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*Constructing Sites of Memory, Practicing Nationalism Beyond the Homeland:  
The Case of Second-Generation Georgian Migrants in the USA and Germany*

Identity as a complex and dynamic phenomenon is defined by various cultural, social, political and other factors in particular time and place. Generally speaking, one's identity is formed in the process of socialization and accordingly, he/she becomes a member of society in the process of social interactions (Calhoun *et al*, 2008). The migration could be considered as a peculiar condition when cultural, ethnic, gender and other forms of identity are challenged and transformed. Therefore, migration and identity remain a vital issue in both scientific research and everyday life, especially in the societies with a high rate of migration as well as in the host countries.

The migration process from Georgia actively began after the collapse of the Soviet Union. Since then besides Russia, USA, Greece, Germany, Italy and Spain have become the main destinations of the Georgian. More than two decades long Georgian community in various western cities consists of 'old' and 'new' arrivals, people of various ages and different professional and work background. Many of them decided to stay with their families permanently in Germany. This reality inevitably leads us to the problem of identity transformation in second generation migrants. This complex and multifaceted process manifests itself in different ways and depends on various factors. Within the new framework of social institutions and interactions immigrants' familiar system of values undergoes changes and transformations. This process varies among men and women immigrants, as their

experience is different in terms of adjusting to the new cultural and social reality. The nature and peculiarities of reconceptualization or defending traditional norms and roles in second-generation Georgian migrants can depend on various factors including social capital, parents' education and social status, family structure, language, etc.

Identity Transformations while Migration is the key issue to analyze: what role do memory sites and symbolic realm" play in identity transformations among Georgian migrants that live in Germany and USA. The migration could be considered as a particular condition when cultural, ethnic, gender and other forms of identity are challenged and transformed. In this context, it becomes interesting how and what role do, memory sites" and "symbolic realm" play. We should mention, that the Georgians who consider identity transformation as "losing Georgian identity" try to "maintain" national and cultural identity by various forms and practices. In some cases, formation of "memory sites" and "symbolic realm" is artificial, it might be "religious corners" at home, attending divine services, taking children to the Sunday schools, Georgian sing, and dance classes, and also creating the Facebook pages (Georgians in USA, Emigrants in Germany and so on).

Identity is much more complex and liquid in migrants' case. Scholars should discuss the identity as doing and not as having it, since it is a result of new social contexts, relations, and system. <sup>1</sup> The same is regarding memory sites, since Georgian emigrants are limited in time, space and finances the memory sites take "liquid" texture.

As we have mentioned above constructing and reconstructing emigrants "face" arises in different sources such media, literature, social media and etc. It is interesting whether emigrants share the same opinion about themselves and does this construction becomes the part of their identity. Do they assimilate or try not to "lose" their national identity?

**Hypothesis:** Limited time and space either settling, that is connected with finances, organizational issues or working schedule gives "liquid" form to the memory sites.

The memory sites lose their significance for the second-generation Georgian migrants.

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<sup>11</sup> *Identity and Migration in Europe Multidisciplinary Perspectives*, Barbera, 2015

**Methodology:** The primary data was accumulated while using qualitative method, namely the *in-depth interviews*. The in-depth interview method was used to gather detailed information and attitudes from the migrants. About 40 in-depth interviews were recorded with the migrants' who are more than 14 years old, who live in host countries more than 10 years.

One of the method was the content analyses of the emigrants' Facebook wall pages. Within a year these pages were observed and topics were analyzed.

Apart from this, the *close reading* method have been helpful to analyze relevant literature, including scholarly works.

We believe, above-mentioned methods and research, strategies were useful to conduct a comprehensive and multiperspective study of the proposed subject.

### **The Country of immigration and meaning of immigrant**

Jan Assman and John Czaplicka discuss concept of cultural memory that contains both archived texts, images, rules and contemporary context of their meaning/relevance. "Cultural memory works by reconstructing, that is, it always relates its knowledge to an actual and contemporary situation." The authors also argue about the normative self-image of the group that is based on clear system of values. The system of values in that case cover important and unimportant, central and peripheral, depending on how they function in the production, representation, and reproduction.<sup>2</sup>

Jan Assman and John Czaplicka find cultural memory reflexive in three ways: Practice-reflexive, it interprets common practice in terms through proverbs, maxims, "ethnotheories"; Self explaining, it draws on itself to distinguish, reinterpret and criticize; reflexive of group's own image, it reflects the through a preoccupation with its own social system.

