Marriage as a Sociocultural Rite: Intergenerational Changes

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Abstract

The reported work qualitatively tested a proposed cultural theory model within the context of weddings from two different cultures using case studies as participating participant. The analysis included discussion of cognitive, structural, symbolic, sociocultural, economic and technological perspectives. Similarities and differences were ascertained between Indian and Indo-American wedding. Special attention was paid to aesthetic and symbolic transformations within and across two cultures. The methodology included participating participant approach, interviews with those who attended both weddings and photographic analysis. Findings revealed that the proposed model was supported by this qualitative inquiry. Changes in the forms of dressing patterns, interreligious marriages, expanded rituals, acculturation and impact of globalization were also seen. Intergenerational as well cross-cultural changes were also obvious. The findings and the methodologies from the reported study can be extended to further knowledge with regard to other rites of passage and cultures. The cultural theory model was supported.

1. Introduction

The purpose of the study was to qualitatively examine marriage ritual between two generations within the context of cultural theory and changing practices. Social relationships are the common thread between marriage, culture and fashion. Marriage joins two people or families from similar but different modes of life. Culture joins people through mutually supportive relationships and patterns of living. Fashion is collective phenomenon that joins people through similarity of styles. Cultural theory (adapted from Keesing, 1974; and Nelson, 2005) served as the theoretical model for this investigation (Figure 1). Concept of change is inevitable in fashion (Chowdhary, 2011). Keesing (1974) advocated culture as an adaptive system that is interactional in existence, is founded in faith, and is impacted by technological changes. Nelson (2005) focused his arguments on evolutionary process of cultural change. Horn and Gurel (1981) saw culture as transmittable, transmutable, learned, shared, communicated and cumulative. Two characteristics of being transmutable and cumulative explicitly endorse the built-in change within cultural evolution.

The cultural theory model is a comprehensive model that does not only stress the existence of the six elements but suggests change in one with change in any of the other factor (Figure 1). Consequently, adaptation is an inherent aspect of this model due to inevitability of the change factor that is unavoidable. The cycle starts with a thought that is placed in a structure. Structure then symbolically uses various structures depending on the knowledge, accessibility and need. Symbolic interaction and use occurs within the sociocultural environment that is vulnerable to change that is inevitable any ways. To meet the sociocultural needs economicsecurity is sought through economic means and organizations. Finally, technology helps with enhancing the efficiency of all operations within a culture.

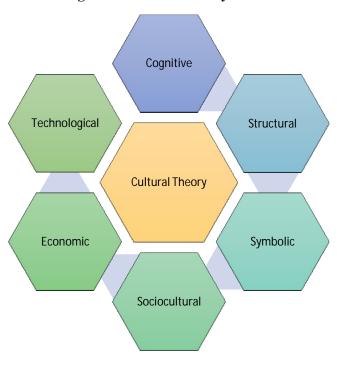


Figure 1: Cultural Theory Model

1. Cognitive

Cognitive thinking is function of processing interaction between and among attention, auditory ability, logic and reasoning capabilities, long term memory, visual handling and working memory. This complex process is refined by the cultural patterns that individual experiences. Thinking process comes from ongoing observations and participation in activities surrounding one's environment.

2. Economic

Economic organizations deal with managing to offer financial welfare and security for individuals in a society. Standing of a community within a geographic location determines one's financial security and its access. Banks, credit unions and other financial lending units are integral part of this cultural aspect.

3. Sociocultural

Sociocultural influences reflect the changes in cultural patterns over time. They draw from financial, geographical, political religious and technological divides in the society. Different sanctions are provided for various groups within the same society. Even in democracies, the rulers are colored by the majority's religion. Minorities are identified to receive special treatments.

4. Structural

Structural aspect of culture refers to the structures around people that bind them with each other through common ways of doing things. Structures exist as social institutions. Some examples of these institutions are economic, educational, political, professional/social and religious organizations. These organizations bind people into function units of society for specific functions that are necessary for survival of people and societies. Banks are examples of economic organizations, schools and universities are examples of educational institutions. Democrats and republicans are examples of political organizations. Various types of clubs represent professional or social organizations. Churches, gurudwaras, mosques, synagogues and temples are examples of religious organizations. These structures teach citizens in an organized manner on way of doing things in various arenas of social life.

