To answer the above mentioned questions and meet this article's predefined objectives, sociological research data gathered in 2011-2013 will be presented. The data was gathered in the RA village communities that characterize high rates of migration. Structured and in-depth interviews were conducted with the villagers and expert interviews were conducted with village municipality leaders (Mkrtichyan, Shahnazaryan, Sahakyan, Vartikyan & Vermishyan, 2014).

Local mechanisms of reproduction of transnationality in Armenian villages

When discussing the local mechanisms of reproduction of transnationality in Armenian villages, it is essential to observe the micro (everyday) migration (in this case labour migration) strategies and the legitimizing mechanisms of the harmoniously emerged practices. Today in RA villages, according to the research results, only 0.3% of villagers noted "emigration" in the list of urgent problems faces by the village communities. Emigration is observed not as a problem, but as a solution (frequently the only solution) in the context of the absence of other legitimate mechanism for vital issues' regulations. In addition, overseas labour is seen as a legitimate means for problem regulation also at the local administrative level. One of the village municipality leaders makes a typical note to this end, stating that, "Due to the overseas work, 70 % of the village community lives in satisfactory conditions".

Mechanisms for transnational practices' reproduction and the non-formal institutional integration of villagers into transnational structures contribute to the transformation of rural social structures. Moreover, the transnational space in a village is legitimized due to the formation of certain social types (*The Sociology of Georg Simmel,* 1950, p. xxxviii-xxxix). Two such types are especially worth mentioning: social types of the "overseas worker" (Vermishyan, 2013) and the "businessman-employer".

These two types are interrelated and are represented as structural elements of the transnational space. The ratio of these social types regulates inner-village relationships, forming universal practices, strategies, and mechanisms for transnationality reproduction. A specific feature of these social types demonstrated in both national and transnational fields is the contingent position of the migrant: they are "here" and "there" at the same time. One of the municipality leaders uniquely notes, "There are several families that are very poor. I help them more. There are families whose sons have left for the overseas work, they live better, while the ones who live the best life, they already live overseas".

Obviously, by saying "the ones who live the best life, they already live over-seas", the municipality leader does not distinguish these people as "outer people" or "foreigners", instead perceiving them as villagers that are present in village life, sharing the same social space despite being in another physical space. As research shows, the social type of the "overseas worker" has been formed in the RA village as a legitimate social ideal (Frangyan, 1917). Frequently, the village stratification structure and its position in the republic (in line with other villages) is identified referring to this type. For instance, the villagers make such conclusions, "As our villagers frequently leave for the overseas work, our villagers live a better life, than the villagers of other villages". One of the municipality leaders makes this observation, "Even when looking at the municipality leaders you may see who is poor and who is rich. Those whose house is beautiful and well-appointed, he has someone in the family who works overseas. All of these new houses are mostly closed, no one lives there. *They came, built them and leave*."

Again, we make the same observation, that by *coming, building and leaving*, the overseas villagers assure their symbolic presence in the village, contribut-ing to the reproduction of their image and creating evidence of transnational migration practices. Overseas work is observed as a fundamental and justified means for sustaining family well-being that, according to the villagers, "Is useful in terms of being sure that the children are not hungry and go to school" and, "the money that overseas workers sent was spent for repairing the house and for buying property".

In the list of negative consequences of the overseas work, the villagers make very subjective assumptions referring to the notions of "missing" and "worries". The overseas worker has become a constructor of everyday rural life and an agent of transnationality reproduction: the overseas worker is the reproducer of the overseas lifestyle. As a municipality leader notes, "When one [an overseas worker] repairs or buys something, the other sees this and wants the same, hence the number of migrants grows."

In the context of transnational practices, reproduction of the social type of "businessman" and/or "employer" is vital as the social perception of this type in-dicates "someone who helps the villagers by creating the opportunity of overseas work for them".