Country of migration significantly determines the image of a migrant. Migration and migrant can be defined to the country, which became a host of a Georgian migrant. The interesting fact is that despite

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<sup>2</sup> pg 130-131 (Collective Memory and Cultural Identity Author(s): Jan Assmann and John Czaplicka Source: New German Critique, No. 65, Cultural History/Cultural Studies, (Spring - Summer, 1995).

the previous experience, when migration was based on political issues only, labor migration was the main type from the 90s and it acquired a negative meaning. If we compare migration of the government of the Democratic Republic of Georgia and the new wave of Georgian migration from 90s the factors and goals are completely different. And accordingly the type of a migrant is probably based on these factors. In the first case migration is connected to the political processes ongoing in the country, the process is idealized, romanticized and the migrant is a person who sacrificed his/her future to the country. As for the events that took place in Georgia after the collapse of the Soviet Union, it should be noted that hard social and economic conditions significantly triggered new wave of migration. In this case the main factor determining labor migration was a wish of families to survive hard times. Feminization of migration is also connected to this period<sup>3</sup>. Types of migrants are also different based on gender aspects. While a male migrant is positively assessed and is represented as a person with traditional social role – „Breadwinner”, attitude towards women are mainly negative even though they might be doing a hard work for their families; as female migrants leave the boundaries of characteristics of a Georgian woman. Georgian Orthodox Church plays a significant role in keeping traditional social norms for migrants, calling Georgian mothers to return back to their families and children.

Types of migrants can be differentiated according to host countries as well. There are relatively “prestigious” countries for migration, including countries where it is possible for Georgians to live legally. Migration for education is frequent in these countries along with labor migration.

It is interesting to observe how the migrants themselves see and differentiate migrants. Georgians living in Germany discuss topics of modern migration in the groups on social media. They discuss information of money transferred to Georgia by migrants. From the discussion we can assume that Georgians living in Germany differentiate “types of migrants” being in labor migration and believe that those in Germany are mainly living legally, who have less possibility to send money to Georgia, on the other hand they pay taxes, study, “arrange their lives” in Germany and look for perspectives to stay in the host country. In additions, Georgians have to be thrifty for legal life.

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<sup>3</sup> „The Feminization of Labor Migration from Georgia The Case of Tianeti“ Tamar Zurabishvili, Tinatin Zurabishvili, 2010, pg 75-81

*“Probably because those living in Italy, work to send money to Georgia. And here first they arrange everything and then they send. Here everyone lives with a perspective to stay and no one sends last penny to Georgia.”*  
*[Woman living in Germany, Facebook Page of Georgian Community in Germany, January 29<sup>th</sup>, 2019]*

*I have 750 Euros besides the apartment and things. I don't go to parties and I don't buy clothes every month. I use for more important things than parties and clothes as I mentioned. [Woman living in Germany, Facebook Page of Georgian Community in Germany, January 29<sup>th</sup>, 2019]*

*Youngsters come mainly to Germany to study and not to work, plus the taxes are way higher here than in Italy. [Woman, Facebook Page of Georgian Community in Germany, January 29<sup>th</sup>, 2019]*

Situations described in Italy and Greece are different from Germany. They think more money is sent to Georgia from Italy and the following factors are named: Georgian migrants live illegally in Italy and do not pay taxes, and they do not have private life.

*People come to Germany to get education and go to Italy to work. [Man, Germany, Facebook Page of Georgian Community in Germany, January 29<sup>th</sup>, 2019]*

*Majority of migrants to Italy go to work and most of them are employed. Economic regress of the country does not matter. [Woman, Facebook Page of Georgian Community in Germany, January 29<sup>th</sup>, 2019]*

*People have no time for life, where would they spend money.... They send everything, I feel pity for them (sad emoticon) [Woman, Germany]*

*They are not bothered with taxes in Italy :) I pay 600 Euros for the apartment only, what should I sent [Woman, Germany]*

*There are many and high taxes in Italy too. Just to start with church taxes. There just many illegals in Italy who do not pay taxes. This is to say politely. [Man, Germany]*

*[Migrants] live unofficially mainly in Italy, Greece and many other countries and they have to send, there is no other choice, and there are many who fly from Germany and bring money personally, that's why it is not necessary to transfer through bank. [Woman, Germany]*

Through the analysis of Facebook pages for migrants, we can observe how the migrants see and define themselves. Their self reflection differs country to country, we meet “privileged migrants” who see themselves qualified and legally livable people, and “unprivileged migrants” who live illegally and do anything to sum up some amount of money to come back to Georgia at some time.

