

## **THE RITE OF MARRIAGE BETWEEN GLOBALIZATION AND GLOCALIZATION. A MASS-MEDIA ANTHROPOLOGY PERSPECTIVE**

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*Abstract:.* Of a venerable age, the concept of rite seduces today by the force with which it traverses time. Whatever its nature, the rite is an instance of social control and is fundamental to the process of remembering. It is either the social bond with the past or the means to enforce to the collective memory recent events that marks the individual or the community life. The article examines the globalization and glocalization extent of the wedding rite of passage from a media anthropology perspective, making a comparison between traditional Romanian village weddings, between the "normal" and the "sensational" wedding. The mass media today "warrants the existence of rites and are part of the social and historical construction of the event" (Pascal Lardellier, 2003, p 136). We used qualitative research (comparative analysis, hermeneutics, arhetypology) to determine: the symbols through which the press reflects changes that have occurred in the rite of marriage, which are the elements that point to the globalization and glocalization in the organization of rite and how does mass media build the symbolic representations associated with rite. The analysis of press articles about the organization of the wedding rite of passage indicates a strong globalization trend of traditional (ancestral) customs but also the re-location of detraditionalised traditions in the context of globalization.

*Keywords:* wedding, rite of passage, globalization, glocalization, media anthropology.

### **Introduction**

At certain points in time, almost every human activity was performed as ritual or was part of a ritual. Although most researchers consider the terms "rite" and "ritual" to be synonymous, Lardellier considers the *ritual* to be a set of texts, especially from tradition, which prescribes rules for performing the rite. The ritual characterizes a symbolic act for its participants and, by extension, for the communities which use it "and is both an infallible social health indicator, of community adhesions to a founding past and to a shared cultural memory and identity" (Pascal Lardellier, 2003, p 29).

Rituals are those activities that are part of a tradition or ritualistic canon, either secular or religious, and whose characteristics are not only multiple but also subject to further accumulation over time. Current research suggests that ritual activities are as "situational" as they are "independent", to use the terms of Jonathan Z. Smith (Catherine Bell, 1997, p. 97) and relate rather to *what is chosen to be done and how it is done* in particular situations than to set / imposed activities or intrinsic principles governing ritual anywhere.

Numerous definitions of ritual reveal in author M. Coman's (2008, p. 47) opinion several constant notes, namely:

- a. **a primordial character of the action** (in relation to verbal messages);
- b. **body involvement and staging** (performing);
- c. **a formalized nature of gestures** (repetitive, standardized, mandatory);
- d. **a traditional dimension** (pre coded, not reflected);

- e. **symbolic efficiency** (with no necessary connection with empirical efficiency);
- f. **social role** (cohesion, reflection, change control, etc.).

In modernity, ritual characteristics accumulate new valences. The transformative capacity translated by Pascal Lardellier through "the contextual dimension" favorable to the instauration of a context that requires a continuous change of frame, the need for reconsolidation of a world in which the transition from *Gemeinschaft* to *Gesellschaft* is visible and radical, the introduction of the concept of situational interaction borrowed from sociology, according to which each of the actors shapes their "ego territory" through "the other's territory" and generates the need to respect the rules, are all instances of characteristics which the modern rites adopt. Viewed from the perspective of *complex and complete contexts of communication* through which the often accidental meeting of protagonists is made possible by individual and social norms, and is based on rituals of interaction, beyond individuals, "such are they unconscious and yet universally respected" (P. Lardellier, 2003, p.43).

Like society as a whole, no rite scheme remains frozen, but changes depending on spatial, temporal or circumstantial contexts. Every culture has added new elements to primordial rites, borrowed either from societies with whom they interacted, or from ideological orientations, on the one hand, on the other, it has also simplified them, as a result of the interaction between the individual and society or because of weakening beliefs.

The collocation "rites of passage" belongs to Arnold van Gennep who grouped all ceremonial sequences "that accompany the transition from one state to another and from one world (cosmic or social) to another" (Arnold van Gennep, 1996, p. 22) in three distinct sections: rites of separation, limit rites and aggregation rites, secondary categories which "are not equally developed in one population or in the same ceremonial assembly" (Arnold van Gennep, 1996, p. 22). As Mihai Coman states, the contribution of Van Gennep is not limited to having identified ritual sequences but "to have stated and proven that their nature and order is required by all means" (M. Coman, 2008, p. 148). Thus, the succession of the three sequences: the separation, the intermediate period and the reintegration implies the subject renouncing an initial state, the symbolic transition to a new framework and the integration in the new statute.

