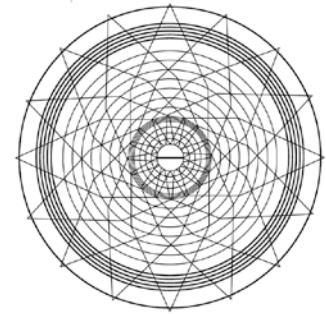


## [Scientific Articles]

Chumakova V.

*The digital bride: clichés in the post-Soviet  
Russian wedding photography*



**УДК: 7.041 + 392.51**

# THE DIGITAL BRIDE: CLICHÉS IN THE POST-SOVIET RUSSIAN WEDDING PHOTOGRAPHY

### **Chumakova V.**

PhD in Cultural Studies, teacher at Department of Media,  
Faculty of Communication, Media and Design, Research  
Associate at Media Research Lab of the Centre of Fundamental  
Studies

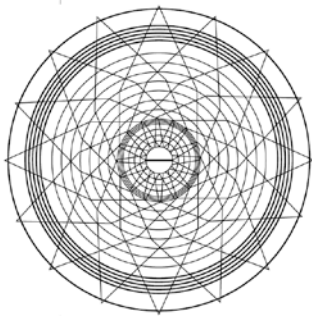
[vchumakova@hse.ru](mailto:vchumakova@hse.ru)

### **Abstract:**

This paper is dedicated to the phenomenon of wedding photo sessions in Post-Soviet Russia and it is based on Marshall McLuhan's conception of the clichés which circulate in popular culture. The paper investigates the clichés typical to the wedding photography developed between the mid 2000s and the mid 2010s when the middle-class culture in Russia began to stand out. According to McLuhan, clichés refer us to various archetypes, on the one hand, and create a bricolage, or in other words some new construction, on other hand. Wedding photography illustrates the manner in which the clichés taken from the glamour culture, the fashion photography of the 20th century and from mass movies participate in the creation of images of brides and grooms. The article seeks to embed these images in the context of the transformation of the family institution and of the role of marriage in contemporary Russia.

**Ключевые слова:** photography, weddings, wedding photography, family institution, clichés, archetypes, glamour culture, middle class, luxury consumption

Marriage is considered to be one of the most important social institutions related to procreation. For a long time family has been the primary unit of society and participated in the economic and political life as an organic whole. Social transformations all over the world lead to changes in the meaning of marriage. Post-Soviet Russia is not an exception to this process. Both global and particular Russian factors influence the role of the family in society and in relation to the attitudes to marriage. The main subject of this paper is constituted by the actual trends pertaining to the manner in which the image of weddings is constructed. Traditionally, the image of weddings includes the symbols of a status change (beginning and legitimising sexual relationships, cohabitation and parenthood) which ultimately lead to the integration into a large family. Nevertheless, traditional meanings are no longer



## [Scientific Articles]

Chumakova V.

*The digital bride: clichés in the post-Soviet Russian wedding photography*

predominant in Post-Soviet Russia, and there is no answer as to what new meanings are formulated by the people who have moved on from the traditional meanings. What new trends appeared in the construction of wedding images? Are there any meanings in these images?

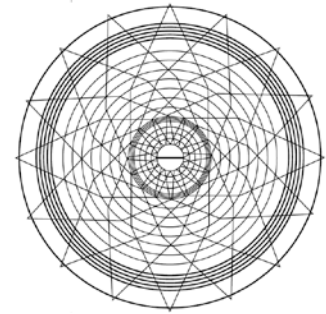
Russian comedy movie “Gor’ko” (“Kiss”) which was released in fall 2013, addressed the problem of constructing a virtual identity by adopting the glamour culture in Russia. The story is set in the south region of Russia. The main protagonists, Nataly and Roman, are a young couple who are going to get married. Their parents uphold the traditional values of marriage and wish to organise the wedding in traditional way with a fluffy white dress, an opulent wedding reception in a restaurant, a lot of alcohol, “tamada” (Russian name for toast-master), inviting parents’ friends as guests etc. However, the bride wants the wedding to be in the style of the fairy-tale “The Little Mermaid” which is interpreted based on the clichés from popular western romantic films and glamour photography. The wedding ceremony ought to be on the seashore, where the bride dressed in the costume of the mermaid is waiting for the groom who will be sailing a boat from the horizon at sunset. The plot conflict was solved by the couple in a very specific way, and on the wedding day everything went wrong. At the end the bride understood that it was a bad idea to celebrate the wedding in a manner inspired by western glamour. The glamour is associated with Moscow in the film, for Moscow is told to be the main source of glamour inspiration for other parts of Russia. The symbol of opposition to Moscow and glamour is the pop-song “Nataly, utoli moi pechali” (“Nataly, soothe my sorrows”), which Nataly sings along with her mother and mother-in-law. In the beginning of the film, Nataly refused to sing it in the karaoke as a present for her guests, but after experiencing a process of catharsis she sings it together with other women in her new family. The mermaid is only occasionally the central image in this movie. According to Hans Christian Andersen, the little mermaid wanted to construct a new identity of an earthly woman. It was not possible for her because of her nature but she sacrificed her voice – her real personal identity - in exchange for human legs – virtual identity. The mix of various clichés used in contemporary wedding photography in Russia endorses this attempt to construct a virtual identity despite portraying the real personal identity.

In the book “The Mechanical Bride: Folklore of Industrial Man”, which inspired the title of this paper, Herbert Marshall McLuhan conducted an analysis of the social myths represented in the popular “mechanical agencies” of the middle part of the 20th century (McLuhan, 2002). The representation of women was fragmented and objectified in the media culture of that time. More than half of century passed since McLuhan published his findings, yet glamour culture still exists, and new media, such as digital photography, use it. Wedding photography is one of such users, which construct the images of new families on the basis of different clichés taken from the cultural heritage of the 20th and 21st centuries.

## [Scientific Articles]

Chumakova V.

*The digital bride: clichés in the post-Soviet  
Russian wedding photography*



### THE BRIEF OUTLINE OF DEVELOPMENT OF WEDDING PHOTOGRAPHY IN RUSSIA

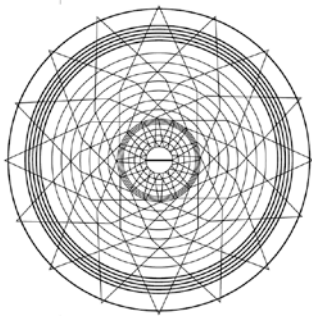
Photography has various functions in culture. One of the most widely acknowledged functions thereof assumes creating an image of the social group. As Susan Sontag wrote in her essays "On Photography": "Memorializing the achievements of individuals considered as members of families (as well as of other groups) is the earliest popular use of photography. For at least a century, the wedding photograph has been as much a part of the ceremony as the prescribed verbal formulas. Cameras go with family life" (Sontag, 1977). Pierre Bourdieu distinguished this "family" function of photography and depicted it in detail. Photography is not just a copy of reality, but rather the practice of using photography during ceremonies such as weddings helps the social group involved in the ceremony to experience a union with one other (Bourdieu, 1998). This function of wedding photography is connected with the traditional meanings of marriage, because a change of status means that two persons create a new social unit and are integrated into the big social group of their extended family.

Wedding photography appeared in Russia in the 19th century and did not fundamentally differ from the wedding photography on a global scale. This included staging group photos of all family members with the couple in the centre, staging photos of the couple etc. The main peculiarity of Russian culture reflected at the level of wedding photography is the dualism thereof. The opposition between "high" culture and folk culture was very strong. "High" culture was very ascetic and spiritual, whereas folk culture was very material and free from many prohibitions (Kon, 1997). The family photography of aristocrats often included symbols of the "high" culture such as musical instruments etc., whereas folk people appeared in wedding photos dressed in national costumes (Chistyakova, 2012).

The establishment of the USSR changed the institution of marriage, suppressed wedding celebrations and moved it out of the church. According to the decree "About civil marriage, children and acts of civil status accounting" (18(31).12.1917), marriage was considered to be committed "in offices of wedlock and birth registration at town, district, uyezdz or volost council".