Based on in-depth interviews with migrants to Germany we can assume that respondents, who are not users of the community pages of Facebook have same attitudes. They differentiate factors of migration and countries selected by the migrants according to their goals. They believe that Georgian migrants in Germany have different values than Georgians in Spain, Italy or Greece who try their best to collect money and live mainly illegally.

Sara Ahmed in her article “Home and away: Narratives of migration and estrangement”, assumes that “ The stories of dislocation help to relocate: they give a shape, a contour, a skin to the past itself. The past becomes presentable through a history of lost homes (unhousings), as a history which hesitates between the particular and the general, and between the local and the transnational. The telling of stories is bound up with – touched by – the forming of new communities. Memory is a collective act which produces its object (the ‘we’), rather than reflects on it.”<sup>4</sup> For migrants home and away are divided, not only as different spaces, but as different modes of being in the world. She also discusses McCaig’s concept of “Global Nomad” in an new era while global vision is imperative and migrant should equipped with intercultural communication skills, linguistic ability, diplomacy, and skills for integrity in diverse space.<sup>5</sup>

Based on research data we can see how place of dislocation defines meaning of object “we” (migrant from Germany, Italy, Greece or USA). Within the concept, Georgian migrants abroad we can differ “Global Nomad” who are better skilled and are less “bounded” to the homeland. They try to settle down and be free from Georgian cultural norms, that cases are mostly met in Germany. One of the factor of it might be the free education system, when migrants and their children can get education and be more

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<sup>4</sup> Sara Ahmed “Home and away: Narratives of migration and estrangement”, <http://ics.sagepub.com/content/2/3/329> The online version of this article can be found at: DOI: 10.1177/136787799900200303 1999 2: 329 International Journal of Cultural Studies Sara Ahmed, pp.342

<sup>5</sup> Ibid, pp. 332-349

integrated in the global space. While others try to sum up money and go back to homeland where they belong.

### **Comparison of the Countries**

Part of the respondents had experience of immigrant living in countries other than Germany. They underline that they had less cultural shock in those countries, since the lifestyle and values (in Spain, in Greece) were close to Georgian. Temperament and attitudes of the people were similar to Georgian, but the conditions were way lower compared to Germany and considering the fact that they were illegal migrants, they faced problems as well. In some of the cases, this could be not speaking the language of the host country, values different from those Georgians with whom they had to live with because of hardship.

*When I first arrived, I was illegally here for 3 years and I had to. The first year was the hardest, there were 9 Georgian men, I had to live with them in an apartment, then I arranged a bit, learned the language and rented a flat for myself. This period was the hardest, living with them and some of them were stealing and I did not want to. [Man, 34 years old with experience of living in Germany and Spain]*

*There were people of different category, those who wanted to work and collect money. and I arrived with a totally different idea, I wanted to study and develop, and when you would start talking with Georgians on the topic they would look at it differently, what hit him in the head, well they would see it unrealistic... Then I was stressed and had no communication with anyone, slowly rejected to communicate at all. [Woman, 36 years old with experience of living in Germany and Spain]*

*Greek culture is not different from Georgian culture. I mean people, cultural holidays, even proverbs we have are the same and when I learnt the language, it felt like living in my country, people are warm, I was with good people. [Woman, 43 years old with experience of living in Germany and Greece]*

*I did not have that experience in Greece, I lived in Greece as in Georgia. The situation is completely different there. [Woman, 39 years old with experience of living in Germany and Greece]*

Respondents mentioned that unlike Germany people in these countries are more open and they had more time and opportunities to have fun. Germany is ordered but people are cold and working hours so filled that Georgians have less time to have fun and visit each other. At first they were nostalgic to living in the countries where people have the same values and temperament as Georgians.