## Methodology

We opted to analyze the marriage rite of passage from the perspective of media anthropology because, on the one hand, it is now widely accepted that individuals depend on the meanings constructed by the media system. Integral part of a complex social systems: groups, institutions, communities, individuals need to relate to the image of the world that media broadcasts *in corpore*. On the other hand, the media as a system tries to assume what a group of scientists meeting in the American Anthropological Association called the *Whole*, that is, the need to integrate in the classical scheme of the journalistic "5W a way of collecting and presenting information" (Mihai Coman, 2003, p. 22) that is intended to "fill the education gap, not through more detail, but from a broader perspective"(Mihai Coman, 2003, p. 22) and which occasioned the emergence of the term *media anthropology*, a field where journalists are "information distributors, able to provide general perspectives on global issues, a way of looking at human activity from multiple points of view and which possess in-depth knowledge about their own and others' culture and morals" (Mihai Coman, 2003, p. 22).

The corpus subjected to qualitative analysis consists of: 7 online newspaper articles chronicling the stages of traditional wedding organizing, 14 articles from *Practic în bucătărie* magazine in which ordinary people discuss, on the section "My wedding menu", the way they organized their or their family members' weddings, 22 articles from *Adevărul* (11) and *Libertatea* (11) which reported on the wedding ceremonies of the "stars" of the moment, dozens of websites offering wedding services. Material selection was made based on the "theoretical sampling" developed by Glaser and Strauss (Mircea Agabrian, 2004, p. 45) according to whom the decisions of gathering and putting together the empirical material are taken during the process of data collecting and interpreting.

### Ritual moments of the wedding. From the traditional wedding to the "sensational" wedding

Using the qualitative method, we analyzed three instances of the wedding reflected in current media: the traditional wedding, belonging to "archaic" societies and presented by ethnologists or the narratives of the elderly, the normal wedding - performed by ordinary people and the sensational wedding organized by VIPs, to which the press dedicates consistent articles.

The analysis found that many ritual moments have disappeared or have been altered through the addition of new elements.