According to the research results, today migration has become a sound life strategy of villagers, reinforcing the formation of the social distance between the villager and the village and local community, as well as the villager and the state, where the social type of the "businessman-employer" is central. This type as a structure is present in the Armenian rural routine (frequently enrolled in the national politics), but at the same time, it is out of this routine (frequently

"antistate"). This is an origin of a transnational network that integrates local elements from home and host countries.

As a result of the enlargement of the functioning space of the transnational networks, the village frequently stops being an autonomous element and becomes a state subject. As a municipality leader notes "Only *those* people can have an important role in the village life that live overseas and come and leave again once a year." The case of a single village is unique. Based on the description of the municipality leader of this village, "We have a kindergarten, but it is not public, it is private-like, I wanted to make it public, but he [a businessmen-employer, who assures almost all of the villagers have overseas work] did not let me do so. *He said they will "spoil" our children."*

"Not to make the kindergarten public", our children will be "spoiled": these are typical dispositions that are being legitimated in contemporary rural communities (especially in those communities where the migration rates are higher), mediated by the image of the "businessman-employer" that reproduces outer-state mechanisms of living.

It is true that in the context of present day village community reproduction (especially at the micro level), a discussion of the problem of the interrelation and/or contradiction of the national and transnational spaces is vital. In particular, referring to the contemporary understanding of the nation state, the following elements are identified as having much importance: a) geographically local[1] space, b) ethnically homogenous community and c) social institutions as structural spaces of the society functioning within the borders of the nation state. Nation-state space creates the opportunity for its sharers to have their positions in the local space of the state be identical to the local community through ethnic features which are integrated into the inner-state practices and social reproduction. Accordingly, transnational space sharers fulfill their positions within the transnational space, contributing to the reproduction of the transnational space as an independent structural element. In this case, transnationality, in terms of space identification, presupposes a twofold meaning (at home and host countries).

The shift from the nation-state space to the transnational space deepens the devaluation of the strategic meaning of the symbolic ties that exist for groups within the nation state and contributes to the development of outer-state mechanisms for emigration. Transnational fields gain independence by appearing as a space that has a symbolic meaning of transnational reproduction.

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1 Here locality is similar to the socially meaningful physical space. Importance is given to the notion of the place.

Highlighting the importance of the link of the individual with the local state space in the definition of the statehood and nation-state identity, it can be noted that, in contemporary Armenian villages, it is the outer-state dispositions that are reproduced. In particular, based on the research data, in response to the question of "Who is the Armenian?" villagers focused on the importance of ethnic features: genesis, language, surname, but 39.6% did not mention the factor of "being born in Armenia" and 34.5% did not mention the factor of "living in Armenia" (see Table 2). Devaluation of state margins (both geographical and institutional) is an evident tendency of the transnational fields' functioning that is another indicator of the predominance of the transnational symbolic space on the nation-state space.

Table 2.

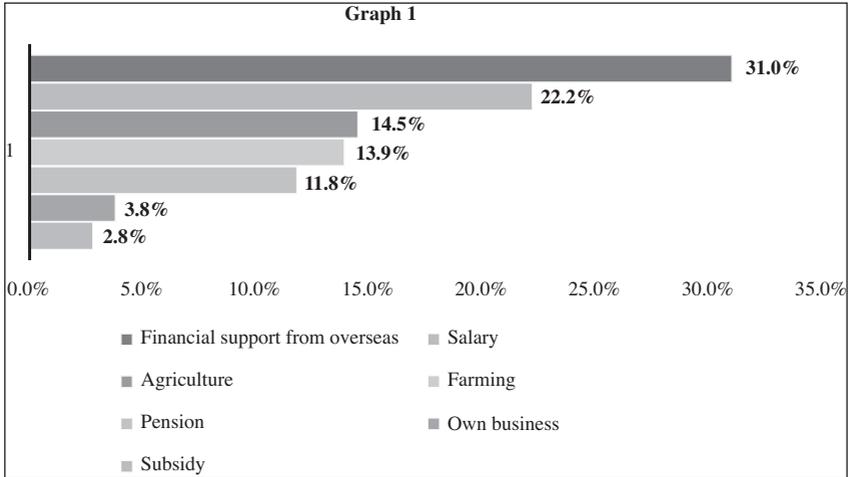|	In your opinion, how important are the following characteristics for being an Armenian.	Very important (%)	Mostly important (%)	Mostly not important (%)	Not important at all (%)	Unsure (%)
1	Being born in Armenia	69.1	21	9.9	**39.6**	0.3
2	To be a follower of the Armenian Apostolic church	38.9	32.1	16.1	11.8	1
3	Parents have to be Armenians	66.2	24.8	6.4	2.1	0.4
4	At least one of the parents has to be Armenian	63.1	27.1	4.7	3.7	1.3
5	Speak Armenian	69.1	23.1	3.9	3.7	0.3
6	Have an Armenian surname	62.4	25.7	9.2	2.4	0.3
7	Be traditional, follow national traditions	52	36	9.2	2.3	0.5
8	Be patriotic	82.5	12	2.1	3.1	0.3
9	To live in Armenia	29.7	18.4	17	**34.5**	0.4