Igor Kon identifies 4 stages in the "complicated and contradictory process" of sexual transformation in the USSR usually referred to as the "Soviet sexual experiment": 1917-1930; 1930-1956; 1956-1986; 1986- end of the 20th century (Kon, 1997). In the first two periods of this sexual experiment, the separation of the wedding from the traditional family values was facilitated. Wedding appeared to constitute a ceremony of integration into the Soviet society, and of building a new unit responsible for the future. Nonetheless, after the Second World War and Stalin's death, the family values reverted back to the home media environment of the Soviet people, and the complicated process of adapting the idea of family to the Soviet ideology is shown in wedding photography.

In 1917-1930 traditional marriage and "family life were disorganized; the institute of marriage and the sexual morale based on it were weakened" (Kon, 1997). The decree



## [Scientific Articles]

Chumakova V.

*The digital bride: clichés in the post-Soviet Russian wedding photography*

secularised weddings and removed the sexual suppression of the church. The usual practice of weddings in churches appeared to be an anomaly and this change constricted the private sphere of life. The NEP period provided hopes for the return of family celebrations connected with religion, but this did ultimately not happen (Lebina, 1999).

In “Man with a movie camera” (1929) by Dziga Vertov one can see a typical marriage of that period. It is committed in the registry office and only requires two signatures and the bride’s glance with a shy smile; there are no relatives or friends, no festive attires, no flowers – and no photographers. The position of the man with the movie camera is that of an ethnographer, not a provider of a common service. Some marriages of that period are said to be committed just during a lunch break. The traditional form of weddings which include celebration did not however disappear, particularly in the rural area and in national republics, but it became socially undesirable in terms of ideology. Individual values were not appreciated and this was represented in the wedding ceremony.

In 1930-1956 “totalitarianism provided policy of strengthening marriage and family with command-administrative methods and total control over the individual” (Kon, 1997). “Soviet marriage” meant “another brick in the wall” in terms of future building. Photo cameras were not common among the folk people of that period, and the service provided by wedding photographers was not popular, but one can find the wedding photos of that period in different photo-essays or reportages about the life of working class completed by professional reporters.

A return to the individual values occurred in the social construction of reality after recovering from the Second World War and Stalin’s death. In 1956 -1986 totalitarianism changed to authoritarianism and the “command-administrative policy of marriage protection” changed to “morale-administrative” (Kon, 1997).

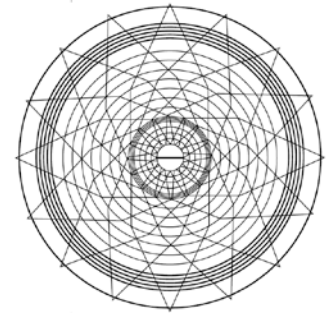
The celebration of events such as New Year’s Eve, birthdays and weddings returned to the life of Soviet citizens (Kozlova, 1999, Lebina, Chistyakov, 2003). Weddings with guests, “wedding breakfast” etc. appeared to be socially acceptable again. From then wedding photography gradually became more popular and registry offices began to provide this service. It thus resembled the return of the traditional meaning of marriage, but not without changes.

The typical images of Soviet wedding ceremonies are significantly represented in photos from the registry office captured according to a conventional cliché. Practically every Russian family has such photos: betrothed close-up picture or mirror in the registry office hall, more often than not with a bouquet of flowers; groom puts his signature to formal note; bride puts her signature to formal note; betrothed vouchers put their signatures to formal note; groom puts ring on the bride’s finger; bride puts ring on the groom’s finger; all ceremony guests together in the registry office hall or lined in a row in front of it (or a few rows according to the number of guests) with the betrothed in the centre; groom holds the bride in his arms in the front of the registry office, they look at each other and sometimes kiss each other.

## [Scientific Articles]

Chumakova V.

*The digital bride: clichés in the post-Soviet Russian wedding photography*



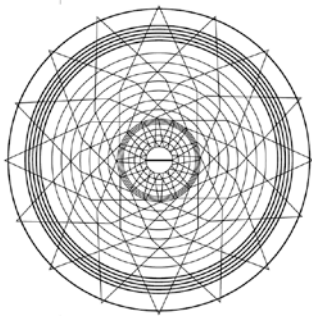
The registry office is a symbol of the state, of its intervention into private life, and of its intention to regulate intimacies. The process of providing signatures is a sign of subordination, of the integration into the hierarchical relations referred to as “power-lieges”. The concepts of “family” and “ideology” were combined in the practices of wedding photography of that period.

The collapse of the USSR extensively influenced the media environment which was roughly transformed in the 1990s. Russia was flooded with media images from the outside of the country. Post-Soviet Russia experienced the splash of media images which mostly came from the western culture. A significant part of these images was connected with a new understanding of love, sexual relationships, and marriage. Various images of love, sexuality and weddings appeared and were gradually combined at the level of the media environment at that time.

Due to “perestroika” and the collapse of the USSR, the social and ideological control over sexuality lessened from 1987 to the end of the 20th century. “Sex came out from the underground” (Kon, 1997). At the same time wedding ceremonies became more sweeping and more expensive. The number of weddings in churches increased. The concept of “family” was separated from “ideology”, and although on the one hand the institution of marriage lost some of its value, on the other hand the family values which are in opposition to society (or even the state) became more prominent. The practices of photographing individual or family status increased, and the luxury consumption was highly represented in photography, as well as in wedding photography.

In the beginning of the 21st century new and modern traditions of wedding celebrations continued to develop in Russia. The digitalisation of photography and the social transformation led to an increase in the number of wedding photographers in Post-Soviet Russia. The economic and politic “stability” boosted the appearance of the middle class in Russia. This middle class was oriented towards the western glamour culture and actively used images from this culture in order to build its identity. Media, photography and video started to be actively used in wedding ceremonies. The weddings of the mid 2000s and mid 2010s were magnified by media extensions – photo stories of the couple’s life before marriage, wedding photo sessions as special events, photo albums, video clips etc.

Wedding photography is a very popular service among the members of the middle class in Post-Soviet Russia. Practically every wedding agency provides this service and a vast number of individual wedding photographers exist. There are even such weddings in which the photo session is considered to be one of the most important elements. Images constructed in such wedding photo sessions usually include not only the reportage but also the staging of the photos which are prepared by the couple and the photographer. A special requisite is used for them and various things are introduced in the frame of the photograph. These prepared photos represent the quintessence of the popular wedding images in Post-Soviet Russia. Furthermore, the Russian middle class of the 2000s and mid 2010s endorsed new practices of taking



## [Scientific Articles]

Chumakova V.

*The digital bride: clichés in the post-Soviet Russian wedding photography*

wedding photos. Studying the clichés used in them can help us to gain a better understanding thereof.

The costs of wedding photographers were comparable with the costs of other wedding “creative” services, and some couples even took loans in order to employ wedding photographers for their weddings. The search for professional photography services in Moscow shows that wedding photography has its own market and that the demand on this market is driven not only by the social functions of photography connected with family union, but also by a demonstration behaviour (Evstratova 2013). Sidney C.H. Cheung conducted a research on the wedding photography in Hong-Kong and concluded that wedding photos construct an ideal image of marriage (Cheung, 2006). Chinese couples try to construct their ideal images with the help of wedding photography. It is very common in the Chinese culture the context of which media is considered to be used in a utilitarian manner. As Susan Sontag wrote in “On photography”, the Chinese understanding of photography differs from the western understanding thereof (Sontag, 1977). Western people had more time to familiarise themselves with photography as an instrument for the construction of reality, but the totalitarian regime in China distracted people from the diversity of functions attributed to photography. And what happens in Russia, which is neither the West nor China?

