, the authors claim that Korean entrepreneurs engaged with the Korean immigrant community in the United States; They sold and purchased products and services from their community members (Chen and Lee 2022, 184-185). Finally, the authors conclude that "businesses operating on social media can be an effective model for transnational and immigrant entrepreneurs." (Chen and Lee 2022, 185)

In this case, the impact of social networks in the migration process demonstrates that social media, particularly Facebook group aids Georgian migrants in promoting their

businesses. The group allows Georgians to offer their services and products to the Georgian immigrants in Prague. The most prevalent business that Georgians have is car services. For instance, many people post that they are renting cars or working as drivers and charge others for traveling within the Czech Republic or outside the country's borders. Also, teaching other immigrants is another common service that Georgians offer in the group. For instance, the Georgians post about online language courses, including Czech, Russian, and English. Additionally, some Georgians propose courses in Georgian history and geography. As a result, the Georgian immigrants intend to earn income by using their knowledge concerning languages and Georgian history and educating co-ethnics in the host country.

Finally, this section describes Georgian restaurant worker Nani's experience with starting an ethnic business and promoting it through social media. During the interview with Nani, she claimed that the online platform allows gaining income and promoting her business. She indicated engaging with customers and establishing long-term client relations is easier with the Facebook group mentioned above. Nani stated, "After I resigned from the hotel, I struggled to find a new job. Then, I came up with the idea to prepare traditional Georgian dishes at home and sold them online. I registered on the Facebook group with Georgian immigrants in Prague and posted that I was selling Georgian cheese 'Imeruli' and 'sulguni.'" (personal communication, 06.11.2023)

Nani further commented that after receiving the orders from customers, Nani exchanged phone numbers with clients and then started personally interacting with them. For instance, before making the cheese, she asked her clients personally on WhatsApp whether they would consider purchasing it. Nani claimed, "I will enter my WhatsApp and send messages to every customer I have, notifying them that I am preparing some dishes. Then, they immediately respond to whether they want to prepare for them. Initially, it was not easy to gain the customers' trust. It took a long time to convince people through Facebook groups that I prepare the dishes by myself and the ingredients which I use are bio products." (personal communication, 06.11.2022) As a result, the Georgian restaurant worker uses the Facebook group "Georgians in the Czech Republic" and WhatsApp to engage with clients and offer them traditional Georgian

dishes. However, the difference between the social platforms is that through WhatsApp, Nani established close relationships with the customers, engaging personally and having long-term business relations with them. While by the Facebook group, she promoted herself and her business to gain customers.

Also, Nani added that making cheese at home and promoting it through the Facebook group was comfortable and efficient since she only had a few expenses except purchasing the ingredients. "Preparing dishes at home was very comfortable. I managed time when I would purchase ingredients and then prepare the dishes. Also, I created a customer list and asked if they wanted to try other dishes from Georgian cuisine. Again, the Facebook group helped to reach customers practically without any costs." (personal communication, 06.11.2023)

During the fieldwork (19.12.2022), Nani described the social platform Facebook as "promotional" and suitable for "self-marketing" and "self-popularization." Surprisingly, the demand for traditional Georgian products was high, and Nani decided to contact the Georgian distributors in Prague and work collectively to increase the number of customers. She commented, "Before I asked the Georgian distribution company to supply some Georgian ingredients such as flour for making 'Mchadi' and Georgian wines, I already had many regular customers. However, when I posted on the Facebook group that I also was selling Georgian wines, the demand increased significantly. I was selling five to six boxes of wines weekly." (personal communication, 06.11.2022) Nani further commented that a Georgian immigrant living in the Czech Republic contacted her via Facebook and asked if she wanted to work collectively and open the Georgian kitchen in the center of Prague. "A very good Georgian person helped me open the Georgian kitchen; he knew I was preparing tasty dishes with bioproducts. I agreed and asked him to hire my Georgian friend and work together. Three of us created a Georgian menu. That is how SUN.DAY terrace opened the Georgian kitchen. (personal communication, 06.11.2022)

The evidence presented has shown that Georgian migrants use social media for different purposes in the migration process. Social media allows Georgian emigrants to

stay connected with their home community, particularly maintaining connections with their children. Moreover, the Facebook group "Georgians in the Czech Republic" has several functions for Georgian migrants: Firstly, sharing information concerning migration issues, including migrants' experiences and legal procedures. Secondly, the group enables migrants to interact, establish friendly relations, and emotionally support each other. Thirdly, the Facebook group allows Georgian migrants to employ themselves. Mainly the migrants in the group share the services they offer to other Georgian immigrants in Prague, such as online language classes, courses for learning Georgian history and geography, and car rental services. Finally, the Facebook group helps some migrants to promote businesses related to ethnic food. In this case, Georgian restaurant worker Nani's experience with Facebook and WhatsApp. The social platforms enabled her to promote her business by selling traditional Georgian dishes online and helped her to engage with customers.

To summarize, the ethnographic chapter illustrated why Georgian migrant women migrated from Georgia. The section described that unemployment and low wages are the principal reasons for pursuing migration. Particularly, three Georgian women indicated that improving their finances and helping their households by sending remittances to Georgia are the reasons they migrated. At the same time, one Georgian migrant described that migration gives her an opportunity for career development. Also, the chapter demonstrated the challenges that Georgian migrant women face during the migration. Some Georgian women indicated the scamming problem related to relocation procedures. Also, another factor that caused difficulties during the emigration to the Czech Republic was the inappropriate conditions of migrant jobs. Some Georgian women experienced unbearable working conditions, workloads, and disrespectful behaviors from their employers. Particularly, the women were working as a housekeeper at the hotel and in the storage of the grocery shop.

Furthermore, in the integration process, Georgians behave collectively. Georgian emigrants support each other emotionally and establish inclusive relations within the Georgian community. At the same time, the unwillingness to socialize with Czechs and other foreigners might lead to the exclusion of other ethnicities. However, some Georgian

migrants demonstrated that local language acquisition is essential for integration. Again, ethnic stereotypes concerning the Czech community establish the difficulty in the relations between Georgian migrants and Czechs. In addition to the Georgians' relations with other ethnicities, Georgian migrants perceive Slovaks, Russians, and Ukrainians as more friendly rather than Czechs. To conclude with the role of social media in the migration process for Georgian migrant women, social media helps migrants to stay connected with their home community. Moreover, the Facebook group "Georgians in the Czech Republic" has several purposes: sharing information concerning migration and legal procedures, migrants establishing friendly relations within the diasporic community, and Georgian migrants promoting their services and products via the group.

Establishing the so-called second home by traditional cuisine and intra-ethnic relations

The second ethnographic chapter will demonstrate how the Georgian community constructs a so-called second home in Prague through an ethnographic case study of a Georgian restaurant in Prague. It will address essential topics such as ethnic food, immigrants' relationships with each other, Georgian relations with out-group members, and gender relations among the Georgian immigrants in the restaurant.

Contribution of traditional food in establishing a second home in Prague

To further understand the role of traditional food for Georgian migrants, this section analyzes the role of ethnic food regarding migrants' experiences with integration into Czech society and establishing a sense of familiarity with the host country's environment in Prague through traditional dishes. The contribution of producing ethnic food in forming familiarity can be understood in a twofold manner: firstly, as ethnic entrepreneurs in the host country establishing themselves by engaging in the restaurant business, offering distinct cuisine to the local communities and immigrants from different backgrounds while simultaneously promoting the traditional Georgian culture to enhance the knowledge regarding the ethnic groups' cuisine, culture and traditions. For instance, one of the theories proposed by Thierry Volery regarding migrant entrepreneurs discusses ethnic business as a response to the blocked opportunities in the host country's labor market in the article "Ethnic Entrepreneurship: A Theoretical Framework." The author states that immigrants with international backgrounds first relocated to Europe

after World War II due to the high demand for the increased number of industrial companies on labor forces. The immigrants were finding jobs that required no skills. However, once they settled, immigrants contributed to increasing demand for some ethnic goods and services and gradually started ethnic businesses. As the author suggests, ethnic entrepreneurship aids migrants in developing their careers and status. He claims, "The opportunities offered by the environment of a host society have a strong influence on the propensity of immigrants to turn to self-employment as a way of absorption and upward economic mobility (Volery 2007, 32). The author indicates two sociological theories concerning ethnic entrepreneurship: disadvantage and cultural theories. Disadvantage theory implies that migrants face disadvantages in various forms upon their arrival in the host countries due to the lack of labor skills and insufficient knowledge of the local language, education, or experience that prevents them from employment. As a result, ethnic entrepreneurship is the alternative for migrants to have income and self-employed jobs. As the author describes, "Disadvantage theory suggests that most immigrants have significant disadvantages hampering them upon arrival, which at the same time steer their behavior" (Volery 2007, 32). By steering the behavior, Volery implies that migrants become entrepreneurs in the host country to combat the unemployment problem. At the same time, the cultural theory suggests that immigrants have personal traits attributed to their cultural backgrounds. These features can be perceived as the resources that transform individuals into self-employed people. The author suggests several essential characteristics that can be culturally acquired. In particular, "immigrant groups are equipped with culturally determined features such as dedication to hard work, membership of a strong ethnic community, economical living, acceptance of risk, compliance with social value patterns, solidarity and loyalty, and orientation towards self-employment "(Volery 2007, 33).