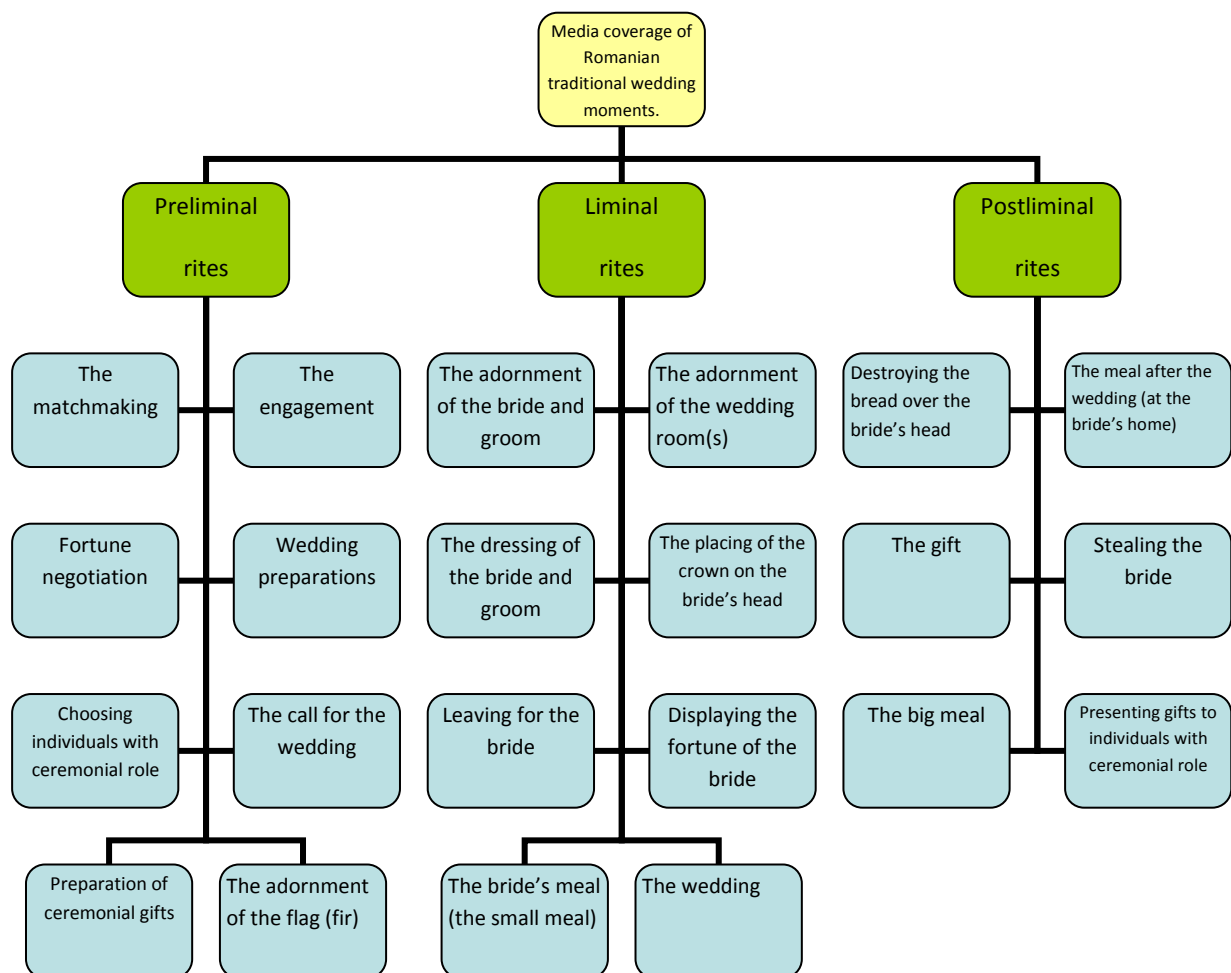


Figure 1. The media coverage of Romanian traditional wedding moments.

Following the series of ceremonial events of the preliminal, liminal and postliminal rites, we found, after analyzing the media articles, that the rites of passage paradigm has changed through many of the elements that have led to a different structure of events on which globalization has made its mark, such that they have become consumer products offered to a society more willing to become homogenous and comply with "mainstream thinking".

Ulrich Beck saw in the term globalization "the most often used and abused, the least defined and, probably, the most misunderstood, spectacular and politically nebulous word of the past and future years" (2003, p. 37). Specialists propose a number of "faces" of globalization, from the economic and technical-scientific to the ecological, cultural, civil and social, etc. Whatever the field in which it manifests, it is clearly visible a unifying tendency of cultural values and symbols, of merging together in an eclectic whole, based on a well-known principle: the self-serving.

Beyond the particulars, taken separately, resides a nucleus, a "globalizing archetype", a set of processes repeated throughout any sphere of activity:

- a. the suppression of space and distances, of duration;
- b. the instantaneity of communication and the interconnectedness of the entire planet (the Internet is considered the "emblem" of globalization);
- c. the homogenization or even the annihilation of oppositional categories such as "inside / outside, here / there, near / far" (Ulrich Beck, 2003, p. 17);
- d. the arbitrariness of spatial-geographical boundaries which lose their meaning in an environment in which their transgression poses no obstacle for the modern man;
- e. the local and national conformism to global actions and practices which will control from now on the entire imaginary map of the routes that must be part of society.

Overall, today's ritual practices are closely interdependent with information and communication sciences (SIC), and often reduced, unfairly, to the word "communication". Companies specializing in organizing events offer through their websites, a whole set of "turnkey" passage rites and benefit from the contribution of the cultural industries, consisting of the multiplication capacity of serial production techniques and which "can be currently classified into three components: *network* industries, *materials* industries, *software* industries" (Ioan Drăgan, 1996, p. 509). These provide individuals performing models for the wedding rite of passage, so that, through imitation, a real fashion of ritual scenarios is created and imbued with elements borrowed from other cultures.