### DATA AND METHOD

#### Methodological Frame

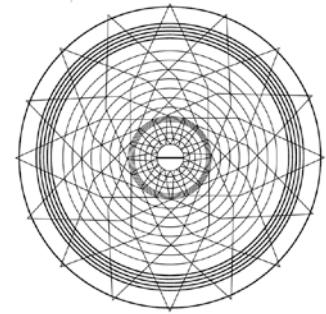
The reality that one can find in photography is constructed by both the photographer and his object, particularly in portraits. Some photographers think they capture an objective reality, but this is an erroneous perception (Sontag, 1977). Some people think their true nature is shown in photography, but this too constitutes a misbelief. Photography was born from the aspiration to fix the real world on the basis of some material medium but very soon its manipulative power was discovered. Neither authors nor photography itself seek to frame real objects (Barthes, 1981). Photography constructs another world consisting of ideals, desires, and “generalized others”. New media including digital photography participates in the formation of “generalized others” (Meyrowitz, 2004), in other words of images of people, whose values, norms, conducts are acceptable for individuals. The construction of personal and social identity is one of the basic functions of photography; photography is also used as an instrument of virtual uniting a social group (Nurkova, 2006).

From Marshall McLuhan’s perspective, the media environment is constructed on the basis of the various clichés which relate to archetypes (McLuhan, Watson, 1971). New media reorganises images from the past and produces a of allusions and references to cultural texts. Contemporary wedding photography is a very good example of such a bricolage and could be studied through this optic. The optic of looking for clichés in

## [Scientific Articles]

Chumakova V.

*The digital bride: clichés in the post-Soviet  
Russian wedding photography*



wedding photography considers the two main ways in which these clichés are used, namely personal identity and group identity.

### **Data Collection**

The empirical research is based on the analysis of photographic material devoted to weddings. The data was collected from the Russian Language Internet (Runet) because it is considered to be a reliable source due to the high propagation thereof among people of marital age with middle and high incomes living in big cities in Russia. These people are considered to be the main mediums facilitating the changes in the meaning of marriage. Furthermore the Internet provides an opportunity to store and publish a large number of photos at minimal costs and thus it is used by most wedding photographers nowadays.

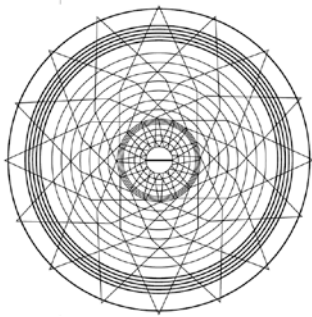
The primary data source is the website of the network project “MyWed” (<http://www.mywed.ru>) which unites wedding photographers in Russia and connects the Russian-speaking residents from other Post-Soviet countries. The main professional union of wedding photographers in Russia, namely the All-Russian Public Association of wedding photographers merged with “MyWed” in 2011 and it is the largest database and community of wedding photographers in the Russian-oriented Post-Soviet space. In the fall of 2013 a vast range of portfolios of 23,182 photographers from Russia, Belorussia, Ukraine and some other Post-Soviet countries were made available to the public. The average hits per day on this site were around 22000. “MyWed” is a service where one can find a photographer for every price and taste. The content represents wedding photography in the Post-Soviet space. “MyWed” has a specific forum section for photo sessions which is different from the photographers’ portfolios where the best individual photos are introduced.

The unit of analysis was the wedding photo session. A wedding photo session is a series of photos captured on the wedding day. It is important to analyse a series of photos rather than individual photos because of the nature of photography. It is not a pictorial art creating a new space; it is a medium fixing time, and thus it is better perceived as continuous. Wedding photo sessions are narrations about marriages and this paper looks for the common elements of different narrations.

100 published wedding photo sessions were included in the analysis. The first filter was geographical: all photo sessions were conducted in Russia. The second filter was the number of photos. Photo sessions with a number of photos below 20 were excluded. The average number of photos in 1 photo session was around 40, thus the whole empirical base for this frequency analysis is constituted by approximately 4000 photos. The description of relevant sources is provided in appendix#1. These sources represent most Russian cities with a population of over 1 million people.

### **Clichés**

The main aim of the empirical part of the research was to identify clichés in wedding photo sessions. Firstly, they were divided into a few groups according to the visual



## [Scientific Articles]

Chumakova V.

*The digital bride: clichés in the post-Soviet Russian wedding photography*

methods employed and place in the wedding narrative: the bride's preparation; wedding artefacts; requisite; landscape views; body parts; funny group photos; romantic scenes. In order to illustrate the popularity of these groups of clichés, I decided to investigate the frequency thereof based on 100 wedding photo sessions. The results are introduced in Figure#1.

Secondly, all these groups have their typical clichés which could be seen in the manner in which the image is constructed. These clichés are described and interpreted using McLuhan's idea of cliché and archetype.

### RESULTS

#### **The Bride Preparation: Clichés of Celebrity**

Nowadays a wedding photo narrative usually begins with the preparations for the wedding day. Photos are usually captured in the bride's home or in the hotel where bride spent the night before the wedding. Sometimes one can see photos from a beauty salon. Traditionally the preparation of bride was perceived as a sacral moment. It was not private life, but it was part of a sacramental ritual. The bride was going to discard her old status as a girl in order to be born as a woman. Only close relatives and female friends surrounded her during the preparation for the wedding ceremony. In the Soviet period the sacral meaning of the wedding preparation was reduced, but the private sphere of life was not of a great importance. Such private rituals, such as preparing for the wedding, were not perceived as significant or important enough to be memorised. In contemporary wedding photography this private moment of preparing for the wedding, putting on the dress and so on gradually gains more significance.

The first cliché in the bride's preparation is that the background of such photos is usually prepared in order to be photographed. There is nothing unnecessary in the rooms where the brides are dressed and made up. An ideal and sterile order characterises such rooms; there is nothing to indicate some other actions in such rooms. Every extra detail is considered to symbolise something connected with love, romantic relationships or with the process of preparing for the wedding itself. The wedding dress is usually exhibited as the background of the bride's preparation. This cliché retrieves the image of fashion photography which presents models preparing for fashion events or invokes images from design magazines. IKEA interiors or interiors from luxury magazines are shown in these photos.

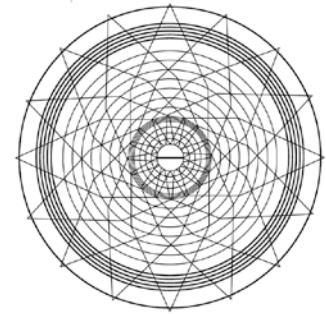
The second cliché is the reportage which depicts the process of arranging the hairstyle, applying makeup and putting on the wedding clothes – dress, stockings, shoes, bridal veil or diadem. Other participants – hired visagiste, hairdresser etc. or closest relatives and friends assume this role. They usually do not pose for the photographer; they are busy with their job. It resembles the image of a fashion model



## [Scientific Articles]

Chumakova V.

*The digital bride: clichés in the post-Soviet  
Russian wedding photography*



who is preparing for the fashion show or the celebrity who is going to play in a movie. Such images are wide spread in Russian TV programmes, magazines etc. about fashion and celebrity lives, and they are retrieved as clichés in order to construct the wedding image.

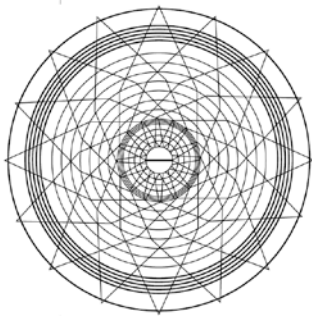
The third cliché is that the photos of the bride's preparation usually show how the image of the bride is constructed step-by-step. They reflect the successive stages thereof. These stages are also usually indicated with parts of the whole identity of the bride. Besides the reportage photos, parts of body, things which are going to be put on etc. are used as the central objects in the frame of the wedding photography. The items worn by the bride are usually shown very luxurious; they tell the viewer of the photos that a lot of conspicuous products were consumed during the wedding. The quintessence of such identity is the photo in which the participant of the event is himself showing the elements of his image construction.

Finally the clichés pertaining to the notion of sexual objects can be found in some photos from this group. Sometimes the image of the sex appears in the bride's preparation in the form of erotic photography. The bride reveals herself as a sexual object as part of the preparation for the marriage. She is passive, subordinated to the viewer and usually shows nude parts of her body or her underwear. The sexual objectification of women has a long-standing "tradition" in photography, and in wedding photo sessions, sexual objectification is retrieved from this corpus of visual texts.