Ethnic entrepreneurship in the host countries contributes to in-group solidarity within ethnic groups of shared culture. Self-employment encourages community members to help each other and develop their businesses. For instance, a divorced Georgian woman Nani who has lived in Prague since 2017, apart from her two children, described how she managed to open the traditional Georgian kitchen in the restaurant at the center of Prague with her two Georgian friends. In-group solidarity is an essential part

of successfully operating an ethnic business since another Georgian immigrant who lives in Prague helped the woman to find the restaurant desiring to open the traditional Georgian kitchen. The woman indicated during the interview that the Georgian immigrant told her, "I can manage to help you to open the Georgian kitchen if you are preparing dishes well." (personal communication, 06.12.2022). At the same time, Georgian distributors contributed to delivering the Georgian products that were available in Prague, supplying the restaurant with essential products necessary to prepare traditional Georgian dishes. In the interview, Nani indicated that the "Georgian distributing company supplies our restaurant with tasty Georgian wines. They are importing various brands of wines with different qualities, and the Georgians, the head of the company, insisted that they would help the restaurant have a reach menu to offer our customers. (personal communication, 06.12.2022) Nani described the successful collaboration with the Georgian distribution company by saying, "I was selling 6-8 boxes of wine in a week, our customers loved that the restaurant added Georgian wine list in the menu." (personal communication, 06.12.2022). Besides the ethnic businesses aiding each other in the host country, the same respondent, a woman who is an entrepreneur in Prague, filled the staff positions mostly with Georgians—helping other Georgian immigrants in the Czech Republic in employment. In-group solidarity is visible in Nani's behavior in that she employed Georgians as workers and offered them available job positions.

Another importance of the ethnic food is that it establishes familiarity in the host country for migrants by producing the feeling of comfort and nostalgia because the food has valuable meaning in diasporic communities. Traditional food aids in strengthening ties with people, and migrants remember the life before migration and relationships with their family members through the familiar tastes of their traditional food. Remarkably, the research by Paula Arvela, "Ethnic food: the other in ourselves," illustrates that traditional dishes might also divide migrants in the host countries into "us" and "them" groups and magnify the cultural and social ties among the members of the ethnic community (Arvela 2013, 4). In the following quote, the author describes the contribution of food to social relations "It strengthens cultural ties and social bonds, asserting shared cultural origins, which it enacted in commensality" (Arvela 2013, 4).

Having established general theories regarding ethnic food, this section next considers applying ethnographic details regarding the role of preparing traditional Georgian food for Georgian migrants in Prague. In this case, to apply the disadvantage theory as mentioned earlier to the Georgian migrants' case, Nani claimed while interviewing that she suffered from the workload at the hotel working as a housekeeper. Nani's income was insufficient to cover her financial expenses. Nani lacked the labor experience and education for highly-paid jobs. As a result, she self-employed herself by engaging in the production of Georgian cuisine. Nani stated, "When I migrated to the Czech Republic and started looking for a job, most employers required several years of experience and high education. In Georgia, my profession was mainly being a mother, so I could not satisfy any job requirements besides a housekeeping position. (personal communication, 06.12.2022) Also, during the interview with the Georgian worker at the SUN.DAY Terrace mentioned how she started to participate in producing traditional Georgian food in Prague and described that the pandemic in 2020 was the transitioning period for her from a low-paid labor market as it pushed her into self-employment as an entrepreneur engaged in producing traditional Georgian food. A 35-year-old Georgian woman, Ruska, who works at the restaurant as one of the chefs, indicated, "The pandemic has been horrible for two years but has helped me self-realize. After the reduction of the workforce at the hotel where I previously worked In Prague, I found out about the Georgian restaurant's job position and contacted the restaurant." (personal communications, 06.12.2022) She further commented that after switching jobs, she acknowledged her passion for Georgian cuisine and engaged in the production of Georgian dishes. As previously discussed in cultural theory (Volery 2007, 33), ethnic and cultural background attributed the passion and knowledge for preparing Georgian dishes to Ruska.

Again, as discussed in the disadvantage theory regarding migrants' difficulties in finding jobs due to the lack of education, labor skills, and knowledge of the local language (Volery 2007, 32), ethnic stereotypes might be an additional disadvantage for the migrants that prevents them from employment. The subsequent study, "Experience, stereotypes and discrimination. Employers' reflections on their hiring behavior," indicates how stereotypical perceptions influence hiring decision-making. The authors explained

that besides applicants observable information, the employer relies on statistical information and cultural stereotypes. Sometimes, stereotypes might be attributed to cognitive and psychological skills (Birkelund et al. 2020, 506). As a result, people might be the subjects of unfair judgments on stereotypical bases. For instance, the research's authors give an example of how employers assign tasks to people based on cultural stereotypes. They state, "A study of immigrant groups in the low-wage market in Norway shows that employers seem to rely on stereotypes about specific groups, which they perceive as having particular soft skills, such as politeness and work ethics, making them suited for particular jobs" (Birkelund et al. 2020, 506). Concerning cultural stereotypes, (18.12.022) Nani stated that the Czechs might have a stereotypical image of Georgian immigrants that view them as lazy and undisciplined, mainly in European countries. The diligence and dedication of the Georgian kitchen crew to their job and daily life in Prague are also established with the aim of changing stereotypical perceptions of Georgian immigrants in Prague. She mentioned that "Many people here [Czech Republic] thought the Georgians were slightly idle and lazy, but after our [restaurant's] Czech distribution employees and other restaurant workers saw how we [Georgian migrants] work in the kitchen, they admitted several times that they were expecting less hardworking characteristics from Georgians." As a result, the disadvantage theory mentioned earlier can be applied to the fragment of the interview with Nani concerning stereotypical characteristics attributed to specific groups of people in the host countries since Czech employers and other foreign workers were not expecting productive and dedication to work from Georgians due to the Czech perception of Georgians being as lazy and undisciplined. As a result, stereotypical perspectives might complicate the process for immigrants to find jobs in the host countries.

Furthermore, Georgian migrant Nani claimed that ethnic entrepreneurship not only helped in self-employment but also contributed to the promotion of Georgian culture. Nani claimed that since Georgia is a small country and nation, not everyone might know the Georgian culture, people, traditions, and cuisine. She perceived her job in the restaurant's kitchen as an opportunity to introduce the Georgian culture and cuisine to the Czech Republic, and she described her job as a "promotion of Georgian culture,"

"adding Georgian elements to Prague's environment," and "introduction of Georgian people and traditions." (personal communication, 06.12.2022)

Another line of thought on the role of ethnic food among Georgian migrants in establishing familiarity in the Czech Republic indicates that the space where food production happens is described by Georgian workers, while showing me the restaurant kitchen during the fieldwork by Natia and Nani, as "our place," "a second home," "family room," "comfortable," and "cozy." (personal communications, 22.12.2022) Such attributed characteristics to the kitchen in the Georgian restaurant demonstrate that the traditional food itself, with its production process and intra-ethnic relations, establishes a sense of security and comfort for immigrants, resembling the feelings and attitudes of migrants towards their country of origin. The middle-aged Georgian male worker- Zakra, told me during the fieldwork, "Think about us as the second family and home here. If you miss something, Georgian, come here immediately. You will always be welcome." (personal communications, 22.12.2022) It should be noted that restaurant workers invite people in the kitchen only with whom they have bonded and established friendly relationships. For instance, Nani mentioned during the interview that "If we [Georgian workers] invite someone to have a conversation inside the kitchen during the breaks or after working hours, then that person is officially our in-group member." (personal communication, 06.12.2022) Also, the fragment of the field notes describes that, in this case, the kitchen is the place for people who desire to surround themselves with the Georgian environment, expressing ethnic solidarity and support. Additionally, the aspect of the second family is essential because the close social-cultural relations and ties among Georgian migrants in the Czech Republic enable them to combat the challenges and processes of adaptation to the new environment by communicating with each other and asking for pieces of advice.