Thus, in the modern version, the matchmaking takes place on a trip or in a balloon. The article "Peșitul, un obicei ținut cu greu în viață/Matchmaking, a hard to keep alive habit" states that "in a special place for both, the boy sits on his knees and ask her to become his wife. Although popular traditions no longer attract them, many young people still want their proposals to be memorable. A well-known formula, taken from American movies, is that in which the partner prepares a romantic diner and makes the ring a «part of the menu». Others prefer to create their own script, a SMS text when she least expects it – or, a more complex one such as a proposal on a beach or in a balloon. [...] Among the most eccentric proposals are those in hot air balloons above the city. «There have been only a few requests for which we issue a certificate which even if it has no validity manages to enchant the couple" (Monika

Krajnik, "Peșitul, un obicei ținut cu greu în viață" in *Adevărul*, 25.08.2010, accessed 10.05.2014).

A custom that recently entered "marriage fashion" is the Western borrowed bachelor's party. Often, when it comes to celebrities, these parties are organized as media "shows". "After ten years of love, Viorel Lis found the courage to ask Oana Ungureanu to be his wife. Thus the former mayor of the capital, which is now at his third marriage, accepted the invitation from host of "Happy Hour" show Cătălin Măruță to a on air bachelor party. [...] Măruță could not help it and prepared many surprises. He offered a basket of celery, a vegetable known as an aphrodisiac and invited two exotic dancers. There was quite a surprise when the former mayor of the capital found one of the covered dancers to be his future wife" („Măruță i-a organizat petrecerea burlacilor lui Viorel Lis” in *Libertatea*, 27.05.2009, <http://www.libertatea.ro/detalii/articol/maruta-i-a-organizat-petrecerea-burlacilor-lui-viorel-lis-241653.html>, accessed 10.05.2014).

The media promotes the custom through articles that offer tips for organizing such events, a duty which is in the responsibility of the best man – for the groom - and in that of the bridesmaid – for the bride. "The bachelorette party is the last chance for the bride to «unleash» herself. Together with her friends, she hopes for a memorable last night as «bachelorette»..." ("Cum să organizezi petrecerea burlacelor", *Ziare.com*, 09.08.2008, <http://www.ziare.com/life-style/intalniri/cum-sa-organizezi-petrecerea-burlacelor-380156>, accessed 11.05.2014).

If once the women, led by the bride, went to church on foot, while the men rode on adorned horses, now their place was taken by limousines, vintage cars or motorcycles: "Dozens of motorcyclists wished to be close to their friend, during the best day of his life ... the wedding day. An avid biker, Ovidiu Bela from Timișoara, could not be separated from his motorbike on his wedding day. So he gathered his friends and went to his future wife's home. The young bride was driven on a special, pink bike. The procession was accompanied on the streets of Timișoara by the sound of full revving engines" ("Nuntă cu motoare turate la maxim, la Timișoara", 11.10.2009, <http://www.tion.ro/stiri/timis/articol/nunta-cu-motoare-turate-la-maxim-la-timisoara/cn/news-20091011-04315013>, accessed 10.05.2014).

If leaving the traditional church the wedding participants used to dance, a recent custom is to release a dove. When it comes to celebrities though ... "a flock of white doves will take flight over the water and hundreds of balloons will dim the sky" ("Irinel și Monica: nuntă pe apă", 10.07.2006, <http://www.libertatea.ro/detalii/articol/irinel-si-monica-nunta-pe-apa-157613.html>, accessed 12.05.2011). Throwing the bouquet - although already a well established ceremonial during the ritual - takes place either after leaving the church or at the end of the wedding but, a "Western loan" allows knights to get their chance to marry – the bride groom removes the bride's garter with his teeth and throws it over the single men. The one who catches it is believed to be the first to arrive in front of the altar.

A custom that finds its way in elitist weddings is that of leaving a gift list in several stores favored by both bride and groom, from which the wedding guests can choose which gifts to buy.

Another spectacular element is the wedding cake in the ritual meal. The cake is usually multileveled, ornate, and is introduced with applause and fireworks. The moment of cutting the cake is a ritual sequence entrenched into the collective mind and in the performing



scheme of the marriage rite. The first mouthful of cake is shared as a sign of starting life together. "The discarding of customs" is also reported in the press, an example being the black cake from TV celebrity Nadine's wedding: "The cake was black, an unusual color for a wedding and was not multileveled" (Petre Dobrescu, "Nadine a avut tort negru la nunta" in *Libertatea*, 07.06.2011, <http://www.libertatea.ro/detalii/articol/foto-nadine-tort-negru-la-nunta-dragos-apostolescu-339264.html>, accessed 12.05.2014).

