

Uzbek Weddings: Sociological and Cultural Aspects



Ganieva Marifat, Latipova Nodira, Alekseeva Victoria, Abdukhalilov Abdulla

Abstract— *This article discusses the theoretical and methodological foundations of the influence of national traditions on society. The role of ethnocultural values in the spiritual life of Uzbek society is shown. The authors examined weddings in terms of rituals, and applied the approach of E.Durkheim, A.R.Radcliffe-Brown, C.Levy-Strauss, and E.Lich. The wedding ceremony of the peoples of Central Asia is one of the most complex complexes of traditional household culture. It reflected the social and legal relations, family structure, beliefs, religion. The rite usually connected the features of the distant past, close past. New phenomena were introduced into it with great difficulty, even if the state and religion were interested in changing the rite. The basic structure of the wedding ceremony in Central Asia was the same and included the following stages: matchmaking - wedding - post-wedding ceremonies. The study revealed the main characteristics of ethnocultural values, consisting of traditions, customs, rites and rituals. According to the authors, the practice of holding weddings with Uzbeks indicates that the most common factor is the banal prejudice "so that everything is like people have. People try to have "if not better, then at least at the level of others". The main characteristics of the concepts "wedding", "celebration", "ritual", as well as traditions and customs of the Uzbek people during wedding events are analyzed. Preventive measures to reduce and change the approach of Uzbeks to weddings are considered.*

Keywords: *wedding, celebration, tradition, wedding ritual and ritual, "cousin" marriages, sociocultural standards, family, kitsch culture.*

I. INTRODUCTION

Family and marriage are social institutions to which all people on earth are involved. Each person is included in them in one way or another, or at least has a relation to them. Being

one of the oldest human social formations and an integral part of the daily life of modern people, family and marriage throughout human history have been of interest to thinkers, scientists, researchers.

History shows that, for centuries and centuries, different ethnic groups and nations have been developing their own methods and techniques for transferring elements of their culture to new generations, fixing them in national identity. In this process, rituals and rituals, traditions and customs, as a rule, honed for centuries by filigree and subtlety, occupy an important place.

Ethno cultural values in the spiritual sphere are an inexhaustible intellectual wealth and reserve of modern society. Knowledge of national traditions, the processes of their interaction with the socio-political, socio-economic, ethno cultural aspects of the life of peoples is currently relevant for the country in a democratized society, the formation of a rule of law. In this context, a theoretical and methodological study of interpersonal, interethnic, cultural and civilizational interaction of people seems to be a global problem.

In Uzbekistan, deep reforms are being carried out in all areas. Their goal is to build a democratic state and a just society, where the priority is the implementation of a simple and clear principle - "Human interests above all." At the same time, the country cherishes the traditions of national culture, which is one of the conditions for the continuity of the historical experience of the people, the reconstruction of the moral and ethnic foundations of a national character. At the present stage, the question arose of considering the traditional lifestyle of ethnic communities, which entails the need to develop new national programs that most adequately reflect their cultural characteristics.

The traditions and customs of the Uzbek people have evolved over the centuries. They are very original, vibrant and diverse, dating back to different eras and religions. Ritual culture is one of the fundamental components of folk culture. The growing need for the study of folk culture stimulates the need to comprehend the features and patterns of the development of ritual culture and occupies a leading position in the structure of cultural studies [Aptukhina, Safonova, 2012].

II. RESEARCH METHODOLOGY AND METHODS

The history of the study of rituals goes far into the past. In particular, Confucius believed that the foundation of education should be the study of the traditions and wisdom of the ancestors, because

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* Correspondence Author

Ganieva Marifat*, Doctor of Sociology, Professor, Department of Social Work, National University of Uzbekistan named after Mirzo Ulugbek, Leading Researcher, Center for the Study of Public Opinion "Ijtimoi Fikr" (E-mail: maryelle@mail.ru)

Latipova Nodira, PhD of Sociology, Associate Professor, Head of the Department of Social Work of the National University of Uzbekistan named after Mirzo Ulugbek, senior researcher at the Center for the Study of Public Opinion "Ijtimoi Fikr", (E-mail: nodiraL@mail.ru)

Alekseeva Victoria, Doctor of Philosophy in Sociology (PhD), Associate Professor, Department of Social Work, National University of Uzbekistan named after Mirzo Ulugbek, (E-mail: viv20@yandex.ru)

Abdukhalilov Abdulla, Doctor of Philosophy in Sociological Sciences (PhD), Associate Professor, Department of Social Work, National University of Uzbekistan named after Mirzo Ulugbek, (E-mail: abdu_llo@mail.ru)

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“If a person is courteous, but does not observe rituals, he wastes his energy in vain; if a person is careful, but does not know the customs, his caution becomes timidity; an intelligent person who does not know the rules of behavior becomes reckless, and a straightforward one becomes rude” [Thompson 2002: 217].

According to Herodotus, “If I were to give all the peoples of the world to choose the best customs and manners, then each nation, having carefully examined them, would choose its own. Thus, each nation is convinced that its own customs and lifestyle are in some way the best” [Herodotus 1972: 150].

In tafsirs and hadiths, especially in the works of major theologians of Central Asia, Imam Ismail al-Bukhari, Imam Muslim ibn al-Hajaj, Abu Isa Muhammad At-Termizi and others, along with religious views contain humanistic and ethical ideas regarding education and training, prevention of internecine strife, bloody wars, the establishment of peace on earth. In addition, they pay great attention to family and domestic relations, the culture of communication, charity, the acquisition of knowledge and mastery of the craft, folk traditions and customs, etc. [Ibrahimov 2017: 745].

The study of traditions, customs and rituals is carried out by philosophers, historians, sociologists and other representatives of humanitarian knowledge. Thus, the German philosopher G. Hegel paid much attention to the role and significance of folk customs and rites in the life of society: “The creation created by each generation in the field of nations and spiritual activity is a heritage whose growth is the result of the savings of all previous generations, a sanctuary in which all human generations gratefully and joyfully put it all. what helped them to go the way of life, what they found in the depths of nature and spirit. This inheritance is at the same time both the receipt of an inheritance and the entry into possession of this inheritance. It is the soul of each subsequent generation, its spiritual substance, which has become something familiar, its principles, prejudices and wealth” [Hegel 1997: 64].

Philosophers of the Enlightenment – Russo, Diderot – positively evaluated folk customs, traditions, and rites. Moreover, they are considered, as before, all together, as one whole.