5. Symbolic

Symbolic organizations refer to the dynamics of using symbols to make sense out the common signs around people in a given society. For example, use of color can represent marital status, time of the year, rank in society etc.

For example, use of color red by a Hindu bride and use of white by a Christian bride. Use of yellow dragon robe by the Chinese emperor and purple color by the scholars of the court represents hierarchy of power among people in the group. Use of gold, silver, red and green during Christmas time symbolizes season's spirit.

6. Technological

Technological organizations use technology to enhance efficiency in production to distribution activities in any operation of a society or culture. Advanced technology displaces human capital with equipment capital and requires constant training for people to remain up to speed with the ongoing changes. These advance call for change in the mindset of the people because they have to be ready to change at short intervals especially in the developed world. Add Space between two paragraphs

The reported research qualitatively explored the marriage ritual of a family for two generations within the context of the cultural theory model described above. Thompson, Ellis and Wildavasky (1990) stressed that our way of life is nurtured by mutually supportive relationships that are function of biases inherent in culture and patterns of social relations. Human beings seek compatibility between need and outcome that are legitimized within the social relations through symbolic processes. Garrison (2004) identified rites of passage as developmental pathways recognized through separation, transition and incorporation. Marriage is one of the four important rites of passage used by human beings worldwide. Therefore, it was deemed important to examine it from the intergenerational and cross-cultural perspectives.

Two critical questions were raised to follow through with the investigation. The questions are listed below and answered through specific methods in the following section. What is the role of cultural theory model in understanding changes in a rite of passage over time? How can marriage ritual be used to determine similarities and differences between two generations using cultural theory model? Case study approach was used and is depicted by the model below (Figure 2). Add space after question mark between sentences.

Phenomenon (Cultural Theory Model)

2010

Figure 2: Case Study Model

Methods

The reported study tested the proposed cultural theory within the context of cross-cultural and intergenerational wedding using qualitative methods. Qualitative methods consisted of participating participant approach, interviewing those who attended both weddings for validation of observations, and viewing wedding pictures and DVDs. Data collected from the multi-method approach was then used to determine similarities and differences between two events. General description of two weddings is provided below.

Description of Marriage in 1977

Marriage took place between a Hindu and Sikh family on June 26, 1977. Marriage was arranged through friends and relatives. Even though there were religious differences, all rituals were performed based on the beliefs of bride's family. Marriage ceremonies were performed using Hindu rituals. It was performed at home of the bride. Parents were engaged the most and were assisted by their parents, siblings, and other elders of the family. Bride wore traditional sari and accessories (Figure 3). However, the groom wore Western suit with traditional turban and veil (Figure 4). Marriage ceremony started with ritual of meeting and greeting ceremony at late evening. The groom's family and guests were greeted and served drinks and dinner. The event started by exchange of garlands between key relatives from bride and groom side. For example, dad with dad, maternal uncle with maternal uncle, paternal uncle with paternal uncle, brother with brother and brother in law with brother in law exchanged floral garlands. Bride's family gave some monetary gifts to the groom's relatives. The vows were exchanged between the bride and groom in the presence of the priest around 3:00 a.m. Bride and groom exchanged vows around fire. Bride's brothers gave her puffed rice to convey that she has all the needs met in her future life.

The bride shares those with her groom and they collectively offer those in the fire (figure 5). After ceremony is complete, bride's parents giver her away (figure 6). After the and groom in the presence of the priest around 3:00 a.m. Bride and groom exchanged vows around fire. Bride's brothers gave her puffed rice to convey that she has all the needs met in her future life. The bride shares those with her groom and they collectively offer those in the fire (figure 4). After ceremony is complete, bride's parents giver her away (figure 6). After the ceremony is complete, in-laws give clothes and jewelry to the bride to reflect their acceptance. Before departing, the bride throws back cotton seeds to reflect that I am not taking all the luck of the family with me. May you continue to retain your share of luck! When bride leaves in the morning, bride's dad throws coins on the car that is picked by poor kids of band guys. It symbolizes that the money thrown by dad that is picked up by the non-relatives create a bond that the couple be helped by the members of society when parents are not there for the support. Giving away of the bride happened at 4:00 a.m.