### **Wedding Artefacts and Body Parts: Clichés of Luxury Goods**

Wedding photography in Post-Soviet Russia is characterised by the emergence of a new genre – wedding still life. It is introduced by photos of different inanimate objects connected with weddings. The clichés of presenting inanimate objects were touched upon in the previous paragraph. Firstly, there are the inanimate objects which participate in the bride and groom image construction in contemporary wedding photography. The "wedding" identity is shown in the photos of the wedding dress or shoes, bride's bouquet etc. These things are usually exhibited with close-ups being in the centre of the photo and by retrieving the images from fashion magazines and advertisements for luxury goods.

Secondly, photos of various artefacts of the official wedding ceremony as a ritual of transition from one status to another (wedding rings, wedding certificate and even some religious items) are also exhibited as goods. These symbols of the transitional ritual and particularly religious symbols which are usually exhibited with the help of the cliché of luxury goods in the advertisements from fashion magazines show the changes affecting the marriage institution. People turn actual rituals into symbolic consumption. Thirdly, not accidently food, drinks, flowers, and decorated dishes are also photographed in great detail using close-ups.



## [Scientific Articles]

Chumakova V.

*The digital bride: clichés in the post-Soviet Russian wedding photography*

Besides, a photo collage is often used for framing a few wedding still life photos and/or portrait photos. A photo collage containing portrait photos and photos of inanimate objects facilitates the cliché promoted by fashion magazines.

Photos of the newlyweds' hands with rings have become the traditional form of representing the transition from one status to another in Post-Soviet Russia (Boytsova, 2009). The fragmentation of the body is very similar to the clichés related to the luxury goods advertisements. Parts of body are used in the advertisement and create the "mechanical bride", as McLuhan depicted it – the image of a woman which is constructed with the fragments of different people. "The walk, the legs, the body, the hips, the look, the lips. Did she fall off a wall? Call all the king's horses and men" (McLuhan, 1951).

### **Requisite: Clichés of Unreal Worlds**

There is a group of inanimate objects which are specially prepared only in order to be photographed in the wedding photo session and these things are usually a clear manifestation of clichés. Wedding photo sessions use a lot of requisites. The wedding as an event is shown in photos presenting different decorations, festive tableware etc. One of the actual trends is that of a wedding being organised as a masquerade. Pirates, gangsters, hobbits, elves and other popular characters are welcome. Movie premieres, Hawaiian or retro parties could also be the form of the wedding. However the majority of weddings have no general idea or plot. The masquerade is thus solely an element of the photo session. The couple is playing with "past times" transforming them into "pastimes" as McLuhan described the process of cliché circulation in the media environment (1971).

Tablets with phrases (for example "Just married", "Game over", "All we need is love" etc.) indicate the status change and make references to different cultures or subcultures. Masks and other appearance changing items (for example consignment moustache or funny glasses in the form of hearts; gangster handgun; Stetson; Indian plumage; Hawaiian necklace; bike or motorbike; retro car; lacy umbrella a-la the 19th century etc.) are symbols of some previous epochs or imaginary worlds.

Things decorating the background of the photo session (for example candles, ribbons and bows hanged on trees; special covers rolled out on the meadows; pieces of furniture placed in the forest; picnic sets; drawings on asphalt or walls; picture frame where the bride and groom place their faces etc.) try to create the specific atmosphere in the photo. The most popular background is the picnic in nature's lap. This cliché has a long history. It is a part of the aristocratic culture of organising picnics using beautiful equipment for this purpose. In the contemporary Russian media environment it is conveyed in different romantic films and TV-series about love.

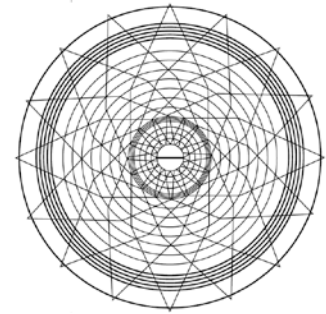
### **Romantic Walk and Landscape Views: Clichés of Romanticism**

The promenade of the wedding couple is an ancient tradition. Initially it assumed a cult and then a religious meaning. In the USSR, the promenade usually happened in places connected with a state power and glory. The couple placed flowers in order to honour

## [Scientific Articles]

Chumakova V.

*The digital bride: clichés in the post-Soviet Russian wedding photography*



the memorials of the Second World War, and visited other historical and political monuments. The background of the wedding promenade changes in contemporary wedding photography. Monuments and memorials disappear or are transferred to the second plan.

The most popular locations for outdoor promenades in mid 2000s and mid 2010s are romantic parks, historical homesteads, rural areas or even abandoned buildings. There are some outdoor museums offering a wedding photography service. The most popular locations for indoor photo promenades are hotel halls, clubs, big shopping malls or specialised photo studios. The diversity of romantic backgrounds for wedding photo sessions could be the object of a more detailed research. In this paper only some of the essential backgrounds present in wedding photography will be explored. Wild nature is one of the most popular romantic backgrounds in all cultures, countries and times. Wild nature plays a significant role in Russian culture. It is associated with a woman's beauty, with a young girl or with a matured mother, with serenity and happiness and with sad times. Sometimes nature is represented as the background of some ethnic images of love. Rural life is closely connected with nature, and the image thereof is also associated with romance and is constructed with clichés which retrieve the idealised ethnical "Russian".

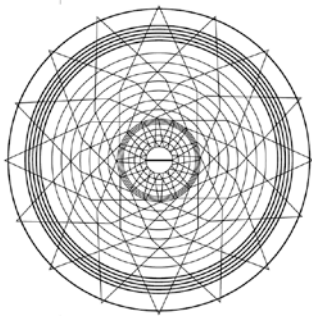
If it is not possible to go to nature or rural areas, there are a vast number of parks in Russian cities. Their romanticism is more urban but still includes the clichés of natural beauty. Sometimes churches are used as a romantic background for wedding photo sessions. The photos in churches usually focus on decorations and beautiful views.

The correlation between cities and nature is also represented in romantic wedding photos. The city itself is also a romantic background. It is necessary to mention that the places bearing a political or historical significance are discarded from wedding stories. Trains, airplanes etc. are also associated with romance. Road romance is also very common to Russian culture. One can find the image of the road in folklore, Russian classic literature, rock-songs etc.

One category of photos taken during romantic walks is constituted landscape views. The composition is of a great significance for this genre. In such photos the couple is usually the sole object. Very often we cannot see the couple in detail, there are only their silhouettes amid the landscape. Such photos place the couple in a frame in which nobody else exists. Very often they look like mannequins, for their poses are very unnatural and stable.

### **Group Photography: From Being a Part of Family to Being a Part of Friends**

Soviet group photography was strict and rigorous, and even family photographs were captured in an official style. It was not common to show emotions in the case of group photography – to smile, to laugh, to pull a face, to wave, to jump etc. Nowadays wedding photography envisages the cheerful company of people publicly exhibiting their emotions.



## [Scientific Articles]

Chumakova V.

*The digital bride: clichés in the post-Soviet Russian wedding photography*

Group photography represents the relations between group members and the features of the group. The protagonists of the occasion are traditionally in the centre of photo, whereas others are located according to their relation to the protagonists. Nowadays the central place of the couple persists, but the link between the relations with the couple and the place in the group photography weakens. The strict use of straight lines of people decreases too. Officiality disappears from wedding photography.

Traditionally wedding means the union of two families and facilitates the acquaintance of their members with one another. Group photography symbolises the significance of the event. Family photography is a family ritual accentuating the importance of the event (Bourdieu, 1998). Soviet weddings presumed taking group family photos. This tradition still exists but there are some new forms of taking group photos.

Modern society decreased the influence of the family and increased the number of friends. Friends are increasingly portrayed in wedding photography. Wedding photography with friends in the same clothes and/or assuming the same pose is an example of this cliché. We do not choose our family, but we choose our friends. An increase in terms of the significance of friends in wedding photography also indicates the individualisation of intimacies and the separation thereof from the collective values of state and big families.