In the case of celebrities, the press chooses to show only spectacular ritual sequences. By resorting to companies specialized in creating events, celebrities and not only, customize their wedding so as to distinguish it and to promote it to public attention. Themed weddings have become popular in Romania in recent years: "... in Sighișoara, Flavius Buzilă, the singer from Hara band, turned back time and invited his guests to a medieval wedding .... The religious ceremony took place following «new ordinances», in the town hall and the church in Cornești, but the party was held in a 500 years old wine cellar, located in the city of Sighișoara. The bride, Mirela Girea wore a princess gown while the groom wore a knight costume - a frock with metallic elements, a belt and a handmade silk shirt with folk motives. The music was also specific to the medieval period, with tambourine, bagpipes, drums, violins and flutes. The wedding procession was picturesque, with guests wearing medieval garb. Even the musicians were dressed «after the fashion of the time» ("Flavius de la Hara a făcut nunta în stil medieval, la Sighișoara" in *Libertatea*, 19.09.2008, <http://www.libertatea.ro/detalii/articol/flavius-de-la-hara-a-facut-nunta-in-stil-medieval-la-sighisoara-214517.html>, accessed 11.05.2014).

The topics vary, the only obstacle in choosing a unique and original plot is the limit of imagination. The rustic, vintage, exotic, Cuban, *Gangster Retro Style* or *Zen* wedding, have made their way into local wedding "landscape".

"From the church, the guests started towards the MediaPro Studios in Buftea, where a 30's party takes place, with plenty of live music, surprises for guests, jazz, and, to defy the prohibition, a truckload of whiskey hidden from the police. The guest respected the theme of the party, so the ladies wore glamorous outfits, adorned with sequins, feathers and strings of beads, while the gentlemen took their mobster role seriously and wore exquisite costumes and retro hats. [...] Everything was played out like in a gangster movie: guests were led to the plateau where the party was held in vintage cars and they were greeted by a valet and received by pop stars CRBL and Elena. Champagne glasses were replaced with whiskey and cigars. The decors faithfully reproduced the pomp and mystery of events organized by the mafia: walls were covered with black and white photos showing the bride and groom, conserving the air of the era, large mirrors, paintings, antique furniture and posters reminiscent of the prohibition. The biggest attraction was a truck full of barrels of whiskey. [...] The multileveled rectangular cake was decorated with ... marzipan bullets, worthy of the the party that lasted until dawn" ("CRBL a fost Al Capone la nunta sa în stil mafiot", *Pro Tv*, 2.11.2008, <http://www.protv.ro/noutati/crbl-a-fost-al-capone-la-nunta-sa-in-stil-mafiot.html>, accessed 11.05.2014).

A recent trend suggests a different approach to the wedding album: *Trash the dress*. The custom originated in Las Vegas in 2001 in the creations of photographer Michael Cooper. Later, Hollywood stars have taken over the fashion and wedding photos becoming

trendsetters worldwide. In Romania, *trash the dress* was imported about 5 years ago and became increasingly popular.

Because, from a photographic perspective, it is far from being a classic wedding, trash the dress is first of all art, then originality, freedom of expression and imagination. On the contrary, the unconventional marks every detail. Besides the directorial sense and imagination of the professional photographer, some courage is needed to "destroy" the wedding dress. The themes of the wedding can be diverse: from *Bonnie & Clyde* to *Cotton Eye Joe*, *In the Army* or *Times of crisis* (<http://www.studio8mm.ro/photo>).

According to canonical texts it is bad luck if two brides meet before the marriage ceremony. Another urban rumor is that if the bride gets to pass under the Arch of Triumph during her wedding night she will have a lasting and happy marriage. While in the province, stolen brides are taken to the park or to a disco, in Bucharest the Arch of Triumph became a meeting devoted to stolen brides who often "arrange" the theft with the help of discussion forums. Or, the theft can be arranged as part of the of the wedding package...