*Germans are different people, completely different, to tell the truth getting along with Germans, they are more reserved and need more time, they need to get well acquainted with you to start communication... the lifestyle is different here. Here you need to wait for summer "urlaub" or Christmas to do something, or go somewhere or to have fun. Weekend in a small town is too calm, especially when you have wife and kids and you are, you cannot manage going out on weekends. Man, 34 years old with experience of living in Germany and Spain]*

*I came here to my relatives, my husband's relative had a restaurant and we were to work there, when doing my job, I was thinking, I will go home, pack my suitcase and go to Greece, I had this feeling and thoughts all the time for about one year. [Woman, 43 years old with experience of living in Germany and Greece]*

*The rhythm of life was different... you could not call in the evening, you needed to plan everything in advance, say, ask and things like that were strange for me. [Woman, Germany, 33 years old].*

"There is always an encounter with strangeness at stake, even within the home: the home does not secure identity by expelling strangers, but requires those strangers to establish relations of proximity and distance within the home, and not just between home and away. The association of home with familiarity which allows strangeness to be associated with migration (that is, to be located as beyond the walls of the home) is problematic." Migrants in this case divide natives and strangers.<sup>6</sup>

Space of inhabitation made Georgian migrants living in culturally similar countries feel home, as they did not feel strangeness, even though later they realize that the conditions were better in another country, they need time to adapt.

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<sup>6</sup> Sara Ahmed "Home and away: Narratives of migration and estrangement", <http://ics.sagepub.com/content/2/3/329> The online version of this article can be found at: DOI: 10.1177/136787799900200303 1999 2: 329 International Journal of Cultural Studies Sara Ahmed, pp.340



## Comparison of the Generations

Generational memory is very important. The group of same age individuals share same historical events, beliefs, values and norms. They differ from preceding and succeeding generations. “We share our memories not only with memes of our family and circles of friends and neighbors, but also with many of our contemporaries, whom we may never have met or seen, for instance with the age-bracket to which we happen to belong.”<sup>7</sup> The change of generations in every thirty years undergoes significant shift of renewal and reconstruction of social memory.

At the same time, we should take in account that “Migration is not only felt at the level of lived embodiment. Migration is also a matter of generational acts of story-telling about prior histories of movement and dislocation.”<sup>8</sup>

Majority of Georgians members of the different Facebook pages of Georgian community are migrants of first generation. In this case it is interesting to study the difference between the first and second generations of migrants. For this purpose we will discuss the analysis of in-depth interviews with representatives of the second generation Georgian migrants living in Germany and their parents.

When calling back to memories, the first generation migrants refer to the language barrier. Majority of them did not speak the language when they arrived in the host country. Some of them spoke but since it was not their native language, it was difficult for them to get university education and then be employed by profession.

*I left with certain knowledge, I had German at school but I did not speak well. Especially when you have never been to a country, first year I was a bit dazzled, I had the barrier first year... that I would say something wrong and I would not talk much in the beginning. After 1 year I felt better and after some time I felt even better.  
[Woman, 33 years old, Germany]*

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<sup>7</sup> Aleida Assmann – Four Formats of Memory, From Individual to Collective Constructions of the Past, pp.22-24

<sup>8</sup> Sara Ahmed “Home and away: Narratives of migration and estrangement”, pg. 342

*No I think that it was not hard... of course it was very hard, because famous actor in Georgia, well now I play in theatres as well and I had my fans and I arrived with four words, I knew nothing more than four words in German. I had to learn the language from the beginning. [Woman, 36 years old, Germany]*

*“There were difficulties, first of all the language barrier, different environment... You are psychologically stressed every day that you need to overcome.” [Woman, 35 years old, Germany, married]*

*What was hard when I arrived was that I did not speak the language and it was hard in a completely strange environment... As for the language problem, I had depression for three years or how to call it. [Woman, 39 years old, Germany]*

For the second generation migrants, speaking Georgian is more difficult and in most of the cases, German becomes their native language. Despite the attempt of parents in the families to speak Georgian, children might understand Georgian, but it is easier for them to communicate in the German language. Some of the parents do not even try to teach their children Georgian since it is not the first priority for living in Germany.