### CONCLUSION

One of the media practices endorsed by the Russian middle class, which developed in the mid 2000s and mid 2010s was depicted. The construction of the couple's image employs various clichés which retrieve images from different cultures. Nevertheless, the dominant tendency in using such clichés is the way in which the glamour culture is adopted in large Post-Soviet Russian cities.

The main clichés are collated in *Table 1*.

**Table 1. (part 1)** Main clichés of Russian Post-Soviet wedding photography

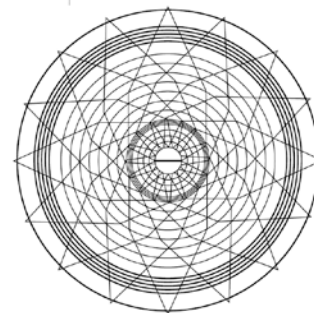
The group of clichés	The retrieved image
The bride's preparation: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The home presented as exhibited interior</li> <li>• The process of preparation presented in reportage</li> <li>• Erotic images present bride as object</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The home as exhibition of the interior</li> <li>• Backstage of celebrity's life, fashion model, actress</li> <li>• Subordinated woman, the property</li> </ul>
Wedding artifacts – inanimate things presented with close-ups in the center of photo: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Signs of status change</li> <li>• Elements of costumes</li> <li>• Decoration</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The luxury goods advertisement</li> <li>• Clothes and accessories in the fashion magazine</li> </ul>



## [Scientific Articles]

Chumakova V.

*The digital bride: clichés in the post-Soviet Russian wedding photography*



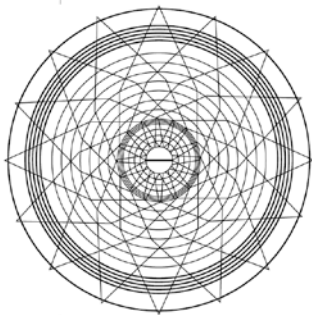
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Religious symbols</li> <li>• Food, drinks etc.</li> </ul>	
Body parts presented with close-ups	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The luxury goods advertisement</li> </ul>
Requisite: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Masks</li> <li>• Special clothes</li> <li>• Tablets with phrases</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Different historical epochs</li> <li>• Fantasy worlds</li> <li>• Subcultures</li> <li>• Movies about love</li> </ul>
Romantic walks	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Idealized “Russian”</li> <li>• Wild nature, innocence</li> <li>• Fashion magazines</li> </ul>
Landscape view	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Fashion magazines</li> </ul>
Group photos	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Friends as family</li> </ul>

**Table 1.** (part 2) Main clichés of Russian Post-Soviet wedding photography

The first point is that the glamour culture presented in the clichés taken from fashion magazines, advertisements and so on absorbs the specific Russian elements: churches are used as a background for romantic photo sessions, candles and icons are photographed as luxury goods, images of Russian nature are glamorised too.

The second point is that the image of the bride and groom is constructed as the image of a celebrity with the help of the aforementioned clichés. Even the images of status change (for example, rings or certificate) are constructed as luxury goods. Why do people use photography to present themselves as a celebrity at the wedding? It may relate to the changes affecting the meaning of marriage at the level of the middle class. Marriage is no longer the start of a sexual relationship or of cohabitation, considering that many people from the middle class start sexual relationships and move together before marriage. Thus, the “traditional” function of marriage is obsolete, similarly to the “Soviet” function of being part of the state. And the functions of demonstration and luxury consumption go to the first plan. When I started this research in 2013, I thought there would be some new functions outside the notions of “traditional” and “Soviet”, but now we can see that in fact there are no new functions, with the exception of the “glamour” function, which is realised with the help of different clichés retrieved from the mass-media and supported by luxury consumption and demonstrative behaviour.

Now, at the end of 2016, we can say that this phenomenon is coming to an end, for the economic and politic crisis in Russia blurs and destroys the newly formed middle class. At the same time the religious influence on society increases, and the marriage institution appears to be one of the objects of administrative control. This is why I presume that wedding photography may change in the future.



## [Scientific Articles]

Chumakova V.

*The digital bride: clichés in the post-Soviet Russian wedding photography*

### REFERENCES:

Barthes R. [1980] (1981). *Camera Lucida: Reflections on Photography*. Hill and Wang: NY

Bernstein F. L. (1998). Envisioning health in Revolutionary Russia: the politic of gender in sexual-enlightenment posters of 1920s. *Russian review*. Vol.57 #2 P.191-217

Bojцова O. (2009). *Fotografija v obrjadah perehoda [Photography in rites de passage]/ Vizual'naja antropologija: nastrojka optiki*. (Biblioteka Zhurnala issledovanij social'noj politiki). Moscow: OOO «Variant», Centr social'noj politiki i gendernyh issledovanij. C.189-201

Bourdieu P. (1998). *Photography: A Middle-brow Art*. Oxford: Polity Press.

Cheung S. C. H. (2006). Visualisating Wedding in Hong-Kong. *Visual Anthropology*, 19: 21-37

Chistjakova V. P. (2012). *Semejnaja fotografija vtoroj poloviny XIX - nachala XX veka v Rossii: opyt jetnologicheskogo i istochnikovedcheskogo analiza* [Family photography of the second part of 19th century – beginning of the 20th century: the experience of ethnology and source study analysis]. Dissertacija na soiskanie stepeni kandidata istoricheskikh nauk. [URL: <http://www.dissercat.com/content/semeinaya-fotografija-vtoroi-poloviny-xix-nachala-xx-veka-v-rossii-opyt-etnologicheskogo-i-i#ixzz2n02z56t2>]

Dekret VCIK, SNK RSFSR ot 18 dekabrja 1917 (1917). «O grazhdanskom brake, o detjah i o vedenii knig aktov sostojanija» [“About civil marriage, children and acts of civil status accounting”]. SU RSFSR. N° 11. st. 160.

Evstratova A. P. (2013). Pamyat' kak tovar: sotsial'noe konstruirovanie sprosa na rynke professional'noy fotos'emki v Moskve. *Ekonomicheskaya sotsiologiya* 14.4.

Giddens A. (1992). *The Transformation of Intimacy: Sexuality, Love and Eroticism in Modern Societies*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Foucault M. [1976] (1998). *The History of Sexuality Vol. 1: The Will to Knowledge*. London: Penguin.

Kon I. S. (1997). *Seksual'naja kul'tura v Rossii. Klubnichka na berezke*. [Sexual culture in Russia. Strawberry on birch-tree]. Moscow: OGI

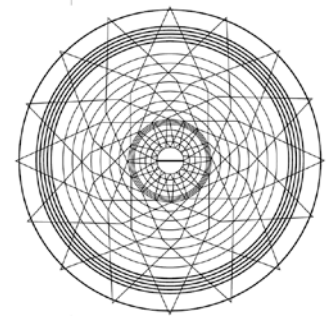
Kozlova N. N. (1999). Sceny iz chastnoj zhizni perioda «zastoja»: semejnaja perezpiska. [Scenes from private life of “zastoj” period: family correspondence]. *Zhurnal sociologii i social'noj antropologii*, Volume II, Issue 3.

Lebina N. B., Chistikov A. N. (2003) *Obyvatel' i reformy*. [Everyman and reforms] Saint-Petersburg.

## [Scientific Articles]

Chumakova V.

*The digital bride: clichés in the post-Soviet Russian wedding photography*



Lebina N. B. (1999). *Povsednevnaia zhizn' sovetskogo goroda : normy i anomalii. 1920-e – 1930-e gody*. [Everyday life of soviet city: norms and anomalies. 1920-1930-s]. Saint-Petersburg.

McLuchan G. M. (1962). *The Gutenberg Galaxy: The Making of Typographic Man*. University of Toronto Press.

McLuhan G. M. [1951] (2002). *The Mechanical Bride: Folklore of Industrial Man*. Gingko Press: Berkley.