Community solidarity in Armenian villages in the context of transnational practices

The above mentioned observations show that migration flows, specifically labour migration flows, have their influence on inner-state, social, and local structures.

Specifically, transnational fields, which are realized due to the national social space, appear to be economic, political and social capital (re)distribution spaces that have gained symbolic meaning. Local mechanisms of transnationality reproduction contribute to the rethinking of villagers' lifestyles and day-to-day practices. Today in RA, the traditional model of the village is changing, causing the deformation of community solidarity mechanisms.

In fact, in the very process of self-realization, land is considered the most important and tangible capital. The economic meaning of the land is primary, but its social-cultural, symbolic value is also important. In the way land is treated, the village family and community lifestyle is revealed, as well as the origin and content of everyday culture and status-role dissemination. Despite the ignorance of artificial interventions, one of the rare possibilities of preserving a traditional village (as a community-based, value reproducing mechanism) is through the maintenance of traditional village lifestyle (an objective social relations' reproducing mechanism). In this respect, the strengthening of villager (village family) - village (community) relations is made possible through the enhancement of the relationship of villager - land (both objectively and symbolically). On the contrary, the portrait of the contemporary Armenian village is very different when the influences of property and goods valuing is included in the picture (Vermishyan, 2013). As the villagers note throughout the interviews, "People have lost their faith towards the land" and today in the village, "Respected is the one who is rich. Even the children notice this. This is why everyone strives for going overseas already since early childhood, for instance to Russia in order to become rich".

The same problem is revealed in reference to labour migration and the answers to the question of what the main financial source of a villager is. In present day Armenian villages, the main source of financial well-being is money sent by overseas workers (31%), employment (22.2%) and, in only 14.5% of cases, "land" is considered to bring income to the villagers (see graph 1). 13.9% of people claim to have financial income from farming, but farming as one's main occupation has become very rare in the villages that represent higher rates of migration. For example, a municipality leader raises this problem, "We do not have herdsmen and drovers in the village, and this is why we cannot afford domesticating animals. We went and asked the two families of Yazidies [an ethnic minority in Armenia that traditionally has been engaged in husbandry and farming (RA National Minorities Today, 2000)] to come to the village to work as herdsmen and drovers."

Graph 1

Financial support from overseas	31.0%
Salary	22.2%
Agriculture	14.5%
Farming	13.9%
Pension	11.8%
Own business	3.8%
Subsidy	2.8%

0.0%   5.0%   10.0%   15.0%   20.0%   25.0%   30.0%   35.0%

- ■ Financial support from overseas
- ■ Salary
- ■ Agriculture
- ■ Farming
- ■ Pension
- ■ Own business
- ■ Subsidy

Another village municipality leader notes that, "People make short-sighted steps by reducing the number of their *domesticated animals in order to have two more satellites*, etc. And by this they start to live badly and blame others". The reproduction of such dispositions contributes to the development of a new image of the "migrant family," reinforced by the new social type of the "overseas worker". In particular, families that have overseas workers amongst their members have gained a symbolic meaning in the framework of village perceptions. Let us observe several typical observations made by the village municipality leaders:

- "Migrants' families live a comparably better life; they dress well and build good houses, and have a high level of living quality".
- "The families of the migrants are different. They are well-off. Their children learn in higher educational institutions, they dress well, and have cars. Even a man from outside of the village when looking attentively will see who earns a living through overseas work".
- "They are normal families, but their financial problems are resolved".
- "Migrant workers' families are a little different from other families. They do not have depths in the shop".
- "They live a little easier. If they have money, they do not overload themselves with work and do not keep domestic animals".