"On Saturday night, about 20 stolen brides met downtown at the end Kiselev Boulevard, where they had a fiery dance and were photographed by wedding guests and passers by alike. A new trend has emerged in the capital: during the wedding night, brides stolen are taken on the Kiseleff Avenue, under the Arch of Triumph, where they are waiting to be redeemed by their spouses. Although a word of the people says that it is bad luck to see another bride on the wedding day, wives enjoy the more their number is greater. [...] Fashion tends to turn into a custom and brides are firmly convinced that a nightly walk to the Arch of Triumph will bring luck. «I do not know where this tradition started, I really want to look on the Internet, but it is something special and those who kidnapped me knew it. We were about 15-20 brides, we were dancing, we posed to each other, it was very nice», said Ioana Burlan, 29, who hasn't missed her «Arch of Triumph» moment". [...] Even though they do not know where this custom originates, the brides arrange their meeting downtown. They visit specialized websites, where, in addition to various products they buy virtual friendships with other future wives. «I've already set out to meet some other girls on September the 15th under the Arch of Triumph», said Mirela, a bride anxious to be stolen" (Diana Oprea "Mirese sub Arcul de Triumf" in *Adevărul*, 10.09.2007, [http://www.adevarul.ro/actualitate/Mirese-Arcul-Triumf\\_0\\_37197554.html](http://www.adevarul.ro/actualitate/Mirese-Arcul-Triumf_0_37197554.html), accessed 11.05.2014).

Testimonies are small gifts that are given to the guests at various rites of passage, in the "memory" of the event, in order to thank them for their participation. Their origin is in the tradition of French and then Italian aristocracies at the beginning of the thirteenth century when, it was stipulated as a rule of courtesy, that during the rites of passage (baptism, wedding), offering silver or handmade glass jars - and miniature cups full of candies brought luck and were intrinsically linked to the French fascination and tradition of sweets and confectionery (Anaïs Vaugelade, 1997). In England, in 1500 the *sweetmeat box* was highly appreciated – these were boxes of silver or gold with precious stones that contained candy with almonds. Since 1700 this practice has turned into a true wedding keepsake. The materials used were: porcelain, glass or embroidered fabric bags (Anaïs Vaugelade, 1997).

Tradition says that candy has to be of an odd number, usually five, because according to the school of Pythagoras this is the number of marriage, but this is not a mandatory rule. Also, each candy has one meaning: health, wealth, long life, fertility, happiness and every

event uses a different color. At the wedding, it is preferably to use five white chocolates with almonds, meaning prosperity, abundance, fertility and happiness in marriage while the significance of the candy is linked to the purity of the bride. Along with the bag of candy a note with greetings from the bride and broom is added.

In Romania, in the areas where they are offered (center, southeastern area), they are called "testimonials" because they are offered to guests that were present as "witnesses" to a certain ceremony. As testimony are offered any type of souvenirs, accompanied by a note with the name of the couple, from flower pots to jewelry boxes, bottles of wine or porcelain statues, depending on the financial possibilities. If they are valuable, the testimonies are given to each family along with little cookie packages, being placed on the table next to each guest, but can be also offered at the end of the wedding, when the bride salutes the guests. (<http://www.magicmoment.com.ro/marturii.html>).

From the wedding of Ștefan Dimitrie Ferdinand Sturdza with Nina Irina Țăndărică: "the guests did not leave empty handed, but with a gift from the couple. Each guest received a silver box with a family insignia, initials and sugar almonds ("Nuntă-n familia Sturdza - Mare bal în târgul Ieșilor", *Jurnalul*, 12.10.2004, <http://www.jurnalul.ro/special/reportaje/nunta-n-familia-sturdza-mare-bal-in-targul-iesilor-print-59257.html>, accessed 11.05.2014).

Keeping up with fashion is one of the clearest signs of belonging to a group and acceptance of social values of the time. The social group, as an assembly of individuals who accept and imitate the same pattern of behavior tends to align to "fashionable" currents. Fashion is practically an emblem of society. The invention is an individual fact, the imitation a social one and the social always implies a multiplicity of sources...