[Role of ethnicity and intra-ethnic relations in establishing a sense of home in Prague](#)

Another line of thought regarding the migrants' construction of a so-called second home in Prague demonstrates the aspects of intra-ethnic relations in the Georgian restaurant that establishes a sense of familiarity among Georgian immigrants. The subsequent paragraphs focus on the importance of ethnicity within immigrant relations,

specifically in the restaurant context. Ethnicity became an essential part of the migration of Georgian migrants in Prague since shared ethnic backgrounds enhance the possibilities of bonding with people of the same ethnicity in the Czech Republic and, in that way, establish a minority ethnic group in Czech society. Bonding within the ethnic community in the host country helps Georgian migrants to settle in the host country. (19.12.2022) In this case, Zakro was enjoying his break in the kitchen by sitting on the chair in the corner and scrolling on his phone news feed on Facebook. He loudly read some fragments of the Georgian television news posted on Facebook. After reading the news, he commented, 'I do not even remember my life in Georgia. I feel that it was so long time ago. Being here feels more like a home now.'" Also, one of the Georgian worker-Ruska, indicated during the interview that Georgian workers have close relationships with each other, which helps her in the relocation and adaptation process in Prague. Finally, she said, "I do not feel alienated anymore in Prague since I have one big Georgian family here." (personal communication, 11.11.2022) Migrants form close relationships due to their shared ethnicity because similar cultural and historical background generates a sense of familiarity and home among them.

To further understand the role of ethnicity among Georgian migrants in the restaurant, the following paragraph explores the interdependency of Georgian regional backgrounds and organizational issues and relations in the Georgian kitchen. Firstly, the restaurant jobs and obligations are separated based on the regional origin of the Georgian workers. The regions in Georgia play an essential role in developing social and occupational relations in a Georgian kitchen in Prague. Individuals, based on their regional identity as well as gender identity, perform particular tasks to prepare a specific dish. Nani discussed how the workers separate responsibilities in the kitchen based on their ethnic backgrounds. She said, "We have distributed tasks and dishes according to what works well for whom. For example, Zakro and Zviadi are from the Kakheti region and have been grilling meat since childhood. We can not make 'Mtsvadi'² better than they do. After all, 'Mtsvadi' is made by men and not women. Ruska is from the Adjara province and makes 'Baklava' perfectly. It makes you think that you are in Adjara and eating

² Mtsvadi is a traditional Georgian dish made with grilled cubes of meat.

Baklava³ there. Natia is from the Imereti part and knows best how to prepare 'Imeruli Khachapuri'.⁴ That is how we managed to make a Georgian menu and cuisine." (personal communication, 17.02.2023)

Similarly, Natia and Nani are essentially part of preparing 'Imeruli' Cheese; since they are from that specific region, they practiced more in the past in making Georgian cheese than other co-workers. During the fieldwork, while Nani was preparing cheese, steering in the huge bowl, told that "I have been making Cheese since childhood. I can make the cheese simpler and faster than Ruska since she is from Adjara and needs to gain practice with it." (personal communication, 17.02.2023) Concerning the fragment of communication, it is clear that the tasks and dishes are distributed to the individuals on how well and fast they prepare the dishes, where ethnic backgrounds contribute to it since every region in Georgia has different traditional dishes and food practices. Another Georgian worker, Natia, mentioned that mostly male workers are in charge of choosing the meat from the suppliers since males are grilling the meat and know better how to choose the best pieces. She claimed that "Zviadi and Zakro, as males from Kakheti, know the best which slices of meat are good to grill since they are grilling their whole lives. For instance, I do not know how to choose good slices of meat. I cannot differentiate well which one is better." (personal communication, 17.02.2023) Zviadi explained the ethnic origins of the Georgian workers, and he introduced the co-workers by "Zakro is from Kakheti, Ruska is from Adjara, and sisters Nani and Natia are from Imereti. We are almost all types of people here. (personal communication, 17.02.2023) Besides the importance of regional identity in organizational issues, it also becomes relevant in Georgian workers' relations during and after working hours. For example, individuals stereotypically attribute specific features to each other based on their region of origin and gender during their conversations. The Georgian workers, in this way, insist on replicating certain regional stereotypes, i.e., that the qualities of people from different regions of Georgia significantly differ.

³ Baklava is a dessert made of filo pastry filled with chopped nuts and is sweetened with honey.

⁴ One of the varieties of traditional Georgian dishes, Khachapuri, originates from Georgia's region Imereti.

Additionally, Georgian restaurant workers believe that not only people from similar regions but also from different villages have remarkably distinct characteristics, manners, traditions, sub-cultures, and relations. Nani mentioned, "My sister and I were raised in different villages, mainly living with our close relatives in Vani⁵, and I lived my whole life in Bagdati⁶. I am a more organized person rather than she is. I think I have more Imerian roots because I was raised in Bagdati rather than her." (personal communication, 10.03.2023). Georgians describe the characteristics of Georgian individuals based on their regional and village backgrounds. For instance, during the fieldwork (17.12.2022), Nani described her co-workers as "stubborn" for a person from Adjara, "control freak" for an individual from Imereti, and finally, "drinking expert" and "good sense of humor" for a person from the Kakheti region from Georgian workers perspectives. Therefore, it is essential to acknowledge those characteristics based on the ethnic backgrounds that connect migrants while simultaneously establishing boundaries and hierarchies within intra-ethnic relations. As previously discussed, Georgian migrants rely on stereotypical ethnic characteristics in describing each other. For instance, as Nani's interview fragment suggested, she considers herself more organized than her sister because they were brought up in different villages but in the same region, and she manages the organizational issues in the kitchen. During the fieldwork, Ruska and Natia mentioned that Nani controls the situation and how workers fulfill their job and rebuke them if necessary. Natia giggled, "If some problem occurs in the kitchen, we burn dishes, or we are late to finish the order; Nani is the one who screams all the time and gives us directions, and we just complain." (personal communication, 17.12.2022)

Building on the idea that Georgian workers characterize each other based on their ethnic, regional, and village backgrounds, this section illustrates how they interact, spend time during and after working hours at the restaurant, and overcome the challenges in their migrant experiences. Joking is a pattern of the Georgian migrants' relations. Joking about each other, often also based on regional and village stereotypes, is their strategy to deflect conflicts, express caring and loving attitudes, and have fun with each other.

⁵ Town in Imereti region of a Western part of Georgia.

⁶ Town in Imereti region of Georgia.

Additionally, one of the male Georgian workers, Zakro, demonstrated that cunning ("Eshmakoba ") is essential to the Georgian kitchen. For instance, Zviadi mentioned during the fieldwork that "If you burn Khachapuri by mistake, you must call Zakro and tell him that you prepared the meal specifically for him." (personal communication, 17.12.2022) Also, avoiding specific work-related tasks and asking other workers for favors to perform unwanted obligations are expressed in joking and cunning. For instance, a Georgian male worker Mamuka told a co-worker Zviadi during the fieldwork giggling, "You are a Kakheli man, and you can roast meat better than me, do it instead of me," giggling to avoid grilling the meat for restaurant guests.

