

The role of new media in reinvention of traditions

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Abstract

Passing on traditions from one generation to another has been shaped by the modern world in which we live in. From rural communities to city ones, from offline to online, changes have been influencing how members of communities are interacting and receiving the knowledge about cultural traditions. Faced with these, traditions had to be reinvented in order to survive and be maintained part of the national identity. Based on Hobsbawn's theory of invented tradition, Beckstein is creating the "living tradition" model, that introduces the criteria of qualitative equivalence between what is handled over from one generation to another.

From 2014 an online community started that now has nearly 30.000 persons and they are declaring to promote the authentic ancestral way of sewing Romanian blouses in different regions of Romania. To which extend this online manifestation can be framed in the „living tradition” model and can we state that this is an reinvented tradition based on actual context? These are the questions that we followed in our research.

The method used was qualitative content analysis for over 1100 comments from march 2014, the first week of existence of the Facebook group, from which various themes of discussion emerged: economic, tradition technicalities, authenticity, community building, emotions, heritage. We will illustrate how the messages related to ancestral heritage are used in the context of social media in order to express the knowledge and abilities that were inherited from ancestors (parents, grandparents, people from the community), the "usable past" as was defined by Tuleja in his work (Tuleja, 1997), and also in order to pass on the tradition further to the new generations through stories from personal history, family one or from community. And in the end, we will conclude

how all these online messages are creating the new way of passing over the sewing tradition to other generations, in an approach adapted to the modern context by using virtual communities.

Keywords

Tradition, living tradition, invented tradition, social media, virtual community, ia, Romanian blouse, heritage.

Résumé

La manière de transmission des traditions d'une génération à une autre a été influencée par le monde moderne dans lequel nous vivons. Ces changements ont influencé la manière dont les communautés, qu'elles soient rurales ou urbaines, connectées ou pas à internet, interagissent et reçoivent les connaissances de leur traditions culturelles. Face à ces changements, les traditions ont du être réinventées pour assurer leur survie et leur appartenance continue à l'identité nationale. Conçu à partir de la théorie de Hobsbawn, le modèle de « tradition vivante » crée par Beckstein, introduit le critère d'équivalence qualitative entre ce qui est transmis d'une génération à l'autre.

À partir de 2014, une communauté Facebook, qui compte à ce jour presque 30000 personnes, a été créée. Son but déclaré est de promouvoir l'art ancestral et authentique de la couture des blouses Roumaines des différentes régions du pays. À quel degré cette initiative peut-elle être assimilée au modèle de la « tradition vivante »? Peut-on affirmer dans ce contexte qu'il s'agit d'une tradition réinventée? Voici les questions que nous poursuivons dans notre recherche.

La méthode utilisée a été l'analyse qualitative du contenu de plus de 1100 commentaires à partir du mois de mars 2014, première semaine d'existence du groupe Facebook. À partir de cette analyse, plusieurs directions de discussion ont été définies :

économie, technicité de la tradition, authenticité, construction communautaire, émotions, héritage. Nous allons illustrer comment les messages liés à l'héritage ancestral sont utilisés dans le contexte des médias sociaux en ligne pour exprimer le savoir et les habilités héritées des ancêtres (parents, grands-parents, gens de la communauté), correspondant à l'idée du « passé utilisable » ainsi défini par Tuleja dans son travail (Tuleja, 1997) et aussi pour transmettre la tradition aux nouvelles générations à travers des histoires personnelles, de famille ou communautaires. Nous concluons avec l'idée que ces messages en ligne créent une nouvelle manière de transmission de la couture traditionnelle vers de nouvelles générations, dans une approche adaptée au contexte moderne en utilisant des communautés virtuelles.

Mots clés

Tradition, tradition vivante, tradition inventée, médias sociaux, communauté virtuelle, ia, chemisier roumain, patrimoine.

Introduction

2014 was the year when the International Day of Romanian Blouse was established by Ioana Corduneanu (the initiator of *Semne Cusute* – Sewed Signs) and Andreea Tanasescu (the initiator of *La Blouse Roumaine*). Both online communities started to promote national traditional costume and especially, the Romanian blouse heritage with authentic patterns and materials. This is when Ioana Corduneanu started a community to encourage women to sew their own *ia* (the name for Romanian Blouse), like it was done in the ancestral communities from the villages of the beginning of XX century.