*We're talking sometimes German and sometimes Georgian. But a little bit far away, in the north, part of Germany, I also have relatives and they only talk in German. But they are Georgians too. [ Girl, second generation, 15 years old)*

*He speaks now but not well. He has been to Georgia every year but still would not speak. S/he wanted to speak German. Now he speaks Georgian well but whenever s/he sees me, s/he starts speaking German. S/he can switch. He can say warm words in Georgian, say I love you. [Woman, 33 years, Germany]*

*We speak Georgian, we don't use other language at home. We know Georgians who try to speak German only... To tell the truth I do not understand that, I asked the mother and she said, it is easier. Yes, it is easier but they will not speak Georgian at all. They understand well but it is hard for them to speak. [Man, 33 years, Germany]*

*Of course, we spoke Georgia, he started talking in Georgian but when he went to kindergarten the contact slowed down for a period of time, I mean speaking, he was no longer that active and started talking in German. Well I still speak with him in Georgian, I want him to learn Georgian and not to forget. We try to teach him to read and write in Georgian and at least something elementary, but he says, tell me in German, I do not understand... [Woman, 39 years old, Germany]*

*Both parents are Georgians, they do not want their child to speak Georgian, I think they even changed the surname. What would she need it for and let her learn German. She did not want to have much connection with Georgian either. [Woman, 41 years old, Germany]*

## **Memory sites**

To keep and reproduce memory while migration has its characteristics. Markers for collective memory can be tangible or intangible and both of them serve significant markers. Tangible heritage, whether small artifact or large cultural landscape, serves to provide physical evidence of the past, it can be untouched or changed. On the other hand intangible heritage, such as traditions and practices as tools of collective memories. “People use the tangible remains of their heritage as well as the intangible traditions and practices as tools that help to shape collective memories, and to provide the narratives that explain and accompany them.”<sup>9</sup> The category of tangible heritage is of particular importance because of its size and relative immobility; such sites are linked to their physical location. In contrast to tangible heritage, intangible heritage can be “the practices, representation, expression, knowledge, skill, the instruments, objects, artifacts, and cultural spaces that are associated with concrete communities. Some sort of intangible heritage may include tangible elements, as most of the practices such as ancient forms of music, dancing, or visual art or particular customs including parades need specific instruments that are tangible.

As the sites of memory change the meaning, the migration changes the meaning on the background of increase of the social mobility. Country of residence is no longer tangible. Values acquire universal meanings, it is no longer crucial to learn cultural norms and traditions characteristic for a specific country, since these values are repeated because of globalization. Besides, the meaning of migrant also changed, especially as a result of visa liberalization, since it became easier to go to European countries, the sadness of missing your home country is not such strong. The case is different in the United States of America, where majority of migrants live illegally, they cannot return to the home country as they will lose the possibility to return. Thus, the community is more sensitive, the distance is bigger and

despite the modern technologies the nostalgia for the home country is more obvious. There are more Georgian national dance and folk music classes, we even encounter with Georgian Sunday school and regular kindergarten. Unlike Germany, where people try more to integrate we encounter with Georgian neighborhoods in America, communities of Georgians where they try to keep “Georgianhood”. Different attitudes can be explained by immigration policy of the host country. The country giving a possibility of legal residence and integration with local culture, migrants are less focused on reproduction of national identity and places of memory; they are trying more to establish themselves and assimilate with the local context.

Memory sites are similar in different host countries but there are still some differences. Georgian migrants in Germany keep contact with the home country through various means, some take icons or souvenirs with them, others take family photos and books.

*When we left, we took a very powerful icon, an icon of 100 years, we have them hanged and it protects us. [Woman, Germany, 48 years old]*

*I haven't taken things like that, just icons, small flags and some souvenirs. And it has been during recent years, that I took them with me, I did not think of it in the beginning. I bring them as presents as well to introduce the culture of my country. I used to bring books for children, they could not read but they would look through them often. We have “Knight in Panther's Skin”, Georgian historic books and schoolbooks at home. But it is very hard for them to read in Georgian. [Woman, Germany, 43 years old]*

*When I left Georgia, I just took some photos (lists family members). [Woman, Germany, 43 years old]*

*We have Georgian books. Souvenirs here on the fridge. [Woman, Germany, 38 years old]*

In addition, among the places of memory we can separate diaspora organizations, which have Sunday schools and Georgian dance and music classes, they arrange Georgian culture and cuisine days. Although it should be noted, that majority of respondents no longer have contact with diaspora organizations or never had it.