Another thought about the pattern of teasing and joking is that this idea connects with the term endearment. By teasing, workers express their love and care toward each other. For instance, Natia said to Zakro, laughing, "You are still here? Do something. You are annoying me today." Zakro responded, "Today I have a mood that I want to tease you sisters, so I am not going. (personal communication, 17.12.2022)

For these reasons, the pattern of teasing is characteristic of Georgian migrant relationships. Also, after working hours, Georgian workers socialize by mocking and joking with each other to have fun and relax. Teasing each other is another strategy to handle the stress after a long working day and have fun with friends. Finally, they establish intimate and close relationships by ridiculing and joking. In addition to creating close relationships and teasing each other within face-to-face contact, the role of digital media is also essential to emphasize. For example, the workers collect photos and videos of each other on their digital devices. Later, they use digital materials to remember funny stories about each other at their after-work gatherings in the kitchen to relax and have fun. The workers share videos and photos of themselves only with each other on their private group on Facebook, visible only to Georgian workers. During the fieldwork, Nani looked for the videos and pictures of Georgian workers and said, "We are all tipsy here. We had fun. Mamuka is dancing and singing at the karaoke bar in this video." (personal communication, 18.12.2022) After the kitchen had closed, we were all sitting in a circle in the kitchen surrounded by Georgian workers looking for the videos and photos of each other.

The shreds of evidence concerning intra-ethnic relations, including the pattern of teasing each other, characterization based on their ethnic backgrounds, and going through the digital media to spend more time with each other, construct intimate and familiar relationships among Georgian workers, and they associate their relations with "a second family." The emotions, experiences, and times Georgian migrants spend together with their unique forms of relations and approaches bond them and help them construct a second home in Prague through their relationships.

Role of the restaurant in establishing a sense of home

The restaurant's space contributes to a sense of familiarity and the feeling of "home" among Georgian workers, where they demonstrate their ethnic values, traditions, and culture. Celebrations of specific occasions, such as the New Year, Easter, and each other's birthdays, happen at the restaurant. The traditional family gatherings with specific traditional Georgian cuisine for different occasions transform the restaurant space into an intimate social environment for every Georgian individual who works there since the traditional practices that are employed at these meetings and celebrations connect to the feeling of familiarity experienced in Georgia with their families. While interviewing Natia, she mentioned, "We are one big family here, and we became closer friends by introducing our daughters and sons to each other. We plan to host New Year's evening here in the restaurant, and our kids are arriving in Prague; feel free to join; we will serve all food proper for New Year's Eve." (personal communication, 17.12.2022) Also, during the fieldwork, Zviadi mentioned that the Georgian workers planned to have ("Supra ") A Georgian feast accompanied by other Georgian immigrants living in Prague. He described an upcoming event "We are planning to prepare the dishes such as Sacivi⁷, Gozinaki, Tolma⁸, and Bazhe⁹ for the evening. As usual in Georgia, we will celebrate the New Year with our families at midnight on the 31st of December with dinner and drinks. I will invite several good Georgian people for the celebration, and we will have everything we need; Family members, traditional food, Georgian wine, and friends." (Personal communication, 17.12.2022).

⁷ Sacivi is a Georgian dish with turkey or chicken put into walnut sauce. Sacivi is an important dish for the traditional Georgian dinner celebrating New Year's evening.

⁸ Tolma is mixed rice, meat, and herbs stuffed with grape vines.

⁹ Georgian walnut sauce.

During the fieldwork (17.12.2021), Georgian workers were excited while creating the list of buying essential products to prepare traditional dishes suitable for New Year's dinner. They planned to have dinner in the restaurant with their children arriving from Georgia. Workers discussed separating the responsibilities and considering the list of whom to invite during the gathering. Like they would behave in Georgia with their families; for instance, Zviadi proposed that men bring wood to grill the meat and beverages and invite guests. Women planned to make Gozinaki, the traditional dessert for Georgians specifically made for the New Year's celebration. Also, the Georgians were contemplating whom they should invite to be a ("Mekvle"). ("Mekvle") It is part of the Georgian New Year's tradition, and Mekvle is a lucky charm who enters the household's home first after midnight. While Georgians were discussing the Mekvle issue, Natia proposed inviting their Georgian friend in Prague as the special guest. However, Zviadi commented on Natia's proposition, "I do not know, he is a very good man, but I think he does not have the luck that Mekvle must have." The Georgians assess who will qualify for being a Mekvle in their families critically because the person who will be the year's first guest, based on the Georgian traditions, is responsible for good things that will happen in the upcoming year and also will be blamed for the bad.

In addition to creating a celebratory atmosphere at the restaurant and Georgian gatherings for important occasions, the workers established traditional Georgian practices that involved smaller celebrations on an everyday basis. The Georgian restaurant workers, in this way, created particular celebration circumstances only typical for them. For instance, "Sunday is a drinking day for us," (personal communication, 18.12.2022) said a Georgian woman during the fieldwork. In Georgian workers' case, Sunday is a relaxing day when they spend time with each other after working hours and stay at the restaurant. For instance, during the fieldwork, it was a Sunday, and a Georgian male friend of Georgian restaurant workers was visiting them. Zviadi took several Georgian wine bottles from the kitchen and announced with giggling that "No one should leave the restaurant early today. We are celebrating today." (personal communication, 18.12.2022).

At the same time, Nani explained that inviting friends to the restaurant on Sunday is typical for Georgian workers, especially male workers. She said, "Boys always invite someone on Sunday, Georgians who live in Prague. Last Sunday, around ten people drank, ate, and talked almost all night. I am trying to remember when we went home."(personal communication, 18.12.2022). Besides friends and family members who do not work in the restaurant, this relaxing day involves inviting ex-employees to see each other, talk and catch up with their lives. Nani said, "Sandro is our ex-employee. He comes here every Sunday to see and spend time with us." (personal communication, 18.12.2022) Besides, the Georgian workers invented a weekly drinking tradition at the restaurant, and some minor celebrations occurred after working hours and during the week. "It was a hectic and stressful day at the restaurant. We need a celebration and to have fun now." said one of the Georgian workers on Monday at ten in the evening when the restaurant kitchen had closed.

The evidence highlights that, firstly, Georgian workers invent their inner-group traditions and rituals, which bond them and establish "second family" and "second home" situations with traditional practices and create atmospheres that connect them socially. Secondly, the end of the working day celebrations illustrates the opportunity for Georgian migrant restaurant workers to encourage and support each other, minimize their stress during work, and emotionally support one another. Celebratory occasions of Georgian workers explain the term "second family" since it is about all types of support, communication, intimacy, entertainment, encouragement, and mutual aid. Undeniably, the intimate and second family relations at the restaurant construct a so-called second home, which is how the restaurant works for the Georgian workers as a workplace and a second home. The traditional ethnic practices and family gatherings add values and meanings to the space, in this case, the Georgian restaurant.

[Georgian migrants' relations with other ethnicities: with Ukrainians and Czechs at the restaurant](#)

Building on the idea of how ethnicity and gender direct the attitudes and intra-ethnic group behaviors, this section illustrates the Georgian migrants' relationship with other ethnic groups (both workers and customers) at the restaurant. As previously

discussed, the Georgian restaurant staff comprises Georgians, Ukrainians, and Czech. The Georgian kitchen crew consists of six people. Two of them- Nani and Zviadi have higher positions that include preparing dishes and kitchen organizational issues, business communications with the manager and the restaurant owner, and controlling the Georgian staff's work. Additionally, Georgians and Ukrainians work for Czech individuals with higher positions, such as the manager and owner of the restaurant. While visiting the restaurant and conducting fieldwork, the relationships and attitudes between other ethnic groups and Georgians became visible and caught the attention. Georgian worker Nani described Czech individuals with whom she is involved in the business, including the Czech manager, the owner of the restaurant, and individuals who work at the distribution companies. She commented that Czech people are highly punctual and organized regarding business. Generally, she attributes several characteristics to her Czech co-workers, which are "punctual," "honest," and "hardworking" in the restaurant business. (personal communication, 06.12.2022)