In the term 'migrant's family', the notion of 'migrant' is central, meaning, as noted above, a person who is "here and there at the same time". In the framework of everyday dispositions, this creates group (family) differentiation mechanisms

wherein the identification space is outside of the village/community: it is where the migrant is. This is presupposed also by objective factors; in particular, the migrants' are male, young and middle aged people that are major decision makers in the village patriarchal community and are active agents in community life. Their physical absence from the village therefore objectively weakens the intensity of the collective community relationships. This process can be so described, "though the quantity of the village population drastically decreases, the number of outer-village communication channels of village families grows that brings to the regression of family similarity/being identical and to the decrease of the group cohesion rates" (Vermishyan, 2013 p. 26).

Conclusion

In this article, based on P. Bourdieu's methodological approaches, an attempt was made to reveal the functional peculiarities of transnational fields in the context of Armenian village communities. Making assumptions based on the above presented sociological observations, it can be assumed that in the condition of the imperfectness and/or absence of targeted state politics today, transnational fields have gained a higher rate of autonomy, affecting the local community structure of villages to the point where the form and content of village relationships in the home country to foster the reproduction of outer-state practices.

In RA villages, emigration is seen as a major mechanism for regulating vital issues. The reproduction of such dispositions is presupposed by the formation of the transnational social types ("overseas worker" and "businessman-employer"). Today in Armenian villages, labour migration has been legitimized as an alternative to the state institutional structures, which contributes to the functionality of outer-state social spaces (transnational networks). As a result, the village as a social (in the administrative sense, nation-state) subject has ceased to exist, while inner-village community practices that reproduce dispositions and strategies related to those dispositions find their roots predominantly in the transnational and the local aspect (within family structures), rather than being based on organized state structures[2]. In this respect, when the social space between the state and the villager grows, the reproductive dispositions and strategies are instead constructed in the family, with outer-village relationships continually redefining the local traditional mechanisms that produce solidarity of community in the village.

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2   P. Bourdieu describes the interrelation of family and state models of social reproduction (Bourdieu, 2007, pp. 109-114).

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Everyday Life and Practices of Armenian Migrants in the Host Countries[1]

The aim of this article is to study the effect of migration on the social and cultural life of migrants. As a preliminary hypothesis, we postulate that when going from one cultural environment to another, migrants do not just take with them the practices characteristic of their native culture but also form new practices or adopt the practices of the host culture, especially those that are necessary for the realization of their goals.

Methodology

It was interesting for us to study the extent to which the migration objective leads to specific migration strategies and tactics and the extent to which these, in turn, lead to changes in the migrant. One of the primary research objectives is then to register the changes that occur in the migrant. The question that arises is as follows: How and where do those changes appear? From the position of cultural anthropology, this question can be answered through a study of the migrant's everyday life. Everyday life can be defined through practices. For this reason, the study of the practices of everyday life is preferred for this research,

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with the assumption that those practices best display both the actions and the transformation of the migrants' underlying senses and perceptions. Therefore, our research focuses on the question of how the everyday practices of migrants change in private and public life. What new discourse arises in the everyday life of the migrant in the cognitive, ethical and esthetic senses? That is, do people's perceptions of truth and how to attain it or their concepts of beauty and ugliness or of good and evil change during the course of migration? If so, how do those perceptions change, and what new practices are formed?