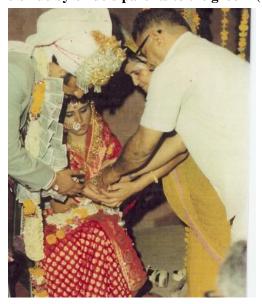
Figure 4: Indian Groom from 1977 (included with permission).



Figure 5: Throwing puffed rice in fire collectively by bride and groom (included with permission).



Figure 6: Giving away of the bride by bride's parents to the groom (included with permission).



The bride was received with pomp and show. Some games were played to help the bride get acquainted with her in-laws. Relatives and friends individually give gifts to the bride. All this is organized to introduce the bride to key people of the family and change the parting environment to the incorporation ritual. This effort helps with reduction of stress and helps with managing of the fear of the unknown that exists in arranged marriage. An arranged marriage is the marriage that is arranged by family and friends and bride and groom do not know each other before marriage.

Description of Marriage in 2010

The marriage was solemnized on August 7, 2010 in Chicago. It was a love marriage where bride and groom did know each other before wedding. Unlike the marriage of 1977, the proposal was initiated by the children rather than parents and/or friends. This marriage was between Indian and Italian descents. The bride was from the Christian Family and the groom was from a Hindu/Sikh family. At this wedding, both Sikh and Christian rituals were observed. First bride and groom were married by the Sikh ritual in from of the holy gospel called the Granth Sahib and then vows were exchanged inn Catholic Christian way. Finally, official registration of bride and groom was done. It was followed by a cocktail and wedding reception. One day prior to the actual wedding, Sangeet (music and dance event) and Mehndi (application of henna on girls' and ladies' hands) ceremony was formally organized. Family and friends from both families attended the event. Attendees dined and danced together.

Food andevents were planned according to the Indian traditions. On the wedding day, eight events were held: Sehra (Groom's Veil) Bandi, Removal of Sehra before the Sikh wedding by sister of the groom, Anand Karah (The Sikh Wedding), light lunch, the Catholic wedding, Wedding registration, cocktail, and reception. Sehrabandi is performed by dressing the groom with turban and a veil. Veil is added to add mystique when groom and bride see each other before exchanging the garlands. Sister removes it before the religious ceremony to signify that he will accept the bride with open mind. The Anand Karaj is performed by the priest in front of the Holy Scripture called the Granth Sahib. The bride wore red lehanga suit and the groom wore traditional dress (Figure 7). All attendees remove their footwear and cover their heads to show modesty and respect for the almighty God. Next, guests were provided light lunch prior to the Christian wedding as courtesy of the bride's family.



Figure 7:Bride and Groom for Sikh Wedding (included with permission).

The Christian wedding was held in the presence of priest, bridesmaids, groomsmen, and guests from both sides. The platform party had all bridesmaids in their dresses, groomsmen in tuxedo, priest, bride in her wedding costume and groom in his tuxedo (figure 8). The backdrop showed cross to symbolize the religious affiliation. Following the wedding, bride, groom and their friends left for picture taking at selected spots in Chicago. It was followed by the cocktail hour and eventually by the dinner reception in an elegantly decorated banquet room with live orchestra and other arrangements necessary for the success of the event. A special arrangement was also made for all night dancing and brunch on the following day. On consummation of the wedding, guest and family left and bride and grooms left for Seattle and Los Angeles respectively.



Figure 8: Bride and Groom for Christian Wedding (included with permission).

Results and Discussion

Marriage as a social institution is the most sustainable one. Even though some of the traditional practices exist, changes in education and technologies along with preponderance of cross-cultural and cross-racial marriages have brought about several changes in the cultures, costumes and dress patterns. The cultural theory model was examined in the context of marriage to analyze it from cognitive, structural, symbolic, sociocultural, economic and technological perspectives (Table 1). As evident from the details in table 1, it was not difficult to apply the cultural theory model to make comparison of intergenerational and cross-cultural wedding in the same family. Despite continuity aspect of the marriage tradition, both similarities and differences were noticed for the six constituents of the cultural theory. Qualitative methods used for this discovery worked effectively. The information was validated by interviewing five key contacts who attended both weddings.