In this research we are following the development of this community and how their work is perceived as a continuation of the tradition, even if the conditions changed (members all over the world, online discussions), so that to overlap with Hobsbawm and Rogers's point of view about "re-invented tradition". Further more, we will apply to this community the "living tradition model" developed by Beckstein in order to understand if this model still applies in the new social media context.

Litterature review

1. Living tradition model

The 'invented tradition' concept refers to a set of regulated practices of a ritual or symbolic nature seeking to "inculcate certain values and norms of behaviours by repetition" (Hobsbawm, 1983). The past is connected with an invented tradition and, in fact, is building on it, especially when the old ones are weakened in a society that is faced with rapid transformations. They create the framework for people to create groups according to specific social context and build on the "social cohesion and collective identities" (Hobsbawm, 1983).

As Beckstein is stating in his paper, "traditions are usually understood as 'living' entities that come in overlapping varieties and evolve over time, the socially valuable functions attributed to tradition tend to presuppose invariability in ways of thinking and acting." (Beckstein, 2017, p. 491) Understanding the models defined for tradition is therefore important for tracking its evolution in different contexts. For this, Dittman's definition of tradition is used. A tradition act is called when "a tradent (T) passes on some tradition material (M) to a recipient (R)" (Dittman apud Beckstein, 2017, p. 496). In order to have a tradition we need at least one successful act like this.

The main difference between the *static model of tradition* developed by Pieper, Hobsbawm and Popper (Hobsbawm 1983, Pieper 2010, Popper 1972) and the *living model of tradition* developed by Payton and, afterwards, on which Beckstein has built his point of view, is how the material of tradition is passed down from one generation to another. In the static model there is "the tradition material in the chain of transmission is conceived in terms of causal (numerical) identity" (Beckstein, 2017, p. 497), in the living model there is accepted the qualitative aspect. Payton is referring to the model from a qualitative similarity point of view, while Beckstein is affirming that qualitative equivalence is more appropriate. "A tradition act is successful if the set of beliefs, (or customs, etc.) held by recipients / tradents has

the same overall point or prima facie purpose in the recipients' /tradents' respective contexts of living.” (Beckstein, 2017, p. 494). In this way, Beckstein is affirming that the material of tradition can be compared on the basis of equivalence rather than similarity or identity, and rather to evaluate the role and meaning that this has in the life of the participants.

In this way, Beckstein is affirming his tolerance towards intra/inter generational alterations towards material of tradition and he is integrating Hobsbawn’s point of view about reinventing traditions over time. He is taking into consideration the historical circumstances and how the present generation is somehow obliged to “re-create the tradition material in such a way that it (in)forms the ways of thinking and acting of the present generation of recipients in the face of their current context of living” (Beckstein, 2017, p. 502).

Description of Semne Cusute in Actiune (SCiA)

Romanian traditions started to be promoted widely in social media in the last decade, with a special focus in 2014 when 24 of June was declared the International Day for Romanian Blouse, and started to be celebrated around the world. This initiative was publicly announced by Andreea Tanasescu, founder of facebook page “La Blouse Roumaine” and Ioana Corduneanu, founder of “Semne Cusute” (Sewed Signs) and for several years was promoted by both of them, while in time they separated their paths: “La Blouse Roumaine” focusing on promoting authentic traditions and influencing the fashion designers to give credits to ancestral motifs used in their collections, while “Semne Cusute” focused on promoting and reviving