McLuchan G. M. [1964] (2003). *Understanding Media: The Extensions of Man*. Gingko Press: Berkley.

McLuchan G. M., Watson W. [1970] (1971). *From Cliché to Archetype*. Pocket Book: NY.

Meyrowitz J. (1986). *No Sense of Place: The Impact of Electronic Media on Social Behavior*. Oxford University Press, USA.

Meyrowitz J. (2004). *The Rise of Glocality: New Senses of Place and Identity in the Global Village*. [web publication  
[http://www.fil.hu/mobil/2004/meyrowitz\\_webversion.doc](http://www.fil.hu/mobil/2004/meyrowitz_webversion.doc)]

Nurkova V. V. (2006). *Zerkalo s pamjat'ju: Fenomen fotografii: Kul'turno-istoricheskij analiz*. [The Mirror with memory: The phenomenon of the photography: Cultural-historical analysis]. Moscow: Rossijskij Gumanitarnyj Universitet.

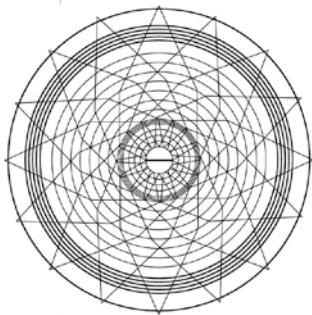
Postman N. [1985] (2005). *Amusing Ourselves to Death: Public Discourse in The Age of Show-Business*. Penguin Books; Revised edition

Postman N. (1994). *The Disappearance of Childhood*. Vintage/Random House.

Sontag S. (1977). *On Photography*. Farrar, Straus and Giroux: NY.

### APPENDIX:

1	<a href="http://www.mywed.ru/forum/session/view/61393/">http://www.mywed.ru/forum/session/view/61393/</a>	Moscow
2	<a href="http://www.mywed.ru/forum/session/view/61417/">http://www.mywed.ru/forum/session/view/61417/</a>	Stavropol
3	<a href="http://www.mywed.ru/forum/session/view/61036/">http://www.mywed.ru/forum/session/view/61036/</a>	Moscow
4	<a href="http://www.mywed.ru/forum/session/view/61398/">http://www.mywed.ru/forum/session/view/61398/</a>	Moscow
5	<a href="http://www.mywed.ru/forum/session/view/61166/">http://www.mywed.ru/forum/session/view/61166/</a>	Magnitogorsk
6	<a href="http://www.mywed.ru/forum/session/view/61378/">http://www.mywed.ru/forum/session/view/61378/</a>	Moscow
7	<a href="http://www.mywed.ru/forum/session/view/61391/">http://www.mywed.ru/forum/session/view/61391/</a>	Stavropol Saint-
8	<a href="http://www.mywed.ru/forum/session/view/54380/">http://www.mywed.ru/forum/session/view/54380/</a>	Petersburg
9	<a href="http://www.mywed.ru/forum/session/view/61406/">http://www.mywed.ru/forum/session/view/61406/</a>	Volgograd
10	<a href="http://www.mywed.ru/forum/session/view/61308/">http://www.mywed.ru/forum/session/view/61308/</a>	Ekaterinburg
11	<a href="http://www.mywed.ru/forum/session/view/50071/">http://www.mywed.ru/forum/session/view/50071/</a>	Krasnodar
12	<a href="http://www.mywed.ru/forum/session/view/61381/">http://www.mywed.ru/forum/session/view/61381/</a>	Moscow



## [Scientific Articles]

Chumakova V.

*The digital bride: clichés in the post-Soviet Russian wedding photography*

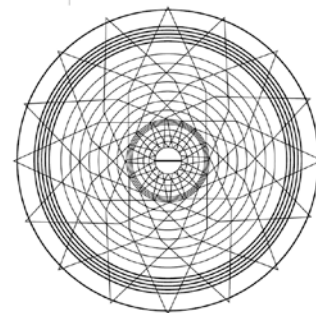
13	<a href="http://www.mywed.ru/forum/session/view/61319/">http://www.mywed.ru/forum/session/view/61319/</a>	Ufa
14	<a href="http://www.mywed.ru/forum/session/view/61386/">http://www.mywed.ru/forum/session/view/61386/</a>	Moscow
15	<a href="http://www.mywed.ru/forum/session/view/58929/">http://www.mywed.ru/forum/session/view/58929/</a>	Moscow
16	<a href="http://www.mywed.ru/forum/session/view/61246/">http://www.mywed.ru/forum/session/view/61246/</a>	Saint- Petersburg
17	<a href="http://www.mywed.ru/forum/session/view/25359/">http://www.mywed.ru/forum/session/view/25359/</a>	Saint- Petersburg
18	<a href="http://www.mywed.ru/forum/session/view/61273/">http://www.mywed.ru/forum/session/view/61273/</a>	Moscow
19	<a href="http://www.mywed.ru/forum/session/view/61230/">http://www.mywed.ru/forum/session/view/61230/</a>	Volgograd
20	<a href="http://www.mywed.ru/forum/session/view/59095/">http://www.mywed.ru/forum/session/view/59095/</a>	Saint- Petersburg
21	<a href="http://www.mywed.ru/forum/session/view/61336/">http://www.mywed.ru/forum/session/view/61336/</a>	Moscow
22	<a href="http://www.mywed.ru/forum/session/view/60870/">http://www.mywed.ru/forum/session/view/60870/</a>	Kaliningrad
23	<a href="http://www.mywed.ru/forum/session/view/60429/">http://www.mywed.ru/forum/session/view/60429/</a>	Orel
24	<a href="http://www.mywed.ru/forum/session/view/61012/">http://www.mywed.ru/forum/session/view/61012/</a>	Rostov-on- Don
25	<a href="http://www.mywed.ru/forum/session/view/60665/">http://www.mywed.ru/forum/session/view/60665/</a>	Saint- Petersburg
26	<a href="http://www.mywed.ru/forum/session/view/61324/">http://www.mywed.ru/forum/session/view/61324/</a>	Rostov-on- Don
27	<a href="http://www.mywed.ru/forum/session/view/59134/">http://www.mywed.ru/forum/session/view/59134/</a>	Moscow
28	<a href="http://www.mywed.ru/forum/session/view/61226/">http://www.mywed.ru/forum/session/view/61226/</a>	Moscow
29	<a href="http://www.mywed.ru/forum/session/view/57734/">http://www.mywed.ru/forum/session/view/57734/</a>	Saint- Petersburg
30	<a href="http://www.mywed.ru/forum/session/view/41029/">http://www.mywed.ru/forum/session/view/41029/</a>	Volgograd
31	<a href="http://www.mywed.ru/forum/session/view/60576/">http://www.mywed.ru/forum/session/view/60576/</a>	Moscow
32	<a href="http://www.mywed.ru/forum/session/view/61288/">http://www.mywed.ru/forum/session/view/61288/</a>	Tambov
33	<a href="http://www.mywed.ru/forum/session/view/61077/">http://www.mywed.ru/forum/session/view/61077/</a>	Saratov
34	<a href="http://www.mywed.ru/forum/session/view/36502/">http://www.mywed.ru/forum/session/view/36502/</a>	Balashiha
35	<a href="http://www.mywed.ru/forum/session/view/61257/">http://www.mywed.ru/forum/session/view/61257/</a>	Voronezh
36	<a href="http://www.mywed.ru/forum/session/view/61059/">http://www.mywed.ru/forum/session/view/61059/</a>	Uaroslavl
37	<a href="http://www.mywed.ru/forum/session/view/61256/">http://www.mywed.ru/forum/session/view/61256/</a>	Volgograd
38	<a href="http://www.mywed.ru/forum/session/view/61278/">http://www.mywed.ru/forum/session/view/61278/</a>	Ufa
39	<a href="http://www.mywed.ru/forum/session/view/54533/">http://www.mywed.ru/forum/session/view/54533/</a>	Moscow
40	<a href="http://www.mywed.ru/forum/session/view/61255/">http://www.mywed.ru/forum/session/view/61255/</a>	Krasnoyarsk
41	<a href="http://www.mywed.ru/forum/session/view/61265/">http://www.mywed.ru/forum/session/view/61265/</a>	Kursk
42	<a href="http://www.mywed.ru/forum/session/view/59347/">http://www.mywed.ru/forum/session/view/59347/</a>	Stavropol
43	<a href="http://www.mywed.ru/forum/session/view/60843/">http://www.mywed.ru/forum/session/view/60843/</a>	Smolensk
44	<a href="http://www.mywed.ru/forum/session/view/60968/">http://www.mywed.ru/forum/session/view/60968/</a>	Rostov-on- Don
45	<a href="http://www.mywed.ru/forum/session/view/58369/">http://www.mywed.ru/forum/session/view/58369/</a>	Saratov
46	<a href="http://www.mywed.ru/forum/session/view/61229/">http://www.mywed.ru/forum/session/view/61229/</a>	Kazan
47	<a href="http://www.mywed.ru/forum/session/view/61237/">http://www.mywed.ru/forum/session/view/61237/</a>	Ufa
48	<a href="http://www.mywed.ru/forum/session/view/58629/">http://www.mywed.ru/forum/session/view/58629/</a>	Moscow
49	<a href="http://www.mywed.ru/forum/session/view/60594/">http://www.mywed.ru/forum/session/view/60594/</a>	Samara
50	<a href="http://www.mywed.ru/forum/session/view/58350/">http://www.mywed.ru/forum/session/view/58350/</a>	Moscow