In functionalism, the ritual was considered essentially as a symbol, an expression of social relations. E. Durkheim [Durkheim 1998] developed a detailed classification of rituals, dividing them into negative, or ascetic, and positive. A.R. Radcliffe-Brown [Radcliffe-Brown 2001] developed the concept of ritual value, which he applied to socially significant objects. The symbolism of the ritual has become one of the main themes of the French Structuralism K. Levy-Strauss [K. Levy-Strauss 2001], who considered it as a sign system. E. Lich [E. Lich 2002] considered the ritual as an exit into the sacred sphere, where other space and time act and where the norms of secular, everyday life lose their significance. In ethnology, rituals are considered as behaviors that perform mainly a communicative function, as well as the functions of controlling aggressiveness, group consolidation and the formation of a system of cultural symbols. E. Hoffman [Hoffman 2009], V. Turner [Turner 1983], M. Eliade and other foreign authors also made an important contribution to the study of the ritual. In the writings of M.

Weber (Weber 1984), J. Fraser [Fraser 1983] G. Spencer, E. Taylor [Taylor 1989], the ritual was considered a sociocultural phenomenon.

The analysis of culture from the point of view of traditions, customs and rituals is considered from the point of view of various disciplines of sociology, anthropology, psychology, ethnography.

From a sociological point of view, most researchers consider the ethnocultural components of traditions and rituals. In the works of S.N. Ikonnikova, M.S. Kagan, E.S. Markaryan, Yu.V. Bromley, E.A. Baller, Yu.P. Averkiev, S.A. Arutyunov, L.N. Gumilyov, VB Iordansky V.P. Levkovich, A.P. Sadokhin, M.O. Mnakatsanyan, S. A. Tokarev studied historical and cultural approaches and theoretical and methodological aspects of ethnocultural processes in the traditions and customs of various peoples.

In the context of globalization, cultures of various peoples undergo unification, evoking uniform standards of behavior in everyday life, forming universal human, universal cultures, which are based on integration processes. At the same time, the process of national revival of young independent states, including Uzbekistan, is characterized by the desire to preserve an original culture and uniqueness.

Traditions and customs are rightfully considered the cultural heritage of each country. They are the basis of the life and formation of any nation. These two concepts reflect the habits and foundations of people, their identity and individuality, serve as a memory of the history of their ancestors. Each nation has its own unique story, which is easier to understand, knowing the traditions and customs that have formed since ancient times [Latipova 2016: 108]. According to E.L. Golovleva, “traditions and ceremonies are the most important forms of regulation of the behavior and activities of a person and a collective in traditional culture” [Golovlyova 2009].

Lush celebration, fun and festivities have long accompanied family education. The celebration is symbolic, because along with the subjective assessment of social reality, an objective and socially significant phenomenon occurs - the reproduction of the social structure of society.

Wedding is an ancient tradition expressed in the celebration of a marriage between a man and a woman. The wedding, its quality and scale of organization can now be seen as an indicator of the social prestige of a young couple. Today, not traditions borrowed from ancient times make a wedding socially significant. A wedding, in particular an eastern one, is a long and serious process, which is being prepared for long before the celebration.

A fruitful attempt to study historical strata in a complex set of wedding traditions is the work of N.A. Kislyakov. In "Essays on the history of family and marriage among the peoples of Central Asia and Kazakhstan" [Kislyakov 1969], he established that a traditional wedding consists of two large holidays: engagement engagements (holiday 1) and the wedding itself (holiday 2) of the main holiday, which included religious ceremony of marriage and ending with the move of the newlywed to her husband's house.

He considers the first of them to be “a remnant of a marriage from the era of the mother’s family,” “a remnant of the marriage festival during matrilocal marriage in the era of mother law”.

Holiday 2 (wedding) is genetically a product of another historical era, when patriarchal relations arose and marriage took place only after paying kalym, and the celebration itself was dedicated to the move of the newlywed to her husband's house, as the marriage became patrilocal. With the advent of the second, the first holiday began to persist, turning into an engagement, and the matrilocal settlement of the couple was partially preserved in the custom of "secret" visits by the bridegroom to the bride in the pre-wedding period.

The peoples of Central Asia have several patterns of marriage: long-distance marriages when male marriages to the seventh generation of kinship were forbidden (generic exogamy), and "cousin" marriages between brothers' children sometimes within a large family (family-related endogamy). The former are characteristic of the Kazakhs, Karakalpaks and part of the Kyrgyz people - peoples with a tribal system of social organization. The latter were traditional for Tajiks, Turkmen and Uzbeks. The spread of “cousin” marriages among the Turkmen constitutes a well-known ethnographic mystery, since with the tribal structure of society, this people could be expected to have a generic exogamy. Apparently, the constant wars, relocations, and redistribution of the habitat that accompanied the entire history of the Turkmen people led him to change the essence of the clan and traditional intra-clan relations.

Under various principles of choosing a marriage partner, the form of marriage in the region was the same - the so-called marriage by purchase, when the groom's family had to pay the bridegroom to the bridegroom family, consisting mainly of a certain number of cattle. The bride's side was preparing a dowry, which included clothes and home belongings, and among nomads, usually a yurt. Among the settled population of the lowland regions, Kalym gradually gave way to mahr – the payment that a woman received according to Sharia in case of divorce from her husband. Another form of marriage among the peoples of Central Asia was the so-called “marriage in the cradle,” when parents agreed to marry their young children without a broomstick, as well as abduction marriage.

Among the nomads, the custom of the levirate, when the widow was obliged to marry the brother of the deceased husband, played an important role. This institute was based on economic considerations - the widow's property should have remained within the gens. As a result of a levirate marriage, the difference in the age of the husband and wife could be very large, which became a tragedy for the woman. Along with the custom of the levirate, there was also the custom of Sororat – marrying the sister of a deceased wife, but it was observed more rarely.

In Central Asia, as in all regions where the population professes Islam, polygamy was adopted. However, it is obvious that polygamy as a marriage norm was also common in the pre-Islamic period [Bibikova 2009].