Furthermore, the Georgian restaurant workers Nani and Zviadi described Czech society with whom they interact within the restaurant, customers, and Czech people with whom they are involved in the restaurant business, including Czech managers and people who work in the Czech distribution company that supplies the restaurant with products. Nani and Zviadi indicated during the interview that they perceive the Czech community concerning food consumption and production as "friendly," as Nani claimed, "Czech are friendly people as long as it seems that they are cold at first if they see that someone is honest and hardworking Czechs will show you their true friendly face." (personal communication, 06.12.2022) Czech society's friendly attitude affects Georgians' relations with the locals. Particularly, Georgians establish friendly relationships with the members of the local community. The Georgian workers indicated that besides business communication and exchanging money and products, workers establish friendly relationships with Czechs. While discussing the Georgian worker- Nani's relations with Czech society during the interview, she mentioned, "At first, Czechs seem cold and unsociable, but they are not. For example, at first, our Czech distributor was not socializing besides working with us [Georgians]. However, we became good friends after

some time, and he started casually coming to the restaurant to talk and socialize.
(personal communication, 06.12.2022)

Moreover, in discussing business matters for the restaurant with the Czech owner and the manager, Zviadi described a Czech person as "detail-oriented." He mentioned that the "Czech manager and the owner manages the organization issues well, including the restaurant interior. They are very detail-oriented." (personal communication, 06.12.2022) Additionally, Nani illustrated Czech society as "respecting bioproducts" and "organic food lovers" and explained that while living in the Czech Republic, she noticed that locals respect healthy food and its quality. She indicated that "They [Czech] always prefer organic products. When the outdoor markets are held here in Prague, there are always queues of Czech people [at Georgian food vendors that they establish]. They value their healthy and bio-produced products." (personal communications, 06.11.2022) In addition, Nani mentioned that due to the usage of only bioproducts and the production of nutritious traditional Georgian cuisine, the members of the Czech society usually appreciate the establishment of Georgian cuisine in Prague. She said, "We have many Czech customers here; some even know us for a long time, and they are our regular customers. Czechs always tell our servers how good food we make and complement us." (personal communications, 06.11.2022)

Additionally, during the interviews with the Georgian workers, they underlined how co-workers respect each other and their hard-working habits. During the fieldwork (18.12.2022), Zviadi said, "Our Ukrainian co-workers work hard, especially when the restaurant is crowded; they often move from the kitchen to the tables. During the lunch breaks, we always ask them what they want specifically to eat [for their meal breaks]. Of course, that only happens in some restaurants because mostly what the cooks make for the servers, servers must take it. That is the little we can do to reduce the servers' stress." Georgian workers differentiate their approaches and working environment from other restaurants in Prague. The Georgian workers consider that offering a variety of food during the lunch breaks and allowing the Ukrainian workers to choose which food they want to consume is a gesture of respecting co-workers. As Zviadi mentioned, restaurant chefs usually choose the food they offer co-workers during the breaks. The respectful and

responsible attitude is mutual since Georgian cooks and Ukrainian servers work hard to achieve the guest's successful experiences from the cooking process to the serving, billing, and cleaning of the tables and the kitchen. Zviadi said, "They [Ukrainian servers] ask us [Georgian cooks] every detail what clients note or comments, that helps us in the improvement of dishes and the whole serving process." (personal communication, 18.12.2022)

Furthermore, the aspects of encouragement and support need to be demonstrated in the Georgian-Ukrainian workers' relationship. In order to make the Ukrainian workers feel respected and express a caring and friendly attitude toward them, Georgians initiate generous gifts that bond the workers at the restaurant. For instance, during the fieldwork, the Georgian woman Nani mentioned, "One of our Ukrainian girls [server] has a birthday in the following week, we Georgians decided to cook some food for her birthday dinner, which will be at the restaurant, but in the karaoke bar's area downstairs. That is how we can repay our servers for their hard work and dedication." (personal communication, 17.22.2022) From the Ukrainian workers' perspective, such a positive attitude from co-workers motivates them to be responsible at work and to fulfill tasks efficiently. For instance, during the fieldwork (19.12.2022), Natia told Nani and Ruska, "Our Ukrainian girl and boy [servers] are staying late today at the restaurant. The distribution company brought wine boxes in the evening during busy working hours, and now they are unpacking the bottles. They are adorable." Georgian workers express their respect toward co-workers by cooking food, arranging special evenings, and caring for them at the restaurant. At the same time, Ukrainian workers fulfill the tasks they are not obligated to do, such as staying longer at work to finish the tasks. (17.12.2022) Also, I noticed that the Ukrainian waitress helped Natia clean the table and space where the Georgian male workers were relaxing and having dinner after working hours. Cleaning the kitchen space is not the server's obligation at the restaurant. Finally, a mutual caring attitude establishes a friendly relationship between foreign workers and a healthy working environment.

However, only some facts from the fieldwork and personal communications show that workers have a non-problematic relationship at the restaurant; some evidence

agrees that miscommunication and language confusion appear in the working environment. Essentially, the tension between Georgians and Czech workers arose due to confusion of tongues. In this case, if Czech co-workers do not follow the Georgian workers' operational tempo and speed, frustration and irritation occur in the kitchen. For instance, during the fieldwork (18.12.2022), Georgian worker Nani was frustrated with the Czech manager because the manager did not fulfill her task on time. Some inconveniences occurred to Nani, such as the pipe breaking down in the kitchen, and workers needed it fixed as soon as possible since they had several orders to prepare. Nani asked the Czech manager to call the service center to bring someone to fix the pipe, but the manager did not call on time, and the workers had a water issue during working hours. Nani said, "I was very frustrated yesterday. The pipes were broken for a week, and I needed the water to clean the dishes and tidy everything. The Czech manager waited to call the services center to repair the pipes. Yesterday I could not endure more because I was angry and talked aggressively to her. After one hour, everything was repaired and fixed."

In addition to the miscommunication and the tension between co-workers, Nani characterized her Czech manager as "not independent" in the working process. During the fieldwork, tension arose between the Czech manager and the Georgian chef because of the inability to fulfill the tasks independently. Nani mentioned, "She [Czech co-worker] had to purchase plates for the restaurant, and she asked questions such as what color or shape she should buy. So buying plates does not need such contemplation. With such questions, she overcomplicates everything, and then we, the cooks, are disturbed in working. I think I will start screaming about the plate issue soon, and she will purchase it in several minutes." (personal communication, 18.12.2022) The evidence highlights that between foreign workers at the restaurant, there is a communication issue. During the fieldwork, Natia contributed to the dialogue between Nani and me and mentioned Czech co-workers, "They are good people but do not communicate as we do, and they do not know the Georgian friendship either." 18.12.2022) The difference in cultural backgrounds produces miscommunication among workers in the Georgian kitchen since the in-group members who are only Georgians at work follow their structure, as mentioned in earlier paragraphs concerning task distribution and separation among workers. Georgian

friendship is essential for Georgian cooks because, as Nani mentioned during the interview, it includes "understanding each other, communicating in the native language, being more honest, expressing oneself, and helping others without any terms and conditions" (personal communication, 17.02.2023). One of the Georgian male cooks described the concept of Georgian friendship, emphasizing his perception that Ukrainian and Czech workers lack this understanding of friendship even though the native language barrier was not a problem.

In addition to the co-workers' Georgian, Czech, and Ukrainian relations, the personal attitudes and ties must be demonstrated whether Georgian co-workers establish personal and close affinities with other ethnicities or try to maintain a distanced relationship. The fieldwork and personal communications with Georgian workers illustrated how Georgian cooks at the restaurant excluded Ukrainian and Czech co-workers from their in-group circle. Firstly, as discussed above, in Georgian workers' view, Czech and Ukrainian workers lack the understanding of the "Georgian friendship" that establishes a sense of uncomfortableness and unfamiliarity in Georgian workers. For instance, during the fieldwork (17.02.2022), Zakro mentioned, "I do not know why she [Czech manager] gets mad sometimes about me. She does not get a sense of humor at all."

The evidence from Zakro's comment regarding the Czech manager highlights that Georgian workers have a problem during informal communication with Czech co-workers because the Georgian workers express their thoughts with humor. On the other hand, Georgians socialize based their ethnic background and nationality. It is complicated for other ethnicities to understand the meanings of the Georgians' expressions since they communicate with irony. Neither Czechs nor Ukrainians would understand the humor related to the Georgian culture with an ironic tone. However, Georgians do not include Czech and Ukrainian workers in their discussions because they need to bother to speak comprehensibly. As a result, the Georgian migrant group excludes co-workers from their in-group interaction and socialization, which helps understand the connections between Georgians and their co-workers that Georgians distance themselves from Ukrainians and Czechs, not further establishing open and friendly relationships with co-workers.