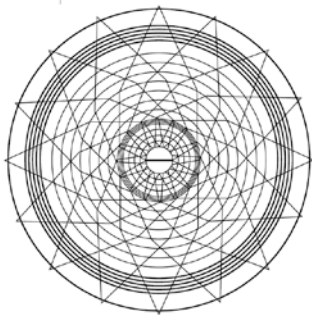
## [Scientific Articles]

Chumakova V.

*The digital bride: clichés in the post-Soviet  
Russian wedding photography*



51	<a href="http://www.mywed.ru/forum/session/view/60966/">http://www.mywed.ru/forum/session/view/60966/</a>	Rostov-on-
52	<a href="http://www.mywed.ru/forum/session/view/60997/">http://www.mywed.ru/forum/session/view/60997/</a>	Don
		Moscow
		Saint-
53	<a href="http://www.mywed.ru/forum/session/view/61181/">http://www.mywed.ru/forum/session/view/61181/</a>	Petersburg
		Saint-
54	<a href="http://www.mywed.ru/forum/session/view/59560/">http://www.mywed.ru/forum/session/view/59560/</a>	Petersburg
55	<a href="http://www.mywed.ru/forum/session/view/60605/">http://www.mywed.ru/forum/session/view/60605/</a>	Moscow
56	<a href="http://www.mywed.ru/forum/session/view/61113/">http://www.mywed.ru/forum/session/view/61113/</a>	Moscow
57	<a href="http://www.mywed.ru/forum/session/view/58334/">http://www.mywed.ru/forum/session/view/58334/</a>	Moscow
58	<a href="http://www.mywed.ru/forum/session/view/50327/">http://www.mywed.ru/forum/session/view/50327/</a>	Lipetsk
59	<a href="http://www.mywed.ru/forum/session/view/46951/">http://www.mywed.ru/forum/session/view/46951/</a>	Balashiha
60	<a href="http://www.mywed.ru/forum/session/view/61156/">http://www.mywed.ru/forum/session/view/61156/</a>	Ekaterinburg
61	<a href="http://www.mywed.ru/forum/session/view/61065/">http://www.mywed.ru/forum/session/view/61065/</a>	Tula
62	<a href="http://www.mywed.ru/forum/session/view/45797/">http://www.mywed.ru/forum/session/view/45797/</a>	Severodvinsk
63	<a href="http://www.mywed.ru/forum/session/view/61068/">http://www.mywed.ru/forum/session/view/61068/</a>	near Penza
64	<a href="http://www.mywed.ru/forum/session/view/59931/">http://www.mywed.ru/forum/session/view/59931/</a>	Moscow
		Saint-
65	<a href="http://www.mywed.ru/forum/session/view/61152/">http://www.mywed.ru/forum/session/view/61152/</a>	Petersburg
66	<a href="http://www.mywed.ru/forum/session/view/61151/">http://www.mywed.ru/forum/session/view/61151/</a>	Tomsk
67	<a href="http://www.mywed.ru/forum/session/view/48269/">http://www.mywed.ru/forum/session/view/48269/</a>	Moscow
68	<a href="http://www.mywed.ru/forum/session/view/61518/">http://www.mywed.ru/forum/session/view/61518/</a>	Ufa
		Saint-
69	<a href="http://www.mywed.ru/forum/session/view/61519/">http://www.mywed.ru/forum/session/view/61519/</a>	Petersburg
70	<a href="http://www.mywed.ru/forum/session/view/58088/">http://www.mywed.ru/forum/session/view/58088/</a>	Moscow
71	<a href="http://www.mywed.ru/forum/session/view/59092/">http://www.mywed.ru/forum/session/view/59092/</a>	Kalmykiya
72	<a href="http://www.mywed.ru/forum/session/view/61008/">http://www.mywed.ru/forum/session/view/61008/</a>	Moscow
73	<a href="http://www.mywed.ru/forum/session/view/61094/">http://www.mywed.ru/forum/session/view/61094/</a>	Syktvkar
74	<a href="http://www.mywed.ru/forum/session/view/60906/">http://www.mywed.ru/forum/session/view/60906/</a>	Moscow
75	<a href="http://www.mywed.ru/forum/session/view/61119/">http://www.mywed.ru/forum/session/view/61119/</a>	Ulianovsk
76	<a href="http://www.mywed.ru/forum/session/view/51597/">http://www.mywed.ru/forum/session/view/51597/</a>	Moscow
77	<a href="http://www.mywed.ru/forum/session/view/61035/">http://www.mywed.ru/forum/session/view/61035/</a>	Moscow
		Rostov-on-
78	<a href="http://www.mywed.ru/forum/session/view/60970/">http://www.mywed.ru/forum/session/view/60970/</a>	Don
		Rostov-on-
79	<a href="http://www.mywed.ru/forum/session/view/60102/">http://www.mywed.ru/forum/session/view/60102/</a>	Don
80	<a href="http://www.mywed.ru/forum/session/view/60994/">http://www.mywed.ru/forum/session/view/60994/</a>	Ryazan
81	<a href="http://www.mywed.ru/forum/session/view/59654/">http://www.mywed.ru/forum/session/view/59654/</a>	Krasnodar
82	<a href="http://www.mywed.ru/forum/session/view/47384/">http://www.mywed.ru/forum/session/view/47384/</a>	Balashiha
83	<a href="http://www.mywed.ru/forum/session/view/60980/">http://www.mywed.ru/forum/session/view/60980/</a>	Volgograd
84	<a href="http://www.mywed.ru/forum/session/view/60977/">http://www.mywed.ru/forum/session/view/60977/</a>	Krasnodar
85	<a href="http://www.mywed.ru/forum/session/view/53437/">http://www.mywed.ru/forum/session/view/53437/</a>	Balashiha
		Rostov-on-
86	<a href="http://www.mywed.ru/forum/session/view/57589/">http://www.mywed.ru/forum/session/view/57589/</a>	Don
87	<a href="http://www.mywed.ru/forum/session/view/60121/">http://www.mywed.ru/forum/session/view/60121/</a>	Moscow
88	<a href="http://www.mywed.ru/forum/session/view/60955/">http://www.mywed.ru/forum/session/view/60955/</a>	Irkutsk



## [Scientific Articles]

Chumakova V.