The wedding ceremony of the peoples of Central Asia is one of the most complex complexes of traditional household culture. It reflected the social and legal relations, family structure, beliefs, religion. The rite usually connected the

features of the distant past, close past. New phenomena were introduced into it with great difficulty, even if the state and religion were interested in changing the rite. The basic structure of the wedding ceremony in Central Asia was the same and included the following stages: matchmaking - wedding - post-wedding ceremonies. Moreover, the general regional feature of the marriage ritual was the presence in it of echoes of an ancient matrilocal marriage. This was manifested in the fact that the culmination of the wedding usually occurred at the festivities in the bride's house, and a number of peoples (Kazakhs, Kyrgyz, Karakalpaks) clearly distinguished two stages during these festivities. The first stage included the custom of “secret” premarital dates of the bride and groom, which de jure recognized the customary right to start a marriage. The second stage — the wedding in the bride’s house — repeated many ritual moments of the first (meeting the groom, setting up a wedding dwelling, fighting for the bride, etc.) and continued already in the house of the groom’s father. The custom of premarital visits of the bride and groom was also characteristic of settled peoples. It is significant that the Muslim marriage carried out by the mullah, for the most part, took place in the bride's house.

Until the very beginning of the 20th century, two sharply different parts were still traced in the wedding rite: The Muslim rite “nikah” and the actual wedding, “fun” - a family rite rooted in the distant past.

Wedding celebrations in all ethnic cultures can conditionally be divided into three stages. The first involves the search for the bride, acquaintance, matchmaking, the settlement of legal issues stipulated by the marriage contract. The second - ceremonies associated with the signing of a marriage contract, and festive celebrations. The third is post-nuptial ceremonies, the meaning of which is to introduce the newlywed as a wife. In some regions of the Arab world, the main gifts are presented just after the wedding. Thus, the three-stage marriage ceremony in Arabic culture corresponds to the three-part form of most transitional rites existing in traditional societies [Bibikova 2009].

A wedding rite is a system of traditional symbolic actions that are socially significant and require a certain type of behavior from an individual, group, society that fixes marriage. In it, there are vestiges of archaic forms of customs, beliefs, family and marital relations that developed in various historical eras, and the ethnic specificity of everyday culture of various population groups is clearly manifested. Wedding is a rite accompanying the conclusion of a marriage. The ritual regulated the behavior of certain groups of people, assumed the mandatory implementation of actions aimed at achieving practical goals. The sequence of rites and ceremonies was strictly defined by tradition [Nemirovsky 2010: 344].

The wedding ritual is one of the main traditional rituals that played an important role in the life of the community, inseparable from its natural course, which remain relevant today. Through a ritual, society consolidated the new social statuses of young men and women and imposed certain obligations on them in relation to each other and others.

The term ritual (ritual) is a form of socially sanctioned ordered symbolic behavior; set of regularly performed actions and their established order Ritual - a stereotypical sequence of actions performed in certain circumstances. The ritual, both ancient and modern, is equally symbolic. The participants in the ritual feel that this is a boundary beyond which a qualitatively different life begins, therefore, each such transition is facilitated by a celebration and a sense of rebirth. The ritual allows a person to abandon everyday routine [Encyclopedia of Sociology, 2009].

V.V. Emelyanov gives the following definitions of the ritual:

“A miracle traditionally played out” [Malinovsky 1998].

“Certain established actions that are carried out in order to influence reality are symbolic non-empirical in nature and, as a rule, socially sanctioned”.

The ritual, as defined by V. Fuchs, is a socially regulated, collectively carried out sequence of actions that do not give rise to new objectivity and do not change the situation in the physical sense, but process symbols and lead to a symbolic change in the situation [Emelyanov 2003: 15].

Durkheim, who made an outstanding contribution to the development of the problem of the ritual, the ritual is understood as any action that is symbolic and does not have the nature of practical expediency. He strove to show that the task is only to understand the specific expediency, rationality, and functionality of the ritual, no matter how strange, wild, and irrational it may seem to an outside observer [Durkheim 1998].

The function of rituals, according to Durkheim, is to revitalize collective feelings, strengthen social cohesion; in the process of performing these rituals, people feel that they belong to a social whole, whether it be a clan, tribe or society of a wider scale.

Ritualism is one of the five types of adaptation of individuals identified by Merton to cultural goals and institutional norms developed to achieve them [R. Merton].

Social ritual is a historically established form of non-instinctive, predictable, socially sanctioned, ordered, symbolic behavior in which the method and procedure for performing actions is strictly canonized and cannot be rationally explained in terms of means and goals. Such rituals are necessary for the very possibility of joint collective existence, the predictability of social events, and, therefore, set the conditions for social survival and security. The ritual turns the complex experiences of the individual into a coordinated system of symbols, offers him the image of a simple and orderly world. With their help, the world and human relationships receive their order and interpretation; in rituals they are experienced and constructed. Ritual actions establish a connection between history, present and future; they imply the possibility of continuity and change, structure and community, as well as experience of transition and transcendence.

According to L.I. Antonova and N.A. Tsvetkova, the true ritual has a number of criteria:

The criterion of informative significance, i.e. data related to human experience, with leisure traditions. People take out bread - salt towards the guests or the newlyweds, thereby testifying to their hospitable attitude to them. Children

present flowers to the guests, thereby expressing respect for them.

The criterion of established moral values. Behind folk rituals are universal values - kindness, respect, mercy, etc. This value is not necessary to explain, the ritual proves it with its procedures. The cat or puppy is the first to be allowed into the new apartment so that the living spirit enters the home with the “lesser brothers”. For the holiday they give flowers as a reflection of the beauty of the earth, the beauty of the relationship. On a birthday or holiday give each other presents.

The criterion of expediency is a psychological criterion. The ritual procedures should, firstly, be consistent with the goal, and secondly, be quite reasonable and practically useful. Before a hockey or other sporting event, teams exchange pennants and greetings, and this is an act of respect for the sports opponent, and after the meeting they exchange sports shirts, and this is an act of "discharge", the end of the conditional lists.

The criterion of freedom. The ritual is performed organically when there is no compulsion, when tradition automatically emphasizes its need for a particular business [Antonova, Tsvetkova. 2006: 23].

From a sociological point of view, a ritual is defined as a fundamental element of social life, a universal form of organization and the value-normative regulation of the social order. In society, rituals are actively used in managerial practice, since they have a special effect on the formation and approval of sociocultural standards.

Among rituals, rituals of transitions, in other words, initiations are separately distinguished. The rituals of the transition are divided into three ritual complexes: the ritual of separation, the ritual of displacement, the ritual of reunion. In addition, the wedding rite is divided into elements: pre-wedding (matchmaking, Non Sindirish¹ and the Fatiha Tuy² ritual), actually wedding (Tuy Yuborar³ and wedding) and post-wedding (Kelin Salom⁴).