The fragment above showed that the Czech workers became offended since they misunderstood the Georgian co-worker's communication style. Secondly, the topics that Georgians discuss at the restaurant are around the Georgian culture, their families, inner jokes about Georgia, regions of Georgia, and other people with whom they have unique connections. Such topics exclude co-workers with different ethnicities from Georgian workers' informal communications and discussions, leading to disability in establishing closer ties and relations with Czechs and Ukrainians. For instance, during the fieldwork (18.12.2022), Mamuka grilled the meat. The grilling place is outside the kitchen, next to the bar where usually Ukrainian staff members are, and one of the Georgian workers said: "I am tired of these Ukrainian people. I will be here in the kitchen for a while. They are talking non-stop on topics I do not care about." It is clear that due to the ethnic diversity, the workers do not share similar interests and topics to bond and establish more personal relationships rather than being only co-workers.

In conclusion, relations between Georgians, Ukrainians, and Czech workers contribute to establishing a so-called second home in Prague by Georgians, enhancing inclusivity within their ethnic group and excluding other ethnicities. The pattern of social interaction among Georgian workers is that they communicate with humor and jokes to each other. Moreover, miscommunications and confusion of tongues between Georgians, Czech, and Ukrainians occur because Georgians maintain their inclusivity within their ethnicity and exclusivity towards Ukrainians and Czechs and need to explain or describe their communication style to their workers to make the social interaction between Georgians at the restaurant understandable for Ukrainians and Czech.

[Contribution of gender roles in the construction of a so-called second home](#)

The following paragraphs discuss intra-ethnic relations from a gender perspective to understand the role of gender at the restaurant regarding organizational issues and personal relationships among migrants guided by gender norms and roles. Some scholars view the restaurant kitchen's organizational matters as somewhat controversial since, in some cases, the aspect of gender guides the staff structure of the kitchen. For instance, Liora Gvion and Netta Leedon suggest that female chefs face challenges at work since men dominate in higher positions in the cooking sphere. The authors state, "Since the

1990s, women have collectively advanced in the culinary arts. Nevertheless, senior positions within the professional kitchen worldwide are still male-dominated "(Gvion and Leedon 2019, 299). In this view, female chefs are challenged to fit in masculine-dominated kitchens. For example, they can choose to be a "girly" chef or a more masculine one by engaging in more heavy lifting and other physical loads. "It is a matter of personal choice whether to apply the masculine style of kitchen management or the "girly" style, which relies on femininity. Many female chefs, in attempting to win the appreciation of their counterparts, apply certain masculine modes of behavior" (Gvion and Leedon 2019, 298-299).

In Georgia's case, gender roles should be analyzed with patriarchal relations. Traditional norms contribute to setting gendered standards within Georgians' relationships. For instance, from the traditional perspective, males dominate the household with a strong status, while women are submissive. Men mostly organize feasts and display consumer goods. Women are expected to take care of the household duties and their families. (Torosyan, Gerber, and Gonalons-Pons 2015, 451)

In contrast to the evidence that presents how the female chefs manage to fit in the masculine-dominated professional kitchen by altering the roles and obligations directed by gender, the organizational case at the Georgian restaurant is slightly different. However, it is essential to note that the organizational structure of who will cook the specific dishes differs when workers cook for the customers and when they cook for each other. Firstly, I will start by explaining the organizational issues among Georgian workers. As I mentioned, the kitchen crew consists of six Georgian chefs, preparing specific dishes distributed to workers in advance. Particularly every worker has their specific dishes assigned to prepare. Nani and Zviadi essentially manage the organizational issues in the kitchen since they contributed to establishing the Georgian kitchen in the restaurant. However, Nani and Zviadi are part of the chefs' crew, with the other four Georgians. Nani said while I was interviewing her, "I am in charge of almost everything here in the kitchen" (personal communication, 11.12.2022). Nani manages organizational matters. Also, she contacts the customers through waiters at the restaurant and online clients personally via her mobile phone. She makes the agreements with the Czech manager and

owner because she is among Georgian migrants who know the local language to communicate. Her position is superior to contrast with others. For instance, during the fieldwork (18.12.2022), she told her co-workers, "Here should be everything the same way to make things easier. Please do not mess up with anything anymore!" Natia responded to another worker and Nani giggling, "She is the one that screams all the time, and we are just complaining." The evidence highlights that the masculine elements are effective business communications with the manager and the restaurant owner. Also, managing organizational issues in the kitchen, which a woman directs, illustrates the fitting in the "masculine" aspect of the kitchen.

Furthermore, Nani in the Georgian kitchen solves conflicts during and after work. For instance, while I was doing my fieldwork (19.12.2022), a Ukrainian co-worker argued during their shifts at the restaurant, and Nani came to stand in the middle to force them to end the conflict. "Shh, do not make a scene here. I am not interested in this fight. Go upstairs and manage this conflict outside of the restaurant, go!" said Nani to the Ukrainian workers. The disagreements between Georgian workers occur as well, and in this case, Nani is responsible for combating the issues and maintaining healthy relationships and the working environment. Nani said, "When someone fights here, and the manager sees that I am standing in between, she knows I will handle the situation, and she never engages in the conflict." (personal communication, 18.12.2022) The established conflict-solving mechanism by Georgian workers and other staff members at the Georgian restaurant illustrates the assumption of a woman's dominant (read as normatively "masculine") role in the kitchen, combating the personal and professional issues that increase the status of women at work. In this case, it is a Georgian woman Nani as the one who directs the commands and manages the kitchen. For instance, once Nani told one of the Georgian male workers, "Go home. You are not in a proper condition to work right now" because he was tipsy during working hours. The man hesitated initially but then nodded his head and left the kitchen. He was not surprised after Nani's indication to leave the working environment. Instead, he complied immediately without causing any additional conflict with her.

However, another angle on Georgian workers' relations and organizational issues from the gender perspective suggests that Georgian women find their way around the normatively masculine professional kitchen, as noted in the journal article. However, other aspects of work might be organized differently. For instance, the obligations related to heavy lifting and meat processing are regarded as men's tasks. At the same time, women clean the floor, wash the dishes, and clean the kitchen, generally with other minor domestic-related obligations. For example, Ruska, one of the Georgian workers, asked during the fieldwork (19.12.2022) at the restaurant for help with heavy lifting while preparing ingredients to make the Georgian cheese. She had to pour the milk from a huge gallon into the bowl: "Zviadi, come here, pour the milk from the gallon to the boiler. I need it for preparing cheese." During my observations of their work routine, I noticed workers often performing gendered tasks. For instance, men usually did the heavy lifting and fixing of the broken parts of the kitchen area, plus grilling meat, while women cleaned the kitchen after work, washed the dishes, and went to the market for products.

Another line of thought on gender concerning the Georgian workers' relationship demonstrates that women and men express their caring attitudes toward each other differently. Georgian women in the restaurant were often more attentive, prepared food for men, asked whether they needed help with specific tasks, and even shared men's working obligations and responsibilities. For instance, During the fieldwork (18.12.2022), Natia said to her co-worker Mamuka, "Mamuka, have you eaten anything today? I will prepare something for you. Also, during the same fieldwork, the chefs needed more vegetables and other products to prepare dishes. Mamuka was leaving for the market to purchase the ingredients when Ruska interrupted him, saying, "You are standing the whole day on your foot. I will go to the market for garlic." Additionally, despite Ruska, Mamuka, Natia, and Zakro having the same position in the kitchen, men asked for specific tasks for women, such as pouring the drinks, preparing the food for the workers' meals during the break, and cleaning men's part of the space. In this case, Zakro asked Natia, "Natia, pour me a beer." Also, during the fieldwork (19.12.2022), when Mamuka grilled the meat on the iron grilling sticks, he brought them to the kitchen and asked Ruska to clean them. "Here are my grilling sticks for the meat. Clean it, please."