Table 1: Similarities and differences in two weddings

Theory Element	1977 Wedding Event	2010 Wedding Event	
Cognitive:	Similarities	Similarities	
Processing interaction between	1. Acceptance from each other's	1. Acceptance from each other's	
and among attention, auditory	family was important.	family was important.	
ability, logic and reasoning	2. Marriage was seen as social	2. Marriage was seen as social	
capabilities, long term memory,	institution.	institution.	
visual handling and working memory within the context of	3. Prescribed rituals were practiced.	3. Prescribed rituals were practiced.	
cultural patterns and individual	Differences	Differences	
experiences.	Marriage was arranged.	Marriage was semi-arranged.	
Economic:	Similarities	Similarities	
Managing to offer financial	Reflected upper middle class	1. Reflected upper class wedding.	
welfare and security for	wedding.	Differences	
individuals in a society; standing	Differences	1 It was more expensive wedding.	
of individual in a community	1. It was less expensive wedding.	2. Exchange rate of currency	
within a geographic location and	2. Exchange rate of currency was	mattered for the international	
financial access, and role of	not an issue.	travels.	
lending units	3. Cost of living was lower than	3. Cost of living was higher than	
	1977.	1977.	
Sociocultural:	Similarities	Similarities	
Impact offinancial, geographical,	1. Both were big marriages.	1. Both were big marriages.	
political religious and	2. Only Hindu rituals were	2. Both Sikh and Catholic Christian	
technological divides of society.	observed.	rituals were observed.	
, i	3. Public affection was not	3. Public affection was not expected	
	expected to be shown in public.	to be shown in public.	
	4. Marriage was solemnized at	4. Marriage was held in the day	
	night time.	time.	
	5. Both brides threw something	5. Both brides threw something	
	after being given away.	after being given away.	
	6. Vows were exchanged in front	6. Vows were exchanged in front of	
	of the priest.	the priest.	
	7. Friends and relatives travelled	7. Friends and relatives travelled	
	from far and near. 8. The concept of groom's men	from longer distances more so than in 1977.	
	1 &		
	and brides' maids did not exist.	8. The concept of groom's men and brides' maids co-existed in both	
		Sikh and Christian weddings.	
		Sam brides' maids dressed in	
		different attires for both	
		weddings (Saris for the Indian	
		part and dresses for the Western	
		part and dresses for the western	

part). Grooms' men wore kurta (embroidered shirt with side slits) and pajama (Drawstring trousers) for the Indian segment and tuxedos for the Western segment. **Differences** The bride threw cotton seeds **Differences** over her head backward. They The bride threw a bouquet that were expected to be received was expected to becaught by the unmarried girl with the belief that by the bride's family to symbolize that she was not she would be next in line to get taking away all of the fortunes married. of the family. 2. Bride wore red for the Indian 2. The bride wore red outfit that wedding and white for the Christian wedding. symbolizes commitment. Bride and groom left for 3. The bride and groom left for their honeymoon. job destinations. Therefore, postmarriage rituals could not be performed in accordance with Indian customs. Structural: Similarities Similarities Impact of institutions that bind Cultural traditions were Cultural traditions were observed. 1. people together: economic, 2. Family and friends were observed. religious, service, social, and 2. Family and friends were cherished. 3. political. cherished. Religion was honored. 3. Religion was honored. Economic distinctions were self-Economic status was self-4 5. evident. Both marriages were held in large 5. cosmopolitan cities. Both marriages were held in large cosmopolitan cities. Differences **Differences** Marriage rituals were performed Marriage ceremonies were held outside the home premise. High-tech lifestyle was obvious. at home. 2. Simplicity prevailed. Similarities **Symbolic Similarities** Use of symbols to make sense Pre-marriage rituals Pre-marriage rituals were out of life. wereperformed. performed partially due to 2. Both brides wore traditional cultural differences. 2. Both brides wore traditional garments. 3. Groom wore the Western suit. garments. 3. Both grooms had sarbala The groom wore traditional (defender). garment for Sikh wedding and tuxedo for the Christian wedding. Both grooms rode a horse (Figure 9). 4. Both grooms had sarbala (defender). **Differences Differences** Hannah was applied by one of the Hannah experts did not come relative of the bride. home. Family members applied Bride wore lehanga suit. Lehanga 2. Bride wore sari. Sari is five and has voluminous stylish skirt, blouse and long ornate matching half to six yards long and fifty five inches wide. It is draped scarf.Stick on type red dot was