Uzbek weddings are distinguished by their special scope and many traditional rituals.

When choosing a bride, the following qualities are taken into account: good origin, virginity (for those who are getting married for the first time), commitment to faith, and ability to bear children (which is determined by the number of children among women of her kind). Characteristically, it is formally required to obtain consent from the prospective bride for marriage. However, according to Sharia, “girls declare their consent in silence”, although it is stipulated that they should not cry or run away. The bride’s relatives most often interpret the latter not as a sign of disagreement, but as "unwillingness to part with her family".

Before official registration with the civil registration authorities, the conclusion of a marriage contract takes place in the presence of a mullah, imam or qadi, who must read the prayers in the presence of two witnesses. To conclude a marriage, the bride and groom need to pronounce the marriage formula.

The bride says: "I consider myself your wife according to a certain mahr" ("Zavvadztuka nafsi ala-siddak al-mahluk"), to which the groom replies: "The marriage was accepted" ("Kabiltu at-tazvij"). Usually a marriage is registered by a notary solely engaged in family relationships (mahzun). [Bibikova 2008].

The wedding day itself begins with a festive pilaf for two related families, it is cooked in the groom's house, and then part of the congratulations are sent to the bride's family. Before the ceremony begins, sarpo – national wedding clothes, usually richly decorated and embroidered with gold, are put on the young.

After observing all official formalities for the bride, there comes a moment of farewell to her parents, after which she, accompanied by her friends, goes to the groom's house, where the main celebrations are expected. It is not necessary to think that abandoned parents alone bitterly mourn the deceased daughter, as a rule, they soon join in the wedding festivities.

As soon as the bride crosses the threshold of a new home, in fact, the fun begins. At festive, richly set tables, up to 200-300 guests gather. The noise, laughter, songs and dances - all without which no wedding in the world can do.

The next morning, the young wife will go through another rite - a reception in a new family - "Kelin Salom". Parents and relatives of the groom gather in the yard cleaned by a new sister-in-law and bless her, present rich gifts. The young wife, in turn, bows low to each of those who come. From this day, the daughter-in-law becomes a full member of the new family.

As can be seen from a brief description of wedding events, the most important trends in the traditions and customs of the Uzbek people are to celebrate magnificent and pathos weddings, and at the same time to scold in every possible way the expenses for them, as well as the condemnation of the magnificent events from other people. Many scold lush modern weddings, comparing them to a feast during the plague. But, in the opinion of respected people, weddings are almost the last bastion of the national identity of the people, together with its customs, traditions, blessings and invitations to a huge number of guests whom the young parents seem to take as witnesses, marrying their daughter or wife. Because as if trying to remember today all the smallest nuances of folk traditions.

III. ANALYSIS AND RESULTS

The article uses the results of a sociological study "Family and Morality", conducted since 1998 by the Center for the Study of Public Opinion "Izhtimoiy Fikr", whose goal is to identify sustainable spiritual and moral values of the Uzbek family, factors of family development as a traditional social institution of society. A sociological survey, in which the authors of the article took part, was conducted by the Center "Izhtimoiy Fikr" in 2019 in Tashkent, in the Republic of Karakalpakstan and in all regions of the Republic of Uzbekistan. The main method of data collection is a

questionnaire survey. The total number of respondents is 1100 people, including population of the cities – 585 (53.2%), and 515 (46.8%) rural residents. Sex and age structure: men – 48.7%, women – 50.5%, respondents aged 18-19 years old – 6.4%, 20-24 years old – 16.0%, 25-29 years old – 14.7%, 30-39 years old – 22.3%, 40-49 years old – 17.3%, 50-59 years old – 13.9%, 60 years old and older – 9,5%. The sample is quota, with probabilistic selection of respondents, representing the social and age group by gender, age and education.

The representativeness (reliability) of the study is provided by a scientifically based sample of respondents, which corresponds to the socio-demographic structure of the population of the republic and the regions of the survey.

A comparative analysis of empirical data revealed an increase in the level of interest of residents of Uzbekistan to national traditions, rites, customs and rituals. National traditions are a form of transmitting to new generations elements of a spiritual and moral culture (cumulative human experience, values, relationships, behaviors) and have a high spiritual, moral and educational potential, due to which they can function as a means of spiritual and moral education of youth, which is transmitted through family.

The family as the main institution and the bearer of ethno cultural traditions can be the most important social tool for influencing the processes of social development and changing cultural policy. Exactly, she is who the bearer and custodian of traditional values. One of the indicators of ethnic identity, as revealed by the survey, is a specific ritual associated with religious worship and holidays.

Rites and holidays are an integral part and are one of the main attributes of Islam, without which it is impossible to imagine this religion. To identify the degree of observance of these rites and customs in the family, the respondents were asked the question: "What kind of folk religious rites and rituals are performed in your family?" (Table 1).

Table 1.
What kind of folk religious rites and rituals are performed in your family?

Answer options	%
"Akika" – a celebration associated with the first haircut of a child	8,1
"Sunnat" – a celebration of circumcision of the boy	27,1
"Nikokh" – a ceremony of marriage	31,9
"Khudoyi" – charity religious celebration	32,7
"Iftar" – refreshments on fasting days	33,0
"Janosa" – the funeral rite of the deceased	35,3
All are in progress	97,3

A comparative analysis of the data showed that the number of those participating in all folk rites and events increased (in 2019 - 97.3 %; in 2016 - 74.3 %). Most of the Uzbek people participate in the funeral service for the deceased (35.3%), refreshments during the days of fasting (33.0%), charity religious celebration (32.7%).