Moreover, another aspect of gender relations between co-workers is that Georgian men often complimented women on how fine they look and encouraging them to enhance the women's self-esteem and supporting them in respecting themselves and taking care of themselves. To specify, reassuring women that they must treat themselves better and purchase more personal items since they earn better income in the Czech Republic than in Georgia and work hard to sustain their families in their home country. In this case, while I was interviewing Nani, Natia interrupted us and told Nani that Zviadi called the Georgian seller who sells various luxurious products at discounted prices for Georgian migrants and arranged a meeting for Georgian women to purchase different luxurious items. She said, "Next week, the Georgian seller will come to the restaurant for us. Zviadi said that he has some new bags with good prices, and Zviadi wants us to look at the bags if we like them and buy them." (personal communication, 18.12.2022) Georgian male workers challenge the idea that women who work with them should not be in migration in Prague only for self-sacrifice for their families and earning large salaries compared to their wages in Georgia. However, women must simultaneously respectfully take care of themselves. During the fieldwork (18.12.2022), Zakro and Zviadi were conversing with Natia, and Natia bought several clothes for her children. She asked Zakro to help her in sending the clothes to Georgia. At the same time, Zviadi and Zakro said, "It would be good if you purchased something for yourself other than for your children. We all know that you do not have a financial issue, for that matter."

Additionally, during the fieldwork (20.12.2022), Georgian women discussed that Zviadi was disappointed by Ruska since workers were shopping for perfumes and other personal items earlier that day, and Ruska refused to buy the perfume, which she had wanted for a long time. Nani told Ruska, "Zviadi was mad about you that you did not buy anything with us. He said Ruska does not respect herself, and she does not try to buy pleasant things just for herself. He seemed disappointed today" Georgian women were discussing this point during the fieldwork. In addition, while conducting the fieldwork (17.12.2022), Mamuka complimented Georgian women when he entered the kitchen in the morning; he said, "My girls, you all look beautiful as always." Similarly, on the same day, Zakro looked at Nani while she was preparing to make Khinkhali, and she put the apron on. Zviadi said, "Nani, I must say, this white apron looks good on you."

Building on from the idea that the gender aspect is essential in exploring the Georgian migrants' relations during working hours, this section illustrates the elements of gender issues visible at the restaurant while Georgian migrants are relaxing and spending time with each other, in particular at celebratory events in the restaurant. Again, the gendered division of obligations and responsibilities occurs more while the Georgian migrants relax and spend time in a friendly environment rather than during working hours. For instance, male workers have a different relaxing ritual than women, as they often gather weekly or a couple of times during the week at the restaurant area while it is closed during work as well, and they use this place to sit, chat, eat, and drink with each other. While women sometimes feel pressured fulfilling males' obligations and responsibilities if they gather during working hours. For instance, during my fieldwork, the women, Ruska, Natia, and Nani, were furious because men were chatting and drinking next to the kitchen room. The restaurant received several orders, and the women had to fulfill the males' obligations. Natia said, "It is not fair, they[men] are sitting in the room for almost the whole day, and now we[women] have to do their job."
"(personal communication, 18.12.2022)

In some cases, this division of activities between men and women causes tension among workers because the females are obligated and responsible for arranging the males' gatherings, preparing the food, cleaning the space, and fulfilling the work duties for these events. During the fieldwork(20.12.2022), while Zviadi was sitting in the next room talking with his friend and having drinks, Natia complained, "We are doing his [Zviadi's] job the whole day, preparing orders, additional dishes for men, and cleaning. It is not fair." Also, the tension due to the gendered roles among Georgian migrants intensifies when the workers are not fulfilling their responsibilities and asking women to complete the men's obligations. "They are drinking the whole day and not telling us properly what to do since we have to order new equipment and food ingredients." Again, during the fieldwork(20.12.2022), the women were preparing a Georgian dish called "khashi" for men because they asked for this specific dish and other Georgian traditional meals during the break and invited a couple of Georgian friends to the restaurant. The women were responsible for taking care of the dinner and cleaning afterward. Despite the timing for both genders being non-working hours and sitting and chatting with each

other, women felt obligated to fulfill the demands of men. Natia said, "Our men occupy that room now, and they are sitting, chatting, and drinking." (personal communications, 22.12.2022)

In addition to the gendered organizational issues regarding celebration and gathering cases, the subsequent research by Laura Joy Linderman, "The Gendered Feast: Experiencing a Georgian Supra," illustrates gendered segregated tasks during the traditional Georgian feasts. For Georgians, there are specific roles for both genders in preparation for traditional dinners and festivity. For instance, the women are responsible for preparing the dishes, setting the table, and cleaning. Linderman proposes that "The space of the kitchen is considered a gendered female space, and issues around food preparation, presentation, and consumption are governed by women." (Linderman 2011, 36) The author distinguishes the formal and informal activities occurring during the traditional feast. Formal conversations and special toasts that men conduct are valued more than informal ones. Informal activities include people talking to each other casually during the feast, while formal is when the men have special toasts for the guests and women are not participating in these kinds of toast. The author mentions traditional nuances of the Georgian feast "Supra" that "Analyses of the supra usually agree with this division, as men are in control of formal toasting and public discourse. Thus only their speech is heard and reproduced; only the men have the right to speak. On the informal level of dinner conversation, everyone has the right to speak." (Linderman 2011, 33) Undeniably, gendered hierarchy exists in the Georgian traditional festive processes since men are engaged in formal discussions and activities while women are participating in informal activities. (Linderman 2011, 33-36)

Similarly, such traditional gendered divisions in food production and consumption activities appear at the restaurant during significant gatherings. Georgian workers behave differently during work and at celebratory events. Mostly Georgian women are responsible for making the table, different dishes, and cleaning the space, while men are in charge of supplying alcohol, grilling the meat, and inviting guests. For instance, during the interview, Ruska, a Georgian worker, remembered the evening when Georgian friends assembled at the restaurant terrace due to one of their friend's birthday occasions. The

workers Zviadi and Nani organized the gathering for a friend. They surprised him with a birthday dinner at the restaurant. Ruska said, "That is how we have fun here sometimes. Several weeks ago, our friend who lives in Prague had a birthday, and we arranged a big gathering on the terrace. Natia and I were so tired of cooking that we almost fell in the kitchen. We cooked everything, and it was good, but in the end, the whole terrace was a mess, and we had to stay for extra hours to clean everything, but it was worth it. Boys went to buy extra wines from our Georgian distributor for this occasion while we were preparing everything" (personal communication, 22.02.2023).

The evidence highlights that gender and, thus, not only ethnicity contributed to the creation of a second home. Men and women contribute differently in the process. Women are attentive towards their male co-workers and concerned with men's physical well-being; as I mentioned earlier, if they ate sufficiently during the day, sharing males' work to reduce their stress and tediousness and other examples. Also, women are taking care of the work, such as preparing various food for celebratory dinners and fulfilling other domestic-related tasks, which are traditionally and culturally common in Georgia. At the same time, men view women as in their normatively "feminine" role because they feel responsible for caring for women and how they look, complimenting them, encouraging them to take care of themselves, focusing on women's appearances, and encouraging women to buy new clothes and perfumes to treat themselves.

It has been established that several factors influence the construction of the so-called second home for Georgian migrants. Firstly, ethnic food evokes the feeling of familiarity and nostalgia in migrants concerning their home country and relations with families. Georgian traditional food reminds the household relations and helps establish a sense of familiarity in the host country. Also, It is important to note the preparation process of the traditional Georgian dishes where migrants interact with their ethnic characteristics that also contribute to establishing familiarity among Georgians in Prague. For instance, the task distribution and stereotypical characterization of each other are based on the regional identities of Georgian chefs. Georgian migrants have brought memories of their home country and regions, which direct their work distribution and general practices in Prague. Moreover, migrants settle in the Czech Republic because they

have caring and loving relationships with their second family in Prague. The Georgian migrants interact in a joking pattern that lets them express their warm and caring attitudes, relax, have fun, and handle stress.

Furthermore, remembering funny stories about each other is one of the activities for Georgian migrants that they use to distress and have fun. Additionally, the restaurant contributes to constructing a second home in Prague since Georgian migrants apply traditional and cultural practices in the restaurant during significant occasions—particularly occasions related to big family gatherings and household interactions. As a result, celebratory practices and intra-ethnic relations transform the restaurant's space from a workspace to the valuable intimate one. In addition, regarding miscommunication and confusion of tongues between other ethnicities and Georgians, Georgian migrants exclude Ukrainian and Czech co-workers and enhance the inclusivity within their ethnic group. Consequently, Georgians do not try sufficiently to establish a close relationship with other ethnicities, and they distance themselves.