This study was conducted using qualitative research methods. 42 in-depth interviews, two research case studies and participant observations were conducted. Three primary migrant groups are included in the study: seasonal labor migrants; long-term migrants and educational or student migrants. The scientific approaches regarding everyday life and practices used in social studies and anthropology are of key importance from a theoretical point of view. The theory of practices is the main analytical method used in this research to study the cultural changes that take place as a result of migration.

The theoretical premises developed regarding everyday life and practices by P. Bourdieu ((Bourdieu, 1984, 1986, 1992, 1993, 1993a), N. Elias (Elias, 2000), G. Simmel (Simmel, 1971, 1984), E. Goffman (Goffman, 1970, 1974) and M. de Certeau (Certeau, 1984) form the basis for the primary concepts and theoretical approaches used in the study.

From an analytical point of view, the concept of *field,* as defined by P. Bourdieu (Bourdieu, 1984, p. 226-230; Bourdieu, 1993a, p. 38-43; Bourdieu, 1993, p. 72-77), and *cultural capital* (Bourdieu, 1986, p. 47) served as important tools.

Other important terms that are used are the concepts of "strategies" and "tactics" of everyday life, which are used according to the meaning developed by M. de Certeau (Certeau 1984, p. 35-38).

In the given study, one can also often observe the concept of a "practice border", for which the concept of "frame", as defined by E. Goffman (Goffman, 1974, p. 10), is used as a basis.

The theoretical approaches to everyday life and practices served as important tools in the study of the interrelationships and transformations that occur as a result of migration. *In this article, we have tried to discuss the relationship between the migrant and his host society not so much in the context of cultural borders but rather in terms of practices.* Our primary thesis is that the difficult border between cultures softens and becomes easier to breach when the migrant moves the border from the cultural level to the level of practices. For such a transition to occur, a key role is played by the crossing of another border—the border between the cultural identity of the migrant and his individuality.

The issue of borders between the migrant and the host society is one of the most important theoretical issues being discussed currently in the literature. With respect to this issue, particular interesting viewpoints are being developed to delineate the theory of transnationalism. For this study in particular, the discussion of issues related to migrants is important from the perspective of conquering borders between different nations and states (Vertovec, 2009; Al-Ali & Khalid, 2002; Faist, 2000; Levitt & Jaworsky, 2007; Boccagni, 2012). This point of view gained quite a large audience, especially after A. Wimmer and N. Glick-Schiller moved the concept of transnationalism into wider circulation by positing a thesis addressing the ability to overcome firm, national borders (Wimmer & Schiller, 2002). Naturally, this idea found widespread acceptance, though it was also subjected to criticism (Waldinger & Fitzgerald, 2004; Fitzgerald, 2002; Kivitso, 2001).

We have avoided fully adopting the theoretical premises of transnationalism because our focus was on the discussion of conquering borders in a cultural and everyday life context but not between nations in particular.

We were also interested in the transcultural thesis, which proposes transferring the issue of borders to a cultural level and links it to the issue of identity (Ortiz, 1995; Bhabha, 1994; Said, 1990; Rutherford, 1990). However, we have also avoided adopting the theoretical premises of *transculturalism* because the concepts that it encompasses have not yet been completely clarified and did not directly serve the study of the present topic. This construct primarily refers to the concepts of hybrid and multiple identities.

Another approach of interest to us was that of J. Clifford, who interpreted migration as a special type of travel of cultures, as a result of which it is not only a movement of cultures that occurs but also a translation in which the migrant becomes a translator of sorts between his culture and a foreign culture (Clifford 1992, p. 96-116; Clifford, 1997). In this regard, E. Said's theory of travel has also been important through its examination of the issue of the travel of texts through space and time (Said, 1983).

Using the thesis of borders and their conquest, we transferred the discussion of our issue to the level of everyday life. This theoretical approach has allowed us to examine the role of borders and the specific ways in which they are conquered not only when the borders exist between cultures but also when they exist between practices. For research purposes, practices have been grouped into the following types: a) spatial practices, b) time management and leisure practices, c) food practices, d) clothing practices, and e) practices of interaction with the host society as well as public and civic practices.