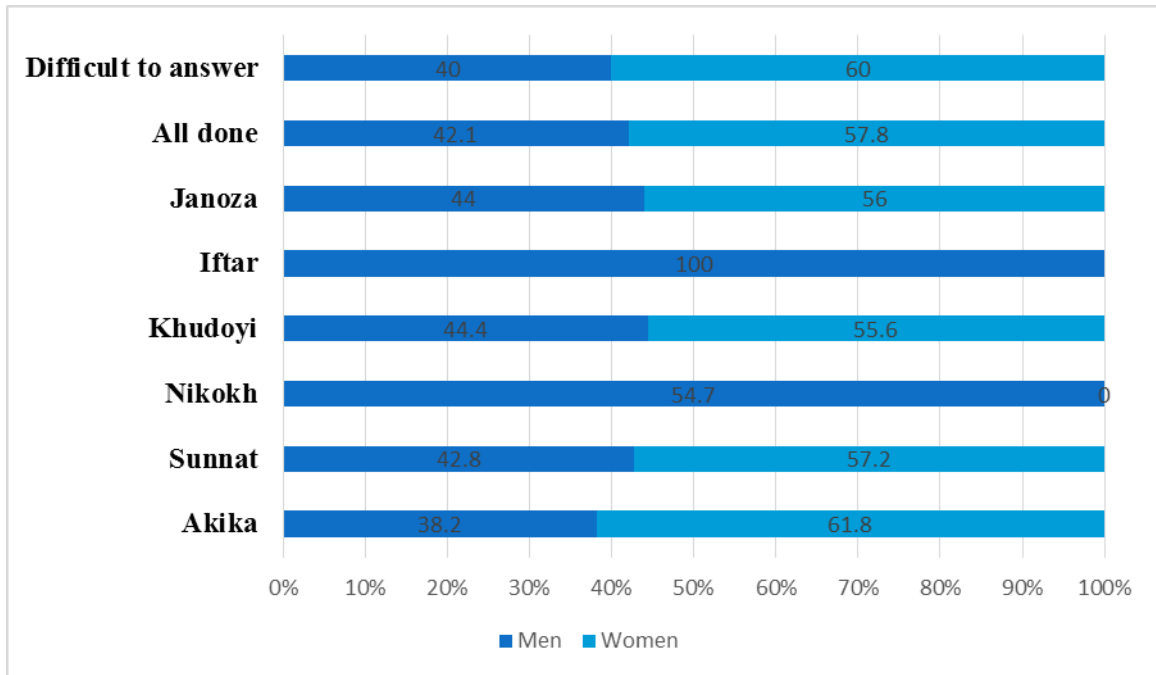


Fig. 1. Religious traditions performed in the family by gender

Every second Uzbek citizen (37.0%) visits the graves of their deceased relatives (parents, brothers, sisters, etc.) "during Muslim holidays" (in 2016, 50.9%), 33.7% of Uzbek people go to the graves regularly (in 2016, 27.5%). At the same time, when it feels the need, 22.3% (12.5% in 2016) of the respondents visit it. The number has decreased, those who take this positively, but don't go to the graves, every thirteenth respondent answered 4.9% (7.6% in 2016) and

2.0% (2.4% in 2016) respondents found it difficult to answer the question.

The following religious customs of commemoration of the deceased are accepted in Uzbek families:

- Three days – 4 0.1%
- Thursday (Paishanba) – 19.6%
- Forty days – 16.0%
- Death Anniversary – 11.7%

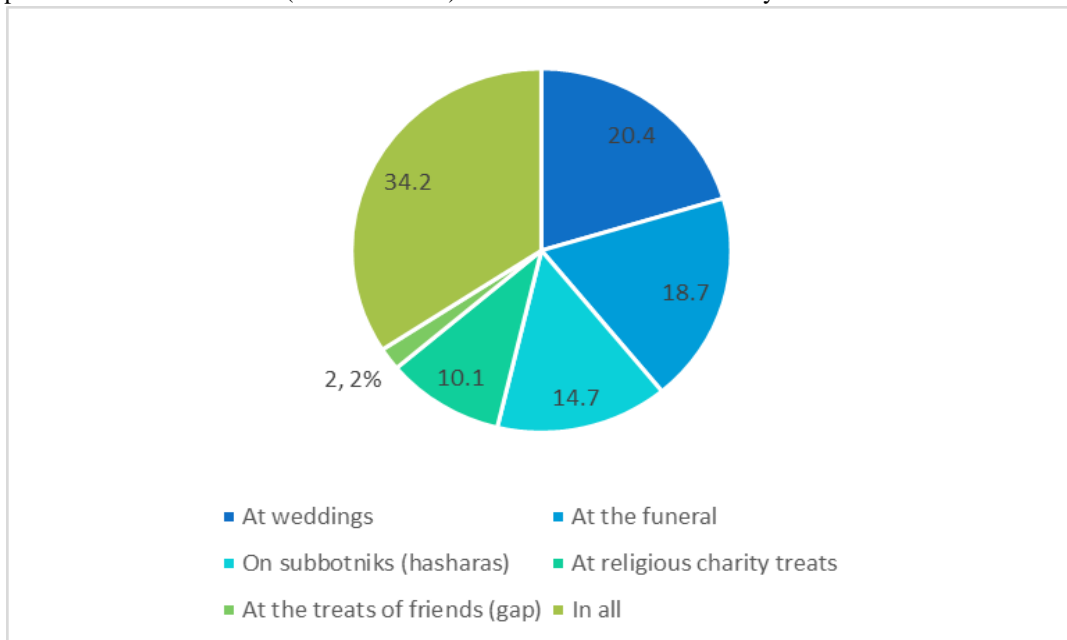


Fig. 2. In what folk rites and events do your family members participate, %

Interviewed respondents participate in 20.4% (in 2016, 31.9%) - at weddings, 18.7% (in 2016, 35.3%) - at funerals, 14.7% (in 2016, 21, 5%) - on community workdays (hashars), 10.1% (in 2016, 14.9%) - on religious charity treats.

Residents of Samarkand and Khorezm regions participate most of all at events, in particular, residents of Samarkand and Khorezm regions (16.2% and 16.0%), and residents of Samarkand region (18.5%), at religious charity refreshments

interviewed by the Khorezm (28.0%) and Samarkand (17.0%) regions. The residents of Samarkand and Khorezm regions (17.1% each) most of all participate in alternate refreshments with friends (girlfriends) and relatives of "gaps".

Most of all events are attended by rural (53.7%) than urban residents (46.3%). Weddings are most popular with the townspeople (56.4%), and the villagers (43.6%). The so-called "gaps" - alternate treats of friends are popular among urban residents (70.7%) than rural (29.3%) residents. Among them, more women (70.7%) than men (29.3%) and 30-39 years old (36.6%). Interviewees of middle age 30-39 year olds attend weddings more (24.7%). Among them, more women (57.3%) than men (42.7%). Accordingly, the older age group of 50-59 year olds (17.5%) and 60 years and older (18.4%) are more involved in religious charity treats.

This fact shows that the Uzbek people perform all the rituals, including in wedding events.