Moreover, gender is another important factor in establishing familiarity and a second home in Prague. The tasks are gendered distributed since men grill the meat and perform other masculine tasks, while women clean the kitchen space and prepare most of the dishes. However, the woman and man guide the restaurant's organizational and business-related problems. Finally, gender is essential in investigating intra-ethnic relations since women employ masculine and feminine roles in the kitchen. Georgian migrants' behavior differs when relaxing or having celebratory dinners because mostly women prepare the dishes, make the table, and clean the space. In contrast, men have fewer obligations than women. They care about the alcohol and inviting the guests, similar to traditional Georgian households, where women are fully responsible for caring for the men, preparing the dishes, and fulfilling the domestic-related work. The factors mentioned above help me to respond to the main research questions since these are the primary explanations of how the Georgian migrant group constructs a second family and home in Prague.

Conclusion

Ethnic and gender practices guide the construction of a second home for Georgian migrants in the Czech Republic. The methods I chose for this study, including ethnographic fieldwork, in-depth interviews, and media analysis contributed to answering the main research questions. Participant observation in the Georgian restaurant's kitchen aided in analyzing the social patterns of the migrant group, such as their communication style and the organizational structure concerning gender and ethnicity. Also, participant observation helped me explore inter-ethnic relations and relations between Georgians and other ethnicities, from which I developed general conclusions and theories concerning the Georgian migrants' case in the Czech Republic. Additionally, the thesis fills the research gap in regard to the Georgian community in the Czech Republic since the existing academic literature about the Georgian migrants' experiences in the migration process in Prague, Czech Republic is lacking. However, the general scholarship on the Georgian diaspora contributed to my research by describing and comparing the characteristics of Georgian communities living outside Georgia's borders, their migration experiences, and their social interactions with locals and foreigners.

In the first ethnographic chapter, results indicate that Georgian women consider two significant factors when migrating to the Czech Republic: economic and personal. Economic factor implies that migrant women cannot provide for their families financially in Georgia due to insufficient salaries. Furthermore, single mothers struggle to cope with the financial burden while living in Georgia especially as they cover the full expenses related to their children's education and the general costs of living. Personal factor indicates that Georgian migrants pursue migration for personal and/or career development opportunities; The female migrants described migration as a chance to enhance their professional skills, knowledge, and networking due to Georgia's lack of career opportunities. Migrant women face several problems in the migration process; firstly, the expenses for migration are high as it consists of expenditures such as transportation, accommodation, and savings. Secondly, Georgian migrants are unfamiliar with the legal procedures such as dealing with the documents to apply for long-term visas/permits or searching for jobs in the Czech Republic. On numerous instances,

Georgian migrants are the subjects of scamming groups as unknown individuals offer migrants help with legal procedures in exchange for money.

Thirdly, cultural differences, such as the language barrier, are the prevalent challenges that Georgians face in the Czech Republic. Interestingly, the interview findings based on two Georgian females illustrated that some Georgian migrants are not open to learning the local language to further integrate into Czech society. As a result, socialization with the locals and adapting to the Czech culture is challenging for Georgian immigrants. Additionally, members of the Georgian community in Prague emphasize the cultural differences between Czechs and Georgians, complicating the engagement process with locals and foreigners. In this case, three Georgian migrants highlighted the cultural differences between Czechs and Georgians in relation to their perceptions of friendship; It might contribute to enhancing the inclusivity among Georgian migrants in Prague while also excluding other ethnicities from their relationships. The Georgian migrants proposed the term "Georgian friendship," implying that the characteristics of the latter are different from the Czech friendships; Georgians perceive themselves as inviting and welcoming people, comfortable with sharing personal information and emotions, willing to receive guests without notice at home and prepare celebratory dinners and evenings in their houses. At the same time, Georgians perceive Czech individuals as unsociable and hostile towards foreign ethnicities who do not speak Czech. The different perceptions of friendships affect migration experiences since most interviewees do not engage with the Czech community.

Georgian migrants adopted several strategies to cope with the challenges mentioned earlier. First, Some Georgian migrants in the Czech Republic are characterized by the collectivist approach; during the interviews, all respondents indicated that they migrated with a group of Georgian people. They mostly worked at the same jobs and spent time only with each other. Remarkably, the collectivist approach explains that migrants surround themselves with only Georgians as close friends, and help each other with documentation, or in searching for jobs, or in resolving of scamming issues. Another strategy to handle migration issues is the use of social media networking; for instance, the Facebook group "Georgians in the Czech Republic" aids Georgians in socializing with

other immigrants living in the Czech Republic, establishing friendships via social media groups, and planning gatherings to meet more Georgians. As stated above, experienced group members help new members with migration-related issues by sharing their experiences and other necessary information. Additionally, social media helps immigrants to promote their businesses, in this case, to sell homemade dishes via Facebook groups and introduce traditional Georgian cuisine to locals and other immigrants in Prague; the Georgian emigrants indicated that after collecting regular clients from Facebook, they established more personal relations with these customers and started communicating through WhatsApp groups to sell traditional Georgian homemade products.

The second ethnographic chapter presents the relations and practices that transform the unfamiliar environment of the host country into a familiar second “home” for Georgian migrants. The roles of traditional food, ethnicity, gender, inter-ethnic relations, and the space of the restaurant are critical in the construction of a so-called second home. Ethnic food transforms Georgian migrants into entrepreneurs engaging in the restaurant business and simultaneously aids in acquiring a feeling of comfort and nostalgia through traditional tastes. Shared historical and cultural backgrounds develop strong bonds and the feeling of familiarity and home among Georgians. Interestingly, the tasks in the kitchen are distributed according to the regional origins since, in Georgia, different regions have diverse food practices and sub-cultures. Furthermore, ethnic stereotypes are visible in the workers' communications; they joke about and tease each other based on stereotypically attributed characteristics. However, the pattern of teasing and joking among Georgian workers represents caring and loving attitudes, deflecting and neutralizing conflicts, relaxation, and having fun.

Restaurant space contributes to establishing a sense of a second family and an intimate environment among Georgian migrants. Celebrations where Georgians apply traditional practices, prepare suitable dishes for special occasions, and make traditional Georgian feasts evoke the experiences and memories of Georgian migrants that are connected to Georgia and their families. Finally, besides the contribution of ethnicity to the organizational structure in the kitchen, gendered task segregation also occurs. Particularly, Georgian migrant women simultaneously fit in the “masculine” aspect of the

kitchen and participate in the gendered hierarchical tasks in the Georgian traditional festive processes. The gender contribution in constructing a so-called second home in Prague is that both Georgian women and men fulfill the tasks in the kitchen. For instance, women are attentive and caring towards male workers and care about their nutrition and physical well-being; women make the tables and most traditional dishes during the Georgian feasts and clean the space afterward as it is traditionally done in Georgia. At the same time, men are concerned about women's physical appearance and well-being and compliment and care for them to enhance females' self-esteem.

Several limitations occurred during the research: firstly, the sample is small. Secondly, migrants work in different fields and have distinct financial conditions, making their general migration experiences different. Third, during the fieldwork, the Georgian restaurant was always busy, and I could not engage in discussions with Georgians since they had an intense schedule. Fourth, limitations occurred concerning the lack of knowledge of languages Russian and Czech. The Georgian workers were communicating in Russian with the Ukrainian co-workers, and I have some gaps in the field notes due to the inability to comprehend the situation entirely. Also, I could not communicate with the restaurant owner about the kitchen's organizational structure because the owner spoke only Czech. Finally, due to the time limitation, I conducted four field works, and the research lacks data concerning Georgian workers' relations with other ethnicities.

The general contribution of my research is to illustrate the Georgian diaspora in the Czech Republic and their migration experiences. Moreover, the research indicates Georgian migrants' socialization and relations with other ethnicities to identify their integration process. Finally, the thesis contributes to identifying the patterns of traditional practices and relations among Georgians. Research demonstrates the aspects of ethnicity and gender that help Georgian migrants establish a so-called second home in Prague. As a result, a minor ethnic community of Georgians in Prague is implementing the Georgian cultural and traditional practices in the Czech Republic within their intra-ethnic relations that establish a sense of belonging and create a second home in Prague.

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