*There is diaspora but the community itself had some problems, there were Georgian disputes. Before that I used to take my child to the Georgian school (Sunday school), even to dancing classes. Now we do not even have time, to tell the truth it is because of lack of time. I have communication with every Georgian from diaspora myself. I do not actually need a community to have relationships. I can stay in touch with Georgians I want to. [Woman, 35 years old, Germany]*

*Well I do not know, our diaspora used to be well organized. They used to receive children's primer clothes for Georgian dances. They would arrange different festivals every year, would dance Georgian dances. Then there were evenings of Georgian food where Germans would come and attend. They were well organized. Now I no longer go there. I think it is the same. [Man, 33 years old, Germany]*

*We do not have contact with the Georgian diaspora, when we left we took an icon with us... but we do not have contact with organizations. [Woman, Germany, 48 years old]*

Part of migrants even wanted to cut connection with Georgia. Some of them explained it that it would be harder to have items that would remind them of the home country. Others were protesting against the Georgian values and they did not want to keep contact with Georgia.

*I don't have pictures hanged. They suppressed me, when I watched the pictures and items, they reminded me of that place. I have least contact otherwise, it is hard to manage. [Woman, 36 years old, Germany]*

*I did not take soil with me (laughing). I don't remember about items, neither photos. The only thing I took was alphabet for the kid, we don't have it hanged but I will do it. And books. When I left I wanted to cut off all the contact with Georgians. [Woman, 33 years old, Germany]*

As for the Facebook pages of communities, part of them are actively engaged, other do not, because of lack of time and just follow them, others do not have Facebook accounts. Younger people, who are users of social media and represent the first generation of migration, try to help Georgians and share useful information etc.

*I follow those chats (community pages on Facebook) and I enjoy it when they write sometimes, when I have time, but I have never used it. Some say such things. Some invite on Khachapuri to Frankfurt, others sell the sauce of sour plums and so on. [Woman, 35 years old, Germany]*

*My family members and I do not have Facebook. [Woman, 48 years old, Germany]*

*No one could help anyone financially, but giving an advice, always helping in that way. [Woman, 36 years old, Germany]*

Based on the content analysis of Georgian community pages on Facebook we can assume that topics of discussion are various. It is interesting that despite the diversity of the countries, the trends are following: Georgians living in Germany mainly discuss the topics of legal residence in the host country, local legislative regulations and documentations, places of attraction, topics on difference of German and Georgian values, Georgian dishes and cafes and restaurants in Germany. Posts are often about best practices of Georgians, they also try to assist newcomers and help them on different topics.

Unlike Germany, in case of Greece and Italy, religious holidays and events in Georgia are often discussed. While the trend is still existing in Germany with high intensity of the groups, with tens of posts every day, the intensity in Italy and Greece is lower. This can be explained by the hard daily life of Georgians in these countries and hard work they have to do. Often this people live where they work (babysitters, caretakers) and they might not have access to internet. The situation is different in the United States of America, where legal and illegal migrants are equally represented. The factors because of which they left the home country are different, this can be a work migration due to hard social background or education. In some cases both of them are combined. If we look through the Facebook pages of Communities, they discuss both events in Georgia, including political events and topics of living in America too.

One of the important trends observed from the analysis of the Facebook pages is sharing advertisements on selling properties in Georgia in cases of Greece, Italy and Amerika, while we do not find advertisements of these types on webpages of Georgian community in Germany. Based on this we can assume, that buying property in Georgia is relevant for Georgians living in migration in these countries and they plan to return back to Georgia in the future, while we cannot say the same about Georgians living in Germany, who mention in private talks that they do not plan to return to their home country and the reason named by them for it is that there is a better perspective for their children in the host country.