The development of wedding services is proceeding at an accelerated pace, and almost every day innovations appear on the market that can diversify the wedding, make it more colorful and memorable, and also put the bride and groom in a difficult situation of choice when they are subject to the temptations of attractive offers. The existing range of services is diverse. Banquet in the restaurant, the host of the wedding, host, DJs, staging shows (for example, fire shows, light music performances, etc.), professional wedding decor of the restaurant (decorating the banquet hall, restaurant grounds, stairs, bride's ransom apartment with balloons, light fabrics and flower arrangements, etc.), limousine rental, carriage rental with horses, wedding cake making, pair of wedding coins, which are stored for a long married life, and much more is the range. All this leads the young couple to make consumer choices, determine their consumer preferences, some of them form fictitious needs.

The celebration of the wedding is given such great importance, since this holiday simultaneously solves several socially significant problems: the formation of a festive culture, the maintenance of traditions, the structuring of social reality through the separation of household and festival, a significant confirmation of the new status of the couple in the ratings of significant others and the consolidation of this status in social settings and an internalized representation of the bride and groom.

The wedding, among other things, acts as a cultural phenomenon with the features of kitsch culture. Kitsch (German: kitsch - hack, bad taste, "cheap") is one of the earliest standardized manifestations of mass culture, characterized by mass production and status value. Focused on the needs of everyday consciousness [Polyakov. 2012]. If the first manifestations of kitsch were widespread, only in applied art, then as kitsch developed, it began to capture all types of art, including film and television, holidays, including wedding events. The main characteristics of kitsch include simplified presentation of the problems; reliance on stereotypical images, ideas, plots; orientation to the nonprofessional, whose life is boring and monotonous. Kitsch does not pose questions, it contains only answers prepared in advance by clichés, does not cause spiritual quests, psychological discomfort. Currently, it is precisely t-culture that prevails in industrialized countries.

Today, it is already pointless to consider the organization and holding of a wedding celebration only as following (partially or fully) the original Uzbek traditions, or borrowing the experience of foreign ceremonies, since other indicators are significant. Modern society is saturated with the spirit of

competition, rivalry, ostentatious behavior in those areas in which earlier it was considered more like a deviation than a norm. We are talking about the widespread penetration of kitsch culture, which took possession of advertising, art, consumption, fashion.

This is also evidenced by the in-depth interview conducted in 2017 by the magazine "MYDAY". Among the respondents were family and medical psychologist, head of the Children's Development Center, psychologist of the Children's Theater "Tomosha", head of the Event agency "Ranostudio", writer, author of the book "Odatnoma", cultural scientist, sociologist.

According to the sociologist, the practice of holding weddings with Uzbeks indicates that the most common factor is banal prejudice "so that everything is like people have. People try to have "if not better, then at least at the level of others". In addition, this opinion is typical of the majority of the population, despite the fact that the guests who arrived at the wedding in a year will not remember what guests, artists and guests attended.

Today, a 3-4-hour celebration of the "beginning of family life" has turned into a completely wedding industry. The number of brides who are deeply depressed is growing due to a lack of gold gifts, uninvited popular artists, and the inability to purchase a wedding outfit in a prestigious salon. Grooms and their parents are experiencing difficulties due to debts for weddings held at the proper level.

The sociologist is of the opinion that "a unique situation has developed in society - on the one hand, celebrating pathos and magnificent weddings, and on the other hand, scolding them for insane expenses and comparing them with a" feast during the plague. "But with the money spent on a number of wedding events, in modern conditions, you can afford almost everything: go to the sea, and see the sights of other countries, buy the necessary household appliances, a car for your home, and provide your family with separate housing".

The psychologist believes that the most depressing is that "having spent a colossal amount on a grandiose wedding, the young begin a family life with debts. The reason for "pathos" is concern for the condemnation of public opinion; the desire to meet the expectations of the "relatives" of the party is "Kuda-andachilik"⁵, as well as the concept of "Orzu-havas"⁶ inherent in the Uzbek mentality, which can be deciphered as "I liked how others had it and I will realize my dream to make it better".

"As they say, the road is paved with good intentions, we all know where. Traditions lose their relevance and turn into excesses, which are spent on, a lot of valuable time and finance. Here, the mothers of the bride and groom for a dowry must necessarily sew mountains of "kurpachas"⁷ and blankets. It is clear that earlier, due to the lack of transport, the relatives had to stay overnight until the completion of all the wedding events that were celebrated at the groom's house and the "kurpacha" laid it for the guests. Now almost all events are held in restaurants and cafes. However, the mountains of "kurpacha" and blankets still occupy a considerable place in the rooms of the bride and groom. In the modern world, unfortunately,

the material and economic status of partners comes to the fore. This explains the forms of distortions of traditions and ceremonies of wedding celebration: large amounts of kalym, customs to make the bride a huge dowry, gifts to relatives.”

The head of the agency for the provision of wedding services claims that “there are many young advisers around who “untwist ”them for unnecessary actions and expenses. And, unfortunately, not always the wishes of those entering into marriage coincide with the possibilities. It is important to prioritize than to save on yourself for the sake of false ambitions. By the way, the Western experience of attracting professionals to organize a wedding is a great opportunity to properly approach the event and avoid unnecessary expenses.”

According to the founder of the event agency, we need to pay tribute to our roots and hold a wedding celebration in accordance with folk traditions. However, most importantly, at the same time, observe measure and balance. To make everything harmonious. The best option to respect the older generation and remember the roots is to conduct the wedding itself in accordance with folk traditions. The expert advises couples to conduct the “Kelin Salom” ceremony (greeting the bride), which takes only 15 minutes at the wedding event itself. Let 400 people see a beautiful theatrical action better than a small handful of interested people who did not get enough sleep will gather the next morning.

A cultural scientist claims, “In the 20th century in Uzbekistan, and generally throughout the post-Soviet space, the struggle was waged periodically against traditions, as with “relics of the past”. Those who participated in national ceremonies were declared nationalists, and strict measures were taken against them. Only in the 90s began the rehabilitation of all traditions and customs.

Moreover, today, it so happened that for friends and relatives it often comes as a surprise when someone builds their marriage differently from others. Yes, let everyone remember themselves and their reaction, if you suddenly find out that your friend lives without a wedding - we condemn the topic of the beginning of his life together. Alternatively, another case when we blame a person who took off his last shirt to give his child “worthy”, to make him happy. We still measure happiness with material values. But the whole paradox of the phenomenon of the Uzbek wedding is that we will shout until we turn blue about the reduction in the cost of the wedding, but when we marry our children, we will try to do it no worse, or even better than others”.