- over fitted blouse and gored skirt. Red dot worn by the bride was created by red paint accompanied by several white dots. Bride wore hanging silver bracelets to represent friendship and relationship to female cousins.
- 3. The groom dressed in the Western suit.
- 4. The concept of groomsmen and bridesmaid did not exist.
- 5. Exchanged garlands were made from marigold and roses for bride and groom. However, they were made from marigold for relatives.
- 6. The groom did not carry the sword.
- 7. All of the attendees had their pictures taken with bride and groom.
- 8. Knot-opening ceremony was performed after bride reached her in-laws house. Both bride and groom untied the knots made on with a raw cotton thread on their bracelets by cousin sisters. In arranged marriages, bride and groom do not know each other. This playful act allows them to get to know each other.
- 9. Money garland was worn by the groom that cousins put around his neck.

- used by the bride. Bride did not wear silver friendship bracelets tied to symbolize remembrance of relationship and friendship.
- 3. The groom wore traditional Sikh outfit for Indian rituals and Tuxedo for the Christian wedding.
- 4. There were bridesmaids and groomsmen for both Indian and Western wedding. Bridesmaids and groomsmen wore Western attire for Christian wedding and Indian attire for the Indian wedding.
- 5. Bride and groom's garlands were made of roses. However, the floral garlands for the relatives were made from carnations.
- 6. The groom held sword in his hand to symbolize the ability to protect his near and dear ones.
- 7. A designated photographer was assigned to take pictures. All guests did not necessarily had pictures taken with the bride and groom.
- 8. Knot ceremony was not performed because the bride did not go to groom's home but left for their respective jobs.
- 9. Money garland was not used.

Technological:

Use of technology to enhance efficiency in production to distribution activities in any operation of a society or culture.

Similarities

- 1. The best available technologies were used.
- 2. Recording Technology was available in the form of albums in black and white pictures. Colored photography was not available. Even videotapes, CDs and DVDs were not available.

Differences

- 1. Train, cars and buses were used for inter-city transportation.
- 3. The memories were saved through oral history tradition

Similarities

- 1. The best available technologies were used.
- 2. Recording technology was fully developed and was available in all forms.

Differences

- Cars and airplanes were used for national and international travels. Bus service was used for local transportation.
- 2. The event was recorded in the form of albums and DVDs.
- 3. Band used was high-tech and had

- and albums in black and white and colored photographs.
- 4. Regular band was used.
- Microphones were not used to 5. communicate or connect with the audience.
- Need for informing all details about the bride and groom was not publicized through electronic transmission.
- far more number of instruments than the 1977 wedding.
- 4. Range of food catering was much larger than the 1977 wedding in terms of formality of service, choice of dishes and other related arrangements.
- 5. Microphone and other communication channels were
- Invitees were apprised of the 6. details of wedding and context ahead of time through website.

Figure 9: Both grooms on the horse (left from 1977 and Right from 2010), included with permission.



Similarities and differences were ascertained between Indian and Indo-American wedding. Costumes of bride and groom as well as bridesmaids and groomsmen were analyzed. Findings revealed that the proposed model was supported by the marriage ritual and apparel as unit of analysis reflected so. Changes in the forms of dressing patterns, inter-religious marriages, expanded rituals, acculturation and impact of globalization were obvious. Cultural theory model was applicable for this case study. Abstracted outcome is provided below. Cognitively, respect for both traditions required cognitive clarity. Structurally, two different social institutions got united through this alliance. Symbolically, clothes, colors and rituals helped cultures to define and distinguish their way of life. Socio-culturally, two different heritages were sustained and blended simultaneously. Economically, international and national similarities and differences were available. Those who travelled internationally were influenced by the exchange values of dollar. Those who travelled from long distances were also impacted economically through increased expenses from both sides. Technologically, use of hi-tech equipment and services was more obvious in 2010 wedding than the 1977 wedding. Colored photography, videotaping, and making of DVDs were not available in 1977.

Those relatives who attended both weddings were asked to comment on the similarities and differences. Their comments were consistent with author's analysis. They are provided in table 2. It was obvious that history, geography, change in economic status, cultural differences, internationalization and westernization impacted the wedding ritual and related activities.