## Calendar and Georgians Living in Migration

It is possible to take the example of migrants memory and identity maintenance model from the Jewish nation, which is considered by Eviatar Zerubavel as permanent aliens, who have the dream to come back to the Promised Land, but they also build their memory, identity on time schemes. In Jewish tradition, it is time with sacral meaning, not the place. “The tradition of resting on Saturday they strictly follow, despite living among pagans for centuries resting either on Sunday (Christians) or Friday (Muslims), has managed to segregate from the social environment”.<sup>10</sup>

It is interesting that the calendar of church holidays in the migration countries discussed by us does not coincide with orthodox calendar except for Greece. Although majority of Georgian migrants, celebrate these holidays according to the orthodox calendar. If we look at Facebook pages of communities, the migrants congratulate each other on orthodox holidays.

*“Alatasa balatasa,  
I put my hand in a basket,  
Give me one egg  
And you will be blessed by God.  
I had a goat in a color of fog,  
It would go to every place,  
Be quick to give me that egg  
We need to go to other place.  
Easter and Christmas,  
Your daughter in law had a boy.”*

*(Georgian Christmas carol is quoted)*

*P.s Merry Christmas” [Man, Germany, January 6<sup>th</sup>, 2019]*

*Happy St. Barbara's Day [Woman, Greece, December 17<sup>th</sup>]*

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<sup>10</sup> Zerubavel 1981, 71-72

*Alilo, alilo, Christmas is coming, may you be blessed with love and goodness. Let sweet chant come down from the heaven, may you always be blessed by God. (Georgian Christmas carol is quoted) [Woman, Italy, January 6<sup>th</sup>, 2019]*

In some cases Georgian migrants celebrate church holidays according to the local calendar and explain by the fact that they do not want their children to feel distressed. Although they teach their children that these holidays are celebrated in their homeland at different time and in a different manner.

*Of course they celebrate Christmas on 25<sup>th</sup> as well, because they have many friends and I do not want them to feel distressed, but for example we teach them how to celebrate Christmas, Easter spiritually, that they (Germans) celebrate differently. [Woman, Germany, 38 years old]*

Part of Georgian migrants go to orthodox church on Sundays despite the busy schedule they find the church a place to meet often and relax. Although the second-generation migrants, who socialized in the host country mentioned that they celebrate both local and Georgian holidays with the families.

*We have such jobs, that we work all the time, we have only Monday off. Every day I start from 11 and we are at the restaurant till 11 at night (they own a restaurant). Although we go to the church, a Greek or Russian. [Woman, 43 years old, Germany].*



## Conclusion

In conclusion we can assume that the migration is a peculiar condition when cultural, ethnic, gender and other forms of identity are challenged and transformed. The national identity is transformed especially in second-generation migrants. This complex and multifaceted process manifests itself in different ways and depends on various factors. The nature and peculiarities of reconceptualization or defending traditional norms and roles in second-generation Georgian migrants can depend on various factors including host countries, social capital, status, family structure, language, etc.

The memory sites and symbolic realm” play important role in identity transformations among Georgian migrants that live in Germany and USA. Identity is much more complex and liquid in migrants’ case. The identity can be discussed more doing than having it, since it is a result of new social contexts, relations, and system. The same is regarding memory sites, since Georgian emigrants are limited in time, space and finances the memory sites take “liquid” texture. In most cases because of migration memory sites are intangible, than tangible. The intangible heritage that are spread within diasporic organizations or families can be practices, Georgian folk music and dance, Georgian language, cuisine, orthodox churches and even Facebook pages that are especially for concrete host country’s emigrants.

The emigrants share the similar opinion about themselves. They differ emigrants country by country. Emigrants in Germany live legally in host country and try to settle down there, unlike other EU countries; The case of USA is mixed both tendencies of attitudes and lifestyles can be met, some plan to stay in the host country while others are planning to come back to their homeland soon or later.

As for comparing the first and the second-generation migrants, the main difference is language barriers. In first generation migrants case they do not have enough language competences to integrate with local culture, when the second-generation migrants have difficulties to speak Georgian. They prefer to communicate in language of host country than on their native language. At the same time the second generation migrants have bounds to local culture than to Georgian and while asking them about their national identity in most cases they feel local, they try to be integrated than to be isolated keeping their identity. While being born and socialized there the second-generation emigrants share local culture.

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