One of the main factors in favor of holding a grand celebration is an important argument in the desire to pay tribute to traditions and customs. Not to accept a guest or to accept him badly, not following the traditions, meant disgracing the family, village, clan. The custom prescribed to provide hospitality even to the enemy. No wonder the old adage said: "Hospitality is above courage." Nowadays, the laws of hospitality during weddings have become wasteful and unnecessary traditions.

No less important factor is the phenomenon of public opinion. From time immemorial, public opinion has been valued in the East and has been an important lever in the regulation and management of social processes. As the sociologist M. Bekmuradov notes: “The statesmen and thinkers of Turkestan considered public opinion not only as a

social result of their domestic and foreign policy, but also as a lever for regulating and managing social processes” [Bekmuradov 2004: 18]. Not to be worse than the wedding of others - neighbors, relatives, friends and just acquaintances. The main thing for those who conduct the wedding is to preserve the banal prejudice "so that everything is like people", that is, adhere to the standard scenario.

Before the day of registration, you have to decide: "magnificent" or "not magnificent." If the meaning of marriage for the owners of the wedding is to show off before the people, to be noted in front of relatives, then the wedding turns into a demonstration of their capabilities.

The study showed that most Uzbeks are of the opinion that "we are obliged to observe the customs of our ancestors." Let us dwell on some statements of the Uzbek people. “A wedding is the main celebration in a person’s life. Therefore, I want to hold it like no other event. ” “Once we live!” “A wedding should be a real holiday for everyone.” “After all, a new cell of society is being born, as it was said before! This event! You will never gather so many guests all together, if not at weddings. ” "This is an occasion to enter society, make new friends." “If you want, you don’t want, but if everyone is trying to get married around, you won’t do the same!” After all, then the children will not forgive, they will say: what kind of parents I have, they could not do one wedding for me. ”

The positive thing is that parents prepare their children for an independent life, helping them to acquire a home, furnishings, clothes, etc. Another positive aspect is the role in the preparation of close relatives (aunts, uncles, brothers, sisters, nephews, etc.). They not only help financially, but also actively participate from the beginning to the end of wedding ceremonies, in every possible way supporting the "culprits" of the celebration. The participation of neighbors is also very important in the preparation process. Very often, they take on the preparation of the “Torah” and are actively involved in pre-wedding and subsequent chores. Often it depends on the neighbors how the wedding will be held. In this regard, in every family, children from an early age are brought up in a spirit of respect for relatives, friends and neighbors, learn to consider the opinions of others and take part in their concerns.

Nevertheless, the indisputable fact is that the Uzbek wedding events are colorful and filled with happy moments for the young.

Family traditions and customs are an integral attribute of family happiness and prosperity. Many traditions pass from generation to generation, completely perceived by the young family of modern society.

To identify attitudes towards wedding events of residents of the city of Tashkent, a sociological survey was conducted on the theme “Weddings in Uzbekistan” in 2017 and 2019. With the involvement of various population groups by the method of online survey in Tashkent. Interviewed 90 people.

The survey revealed that 68.5% and 73% (2017 and 2019) of the respondents, respectively, consider that observing and conducting all the “wedding stages” is a whim of the older generation of the family.

For 63.5%, 80% of those surveyed do not care about the opinions of others about the organization and level of the wedding. 52.9% and 59% of respondents believe that the "last word" in organizing and conducting a wedding should be with the young.

Respondents indicated that they are easily ready to refuse such events as: "Callar" – 85.2% and 90.0%, "Sabzi Tugrar" – 80.3% and 100%, "Kiz Oshi" – 77.6% and 55.0%, "Tui Keldy" – 75.8% and 45.0%, "Ok Urar" – 67.3% and 67.0%, "Kelin Salom" – 64.5% and 70.0%.

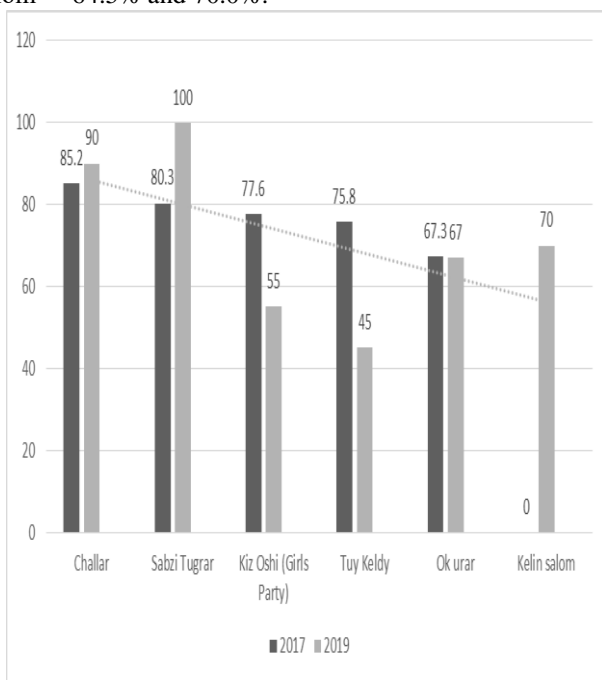


Fig. 3 Activities that respondents are ready to refuse

Of all the wedding events, the majority of respondents voted for the honeymoon 65.5% and 60.0% and 56.4% and 70.0% of those polled for Nikokh-tui, i.e. the wedding. With a huge margin in third place is the engagement ceremony "Fotih" - 17.0% and 15.7%.

The vast majority (97.9% and 98%) of respondents believe that the high cost of a wedding does not guarantee a strong and prosperous family. There is no connection between marriage and family life. The rate of young divorces is proof of this. For the period January-December 2019, the civil registry authorities. Republic of Uzbekistan 104.2 thousand marriages were registered, 769 divorces were registered. This indicator increased by 131 cases compared to the previous year.

According to the studies of the Oil Center and the Women's Committee of Uzbekistan, it became known that about 48% of divorces occurred due to constant scandals. The main reasons for the divorces were: 16% - because the young people did not live together, 9% - because of childlessness, 6% - because of infidelity and 2% - because one of the spouses suffered from alcohol dependence [Tashmukhamedova, Karimova, Mavlonov, 2019: 99]. The peak of wedding activity was in 2013 - 304.9 thousand, and divorces in 1991 - 33.3 thousand.