Table 2: Summary of Comments from the Key Informants (Abstracted Version)

#	Comments	
	1977	2010
1.	The wedding was simple.	The wedding was elegant and lavish.
2.	Wedding was intra-cultural.	The wedding was intercultural.
3.	Family and friends were important.	Family and Friends were important.
4.	Atmosphere was informal.	Atmosphere was formal.
5.	Hindu marriage was performed.	Both Sikh and Christian weddings wereperformed.
6.	Dance was limited to wedding procession It extended to sangeet, wedding procession and ladies sangeet (music and danceas well as the reception. ceremony.	
7.	No reception was held.Post-wedding reception was held with pompand show.	
_		

8. The marriage was held at home. The marriage was held in a motel.

The results supported Keesing's (1974) concept of adaptive nature of cultural due to human interaction, faith, and ongoing technological changes. They are also consistent with Nelson's (2005) concept of cultural changes as evolutionary. His four point foundation suggests that these changes are evolutionary for four reasons. First, human beings are interactive and they intelligently make choices. Second, culture is connected through individuals, groups and society. Third that beliefs values and norms are shared by people and they do not develop in vacuum. Fourth, even within a culture, the socio-cultural, technological as well as economic Marriage as a Sociocultural Rite evolution is not identical. Therefore, one should not underestimate the subtle differences. These four reasons also make cultural evolution technically different from the biological evolution. Cultural evolution allows for interaction between individual and its interactions with its social economic and technological environments. The results of the reported study also supported Horn and Gurel's (1981) six characteristics of culture. It was obvious from the analysis that some concepts changed and others stayed the same. This came through for both customs and costumes. Thompson, Ellis and Wildavasky (1990) discussed mutually supporting relationships and Garrison's (1998) concept of using rites of passage as developmental pathways of inclusion, separation and transition. The reported study integrated the concepts and theories of the previous scholars and examined the integrated model within the context of a stable rite of passage that reflects separation, inclusion as well as transition.

Limitations and Implications for the Future

The study has implications for future research that can be extended to examine other rites of passage, historic times, cultures, and settings for both traditional and high-fashion items. Dress can continue to serve as unit of analysis because it is a visual communicator and is testimony of fashion statement at any given time. This marriage between time and style changes serves as an indicator to reflect changing attitudes, sociocultural environment, structures, symbolism, economics and technology. All these aspects could be demonstrated through cultural theory model using cultural practices at the marriage ritual. The reported study was limited to the wedding ritual alone.

The study should be replicated to recognize similarities and differences from the intra-cultural perspective. Such effort can help with enhancing the generalizability of research findings. Other aspects of everyday life could also be understood for inter and intra cultural changes through replication of same methods in different contexts. Comparison of qualitative and quantitative aspects is also a possibility for future research. The self-study approach is a viable way to determine changes over time. It is important to understand that cultural changes addressed through the reported study are not exclusive to the studied context. The world has changed immensely in all aspects in the last thirty-seven years. Even weddings have changed in India. A majority of the people solemnize them in motels or farm houses with unprecedented organization than practiced in 1920s. Some of the cultural changes can be attributed to societal and technological changes that have changed the lifestyles of people worldwide. Despite several possibilities for the future extension of its work, relevance of cultural roots cannot be undermined for rituals because they are the foundation of the values people hold at a given point in time.

If the world culture changes, it definitely impacts the localized cultures based on the intensity and message that reaches those geographical regions over time. After all, culture is how of the process just like history is what and social psychology is why of the matter.

Culture is continually transmitted through oral, visual and written traditions, learned through caring and sharing through various means of communication, changes over time with sociocultural and technological changes, and is cumulative. Cultural forces are synthesized and synergized to keep what is still meaningful and useful, and let go redundant aspects at least for the time being until they need to be re-integrated from the past to the present. Marriage ritual is just one way to examine these cultural characteristics. Other rites of passage, socio-cultural forces, political movements, psychological propensities, social events, and theories can also serve as a basis of analysis or examination.

Even though several questions were answered through the reported study, several questions remained unanswered. 1) How can the results from one family's experiences be applied to other families of same culture? 2} Can the developed model be used across disciplines, events, processes and products? 3) What other rites of passage could be studied using the same methodology and the model? 4) How can the tool for intra-cultural understanding be successfully used for intercultural evolution and changes. 5) How can cross-validation of information be further strengthened in case study approach? Viability of extending the use of methodology and model to determine if it will withstand the test of time, diversity and unity is worth examining for future studies.

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