Although relating to *the other* and to a permanent difference cannot be omitted, the critics of globalization believe that we carry within at least a piece, however small, of a cultural matrix that has had an impact on our personality. We are, in other words, miniature representatives of a cultural whole such that "deterritorialization" is followed, inevitably, by "reterritorialization" so that is very difficult for the concept of "non-place" to establish itself. The organic connections of a culture, but also of an individual with the "local" cannot be broken because, as J. Tomlinson says, it is obvious "that there is a dialectical «localizing» resistance related to a «globalizing» impulse of the capitalism" (John Tomlinson, 2002, p. 127), which implies deterritorialization can not mean "the end of the village, but its transformation into a more complex cultural space" (John Tomlinson, 2002, pp. 210-211).

Adepts of glocalization, probably saturated by the "amalgam" of loans in current customs, some young people choose to organize the wedding according to local tradition. "They did not want to wear the latest fashion from vogue designers, but searched through grandmother's wardrobe and made their popular clothes for the event. «I wanted something authentic, something traditional, so we decided to order these two items». The godparents helped them with the costumes. «It's a special wedding and the idea is very interesting», confesses Alexandra Dragomir, one of the godmothers. The godfather is among the delighted wedding guests: «Our costumes are from Cluj area, because we come from there» [...] It's a shame not to keep the tradition and I'm glad our young people take so much from it. «I liked this idea because it was a more colorful wedding,» says Călina Hândăbuț. [...] The party continued in the same style, guests were invited to the table and dance at a rustic restaurant in Sibiu" (Gabriela Vișan, "Sibiu: S-au legat pentru totdeauna, în straie tradiționale" in *Adevărul*



*de seară*, 19.04.2010, [http://www.adevarul.ro/locale/sibiu/Sibiu-S-au-totdeauna-straie-traditionale\\_0\\_246575397.html](http://www.adevarul.ro/locale/sibiu/Sibiu-S-au-totdeauna-straie-traditionale_0_246575397.html), accessed 12.05.2014).

"The groom and bride and part of the wedding guests were dressed in costumes and went with no limousines or other luxury cars, but on horses and carts. The civil ceremony took place at Sohodol, in a natural setting [...]. We then went to the home of the groom with all the carts and horses, after which the customs of the area were performed: dressing the bride, attaching a flower to the groom, shaving the groom and giving water to the bride. Finally, the wedding party went to church the same way, in wagons and on horseback, for the religious ceremony (Alin Ion, "Târgu-Jiu: Nuntă tradițională în costume populare, cai și căruțe pe Cheile Sohodolului" in *Adevărul de seară*, Târgu Jiu edition, accessed 13.06.2010, <http://www.adevarul.ro/locale/targu-jiu/Targu-Jiu- Galerie Foto- Nunta traditionala in costume populare- cai si carute pe Cheile Sohodolului 0 279572107.html>, accessed in 12.05.2014).

The worldwide flow of information and events, the "borrowing" of elements from other cultures, "the global dilution of cultural heritage " (Adrian Dinu Rachieru, 2003, p. 84) are each assertion that, each in part and all together, store statements in their content with a lower or higher dose of truth and outline, in a way, the likelihood of always expected but never demonstrated cultural mutations.

## Conclusions

The contemporary rites of passage are both the result of thousands of years of tradition and of social innovation. As a proof that the rite now enjoys a broad framework of understanding, we pointed out that in its performing, facilitated by globalization- in which the media and Internet communication plays a capital role, new elements were introduced. Often, in the press, the term wedding ritual has been replaced by the wedding concept, which indicates the entrance of this rite within popular culture via reality-shows which derive their "substance" from it: *Noră pentru mama (Daughter-in-law for mother)*, *Nuntă cu surprize! (Wedding with surprises)* (Kanal D), *Mireasă pentru fiul meu (Bride for my son)* (Antena 1), etc. or online competitions organized by various publications on the topic.

The media today structures the way we perceive and think about the world. It sets behavior patterns and socially desirable lifestyles. In the case of rites one can observe that the intense media coverage of performing patterns tied to the norms and values of high social classes (especially those of VIPs) produces many "innovations" or individually interpreted "loans" which lead to an often confusing multiplicity of principles that govern the whole of ritual practices. The Internet helps maintaining ambiguity and incarnates a globalizing ontology and culture of actuality.

To the critique of globalization we must add the that all cultures, regardless of their size or the impact they had throughout history, have shown an acute clotting tendency of their values, a constant engagement in an effort to survive, to counter influences that can be fatal to their own identity.

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