85.5% and 90.0% of those surveyed against gifts for relatives who cook, along with a dowry for young people, 69.4% and 70.4% would save on inviting pop stars.

62% and 70.0% of the respondent indicate a reduction in the cost of tuples. Limit the number of cars in the wedding procession. On many television channels, the issue of the need to abandon the large number and quality of cars in the wedding procession is increasingly being raised. Tuples are a serious obstacle to automobile traffic, and sometimes for the safety of Uzbeks - a large number of road accidents were recorded annually, triggered by wedding processions. Surveys conducted among university students and their parents showed that 65% and 75.9% of respondents desire a long wedding procession does not coincide with the possibilities. 90% and 93.5% of future brides indicated that it was not the quantity and brands of cars in the motorcade that were important to them, but that wedding ceremonies did not create difficulties for the new family.

According to sociologists, some of the innovations from European traditions that wedding organizers offer are unacceptable in our region, in particular, such as throwing a bouquet or garter. In many circles, there is controversy, the so-called "love story" demonstrated at weddings, as well as the dance of the bride and groom. Half of the respondents (50.0% and 60.0%) indicated their reluctance to spend money on an exclusive script, dance group and the video "Love Story".

As can be seen from the analysis of the sociological research of 2017 and 2019, it is clear that the number of people wishing to reduce the cost of wedding events has increased. According to the respondents, in the city of Namangan it is advisable to exclude such events as the bride's meeting with her father, the reception of the groom in the bride's house after the wedding, the arrival of the groom and friends before the wedding in the bride's house, where 40-70 people become participants in the celebrations. [Tashmukhamedova, Karimova, Mavlonov, 2019: 92].

What can be changed in the Uzbek approach to weddings?

Raise "national consciousness and national thinking" in relation to reductions in wedding expenses.

The first attempt to stop wastefulness at weddings was made back in the late 90s. State and public figures of the country opposed pomp, excessive wastefulness in holding weddings, family celebrations, funeral rites, events dedicated to the memory of the deceased, neglect of folk customs and traditions, panache, neglect of the needs of people around them, characterizing them as survivals of the past.

However, at that time this did not give the expected results, and in 2009, deputies from the Party "Milliy Tiklanish" (National Rebirth) also joined in the problem of squandering at weddings. Later, in 2012, the Tashkent administration issued a decision that approved the rules for weddings, family celebrations, memorial and other events in wedding halls, restaurants and cafes of the capital.

Today, head of state Sh.M.Mirziyoyev spoke out against luxurious weddings and magnificent celebrations. During a meeting with representatives of the creative intelligentsia in August 2019, the president criticized the holding of lavish weddings in the country and called on all residents of Uzbekistan to moderate the cost of weddings.

On September 14, 2019, at a joint meeting of the Senate and the Legislative Chamber of Uzbekistan, the Regulation “On the Procedure for Wedding, Family, Anniversary Celebrations, Family Memorial Rites and Events Commemorating the Dead” was approved. On the same day, the document was approved at the 22nd plenary meeting of the Senate. The new order comes into force on January 1, 2020.

The parliamentarians noted that in recent years, in spite of the measures taken, various negative events and vices such as vanity, a desire to show oneself, a neglect of the social situation of other people, excessive wastefulness, and ignoring the traditions and customs of the people have been encountered in various events.

Indeed, to organize a wedding for a large number of guests, Uzbeks often go into debt, conflict over money with close relatives and become labor migrants, being unable to earn the required amount in their homeland.

In accordance with the provisions of the Family events should be held only one day (except for the funeral) between 06:00 and 23:00. After 23:00 the continuation of family activities is not allowed. Family events are attended by up to 200 people. In adjacent wedding celebrations can take part up to 250 people, in related culinary ceremonies – up to 300 people.

The funeral and mourning rites can be held for no more than three days with the participation of an unlimited number of citizens, with the exception of the ceremonies of pilaf cooking.

When conducting family events, the following requirements must be observed:

- Persons conducting wedding events must inform citizens of the place of residence at least one week before the events;
- No more than three cars for family events related to the arrival and departure of the bride for the wedding;
- Do not undermine the stability of the socio-spiritual environment in the mahallas, strictly observe the ethical standards that have developed in society.

Shows that are alien to national traditions, contrary to the rules of morality and ethics, additional customs before, during and after family celebrations that require extra time and expenses for a dinner party in honor of a married daughter, preparation and slicing carrots for tomorrow's pilaf, a bachelorette party, are not allowed reception of the groom and the bride on the part of the parents of the bride, parents of the groom or parents of the bride, sending numerous basins from the parents of the groom to the bride's house and vice versa, etc. Rites should be unified according to uniform standards, not dependent on the social status of the family.

IV. CONCLUSION

Weddings and family celebrations as important factors reflecting the culture, spiritual level of the people play an important role in public life, are part of the traditions of the people of Uzbekistan. Despite this, the listed activities in recent years are characterized by excess, waste and other negative phenomena.

This circumstance is connected with the existing stable stereotypes of the majority of the population who traditionally believe that a large number of guests is an indicator of generosity, respect for the customs and traditions

of the people. Meanwhile, such “customs” and “traditions” lead to excessive wastefulness, neglect of the needs of people around them and, ultimately, to deepening the social stratification of people.

As a result, it turns out that families spend huge funds, often not corresponding to their incomes, in order to comply with established traditions. Holding a wedding celebration on credit leads to the fact that families pay for many years. The most acute problem is holding unjustifiably magnificent weddings and funerals in traditional societies, where, along with religious norms, local customs are also strong.

Given the current circumstances, during the discussion of this important issue for the country, representatives of the academic community and the public, supporting the need to streamline weddings, family celebrations, family funeral ceremonies, suggested:

- to form a respectful attitude of the people towards national customs and traditions, spirituality, culture, maintaining public order, protecting the rights of citizens, preventing pomposity, squandering during family events;
- the introduction of restrictions on the holding of wedding events, to prevent the transformation of weddings into kitsch;
- establish a ban on the conduct of various related events that adversely affect the national traditions of the people, requiring extra waste, time and money;
- to study international experience in holding wedding and other events;
- to form public opinion through the media about the need for a civilized relationship in similar events, to discuss with famous figures of culture, science and the public about the history and forms of celebrations in the country of the West and the East.

At the same time, taking into account the multinational composition of the country, do not establish bans on national customs and traditions, forms of weddings, various related events taking into account the sociocultural tradition of representatives of all nationalities living in Uzbekistan.

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