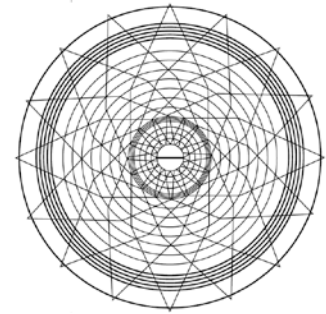
*The digital bride: clichés in the post-Soviet Russian wedding photography*

89	<a href="http://www.mywed.ru/forum/session/view/59382/">http://www.mywed.ru/forum/session/view/59382/</a>	Mahachkala
90	<a href="http://www.mywed.ru/forum/session/view/60946/">http://www.mywed.ru/forum/session/view/60946/</a>	Moscow
91	<a href="http://www.mywed.ru/forum/session/view/60938/">http://www.mywed.ru/forum/session/view/60938/</a>	Orel
92	<a href="http://www.mywed.ru/forum/session/view/60900/">http://www.mywed.ru/forum/session/view/60900/</a>	Moscow Saint- Petersburg
93	<a href="http://www.mywed.ru/forum/session/view/45519/">http://www.mywed.ru/forum/session/view/45519/</a>	Mahachkala
94	<a href="http://www.mywed.ru/forum/session/view/60884/">http://www.mywed.ru/forum/session/view/60884/</a>	Rostov-on- Don
95	<a href="http://www.mywed.ru/forum/session/view/60802/">http://www.mywed.ru/forum/session/view/60802/</a>	Krasnodar
96	<a href="http://www.mywed.ru/forum/session/view/60479/">http://www.mywed.ru/forum/session/view/60479/</a>	Sykytvykar
97	<a href="http://www.mywed.ru/forum/session/view/60814/">http://www.mywed.ru/forum/session/view/60814/</a>	Moscow
98	<a href="http://www.mywed.ru/forum/session/view/60804/">http://www.mywed.ru/forum/session/view/60804/</a>	Moscow
99	<a href="http://www.mywed.ru/forum/session/view/58480/">http://www.mywed.ru/forum/session/view/58480/</a>	Rostov-on- Don
100	<a href="http://www.mywed.ru/forum/session/view/60797/">http://www.mywed.ru/forum/session/view/60797/</a>	

## [Scientific Articles]

Chumakova V.

*The digital bride: clichés in the post-Soviet  
Russian wedding photography*



**УДК: 7.041 + 392.51**

## **ЦИФРОВАЯ НЕВЕСТА: КЛИШЕ РОССИЙСКОЙ ПОСТСОВЕТСКОЙ СВАДЕБНОЙ ФОТОГРАФИИ**

**Чумакова В.П.**

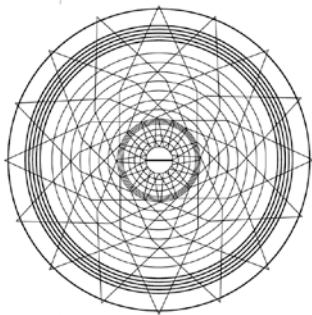
кандидат культурологии, преподаватель  
департамента медиа, факультета коммуникации,  
медиа и дизайна, младший научный сотрудник  
Лаборатории медиаисследований ЦФИ.

[vchumakova@hse.ru](mailto:vchumakova@hse.ru)

### **Аннотация:**

Статья посвящена феномену свадебных фотосессий в постсоветской России. Мы базируемся на концепции Маршалла Маклюэна о клише, циркулирующих в массовой культуре и показываем клише, характерные для свадебной фотографии, которая сформировалась в 2000-е годы, когда в России стала формироваться культура среднего класса. С точки зрения Маклюэна, клише отсылают нас к различным архетипам, с одной стороны, и составляют собой бриколаж, некую новую конструкцию, с другой стороны. Свадебная фотография показывает, как клише, взятые из культуры гламура, модной фотографии 20 столетия и массового кинематографа, участвуют в создании образов невест и женихов. Статья пробует встроить эти образы в контекст трансформации института семьи и роли брака в современной России.

**Ключевые слова:** фотография, свадьбы, свадебная фотография, институт семьи, клише, архетипы, культура гламура, средний класс, потребление роскоши



## [Scientific Articles]

Chumakova V.

*The digital bride: clichés in the post-Soviet Russian wedding photography*

### БИБЛИОГРАФИЯ:

Barthes R. [1980] (1981). *Camera Lucida: Reflections on Photography*. Hill and Wang: NY

Bernstein F. L. (1998). Envisioning health in Revolutionary Russia: the politic of gender in sexual-enlightenment posters of 1920s // *Russian review*. Vol.57 #2 P.191-217

Бойцова О. (2009). Фотография в обрядах перехода / *Визуальная антропология: настройка оптики*. (Библиотека Журнала исследований социальной политики). М.: ООО «Вариант», Центр социальной политики и гендерных исследований. С.189-201

Bourdieu P. (1998). *Photography: A Middle-brow Art*. Oxford: Polity Press.

Cheung S. C. H. (2006). Visualising Wedding in Hong-Kong // *Visual Anthropology*, 19: 21-37

Chistjakova V. P. (2012) Семейная фотография второй половины XIX - начала XX века в России: опыт технологического и источниковедческого анализа. Диссертация на соискание степени кандидата исторических наук. [URL: <http://www.dissercat.com/content/semeinaya-fotografiya-vtoroi-poloviny-xix-nachala-xx-veka-v-rossii-opyt-etnologicheskogo-i-i#ixzz2n02z56t2>]

Декрет ВЦИК, СНК РСФСР от 18 декабря 1917 (1917). «О гражданском браке, о детях и о ведении книг актов состояния». СУ РСФСР. № 11. с. 160.

Евстратова А. П. (2013). "Память как товар: социальное конструирование спроса на рынке профессиональной фотосъёмки в Москве." *Экономическая социология* 14.4

Giddens A. (1992). *The Transformation of Intimacy: Sexuality, Love and Eroticism in Modern Societies*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Foucault M. [1976] (1998). *The History of Sexuality Vol. 1: The Will to Knowledge*. London: Penguin.

Кон И. С. (1997). *Сексуальная культура в России. Клубничка на березке*. М.: ОГИ

Козлова Н. Н. (1999). Сцены из частной жизни периода «застоя»: семейная переписка. *Журнал социологии и социальной антропологии*, том II, выпуск 3.

Лебина Н. Б., Чистиков А. Н. (2003). *Обыватель и реформы*. СПб.

Лебина Н. Б. (1999). *Повседневная жизнь советского города: нормы и аномалии. 1920-е – 1930-е годы*. СПб.

McLuchan G. M. (1962). *The Gutenberg Galaxy: The Making of Typographic Man*. University of Toronto Press.

McLuhan G. M. [1951] (2002). *The Mechanical Bride: Folklore of Industrial Man*. Gingko Press: Berkley.

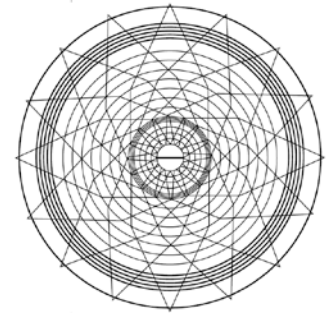
McLuchan G. M. [1964] (2003). *Understanding Media: The Extensions of Man*. Gingko Press: Berkley.

McLuchan G. M., Watson W. [1970] (1971). *From Cliché to Archetype*. Pocket Book: NY.

## [Scientific Articles]

Chumakova V.

*The digital bride: clichés in the post-Soviet  
Russian wedding photography*



Meyrowitz J. (1986). *No Sense of Place: The Impact of Electronic Media on Social Behaviour*. Oxford University Press, USA.

Meyrowitz J. (2004). *The Rise of Glocality: New Senses of Place and Identity in the Global Village*. [web publication  
[http://www.fil.hu/mobil/2004/meyrowitz\\_webversion.doc](http://www.fil.hu/mobil/2004/meyrowitz_webversion.doc)]

Нуркова В. В. (2006). *Зеркало с памяти: Феномен фотографии: Культурно-исторический анализ*. М.: Российский Гуманитарный Университет.

Postman N. [1985] (2005). *Amusing Ourselves to Death: Public Discourse in The Age of Show-Business*. Penguin Books; Revised edition

Postman N. (1994). *The Disappearance of Childhood*. Vintage/Random House.

Sontag S. (1977). *On Photography*. Farrar, Straus and Giroux: NY.