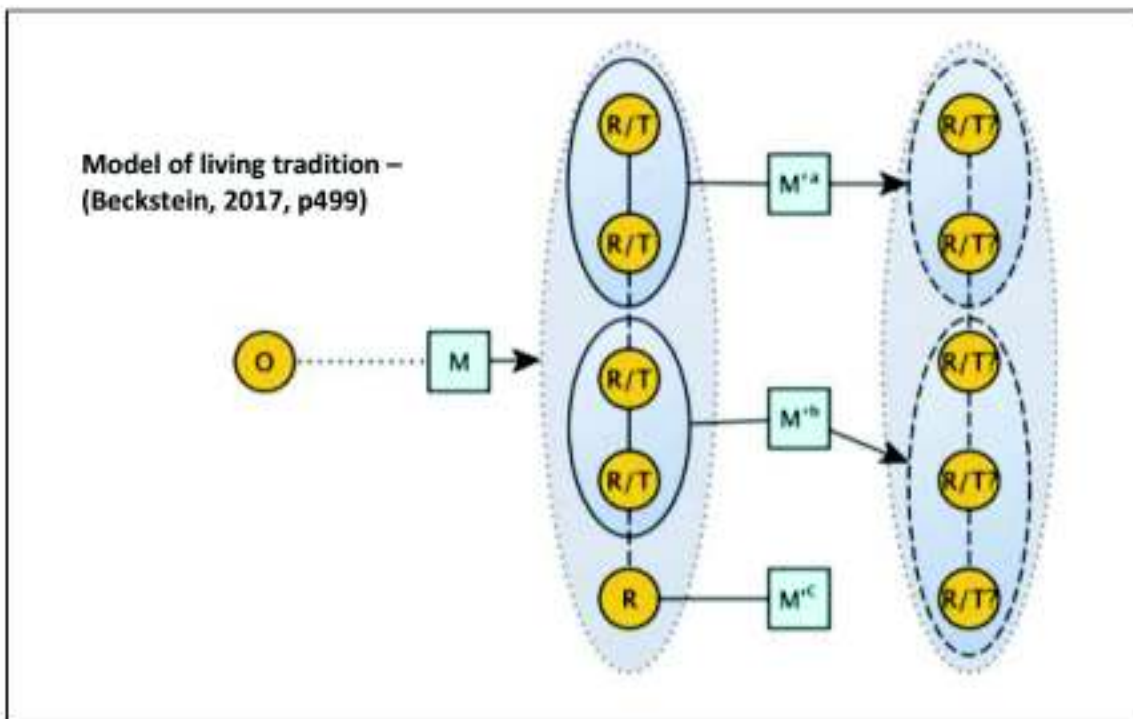


Figure 1. Beckstein’s “living tradition” model

We will follow Beckstein’s approach towards the model of living tradition, since is the one that can easily accommodate the new media in our research and the active involvement of the users of social media that we will analyze.

the sewing of traditional Romanian blouses respecting the authentic patterns and symbols. Both actions created a real impact, so that in nowadays the international Day of Romanian Blouse is celebrated at national level and also all over the world (by

Romanians living abroad, as well as different public institutions).

I have been following Ioana Corduneanu's work since 2012, when she first posted on her blog the meaning of the symbols that are sewed on the Romanian Blouse and some patterns that she drawn for a better conservation. The year 2014 is creating a big movement around her work by inviting women to sew their own blouse for the first celebration on 24 June 2014 and creating the public group on Facebook group "*Semne Cusute in Actiune*" (*Sewed Signs in action* – abbreviated from now SCiA). This created a big interest, since in just one week there were 500 people in the public group and in only 11 months they gathered 6000 members. In the moment of creating this paper, the group gathered almost 30.000 members, with a big activity in posts and comments.

Although now there are many initiatives related to traditional and folk products (perpetualicons.ro, IIANA, Folclorica, Podoabe traditionale, Comori etnografice, Etnografika, Invie Traditia, Iipedia, to name few of them), the community SciA is reknown for the non-commercial purpose and the support that is offering for many Romanian to learn or remember how to sew the Romanian Blouse ("ia") in an authentic way.

At first, it was a community to offer online support about materials, techniques and patterns, but little by little, activity grew and now around this Facebook group there are a series of events (workshops, exhibitions, contests – from 2014), an online shop with materials and sewing kits (from 2016) and an youtube channel with recordings about sewing techniques and also from their events (2016).

Research objectives, method and corpus

In this research, we aimed to identify in which way Beckstein's model is respected also for this group that activates in social media, and how the messages related to heritage and transfer of knowledge, stories and abilities related to tradition

itself are illustrating the reinvention of this "living tradition".

Human interaction in online, especially in social media, is extremely diverse and rich in messages (written, pictures or icons). When related to traditions, these messages are expressing an entire social construction that is taken from offline to online, from individual to groups and community, about different actions and symbols from the tradition itself. If in ancestral times, these discussions were done in a gathering in the village, or between different members of the family, now these are happening in the public space of the online, with no direct link to families or specific communities in designated geographical areas.

This is why the chosen method was a qualitative one, following the theoretical framework of symbolic interactionism (Neuman, 2014), we analyzed how members are perceiving themselves related to the group, how they transmit and receive messages and meanings.

Although there are many disadvantages for the online communication tool (reliability, restricted access due to facebook regulations), the biggest strong point is that in these media formats they have created a big archive of messages that can be studied and analyzed in order to understand the new shapes of social constructs that people are building, since language is an important way to express what we think about the world around us. (Neuman, 2014)

The specific method used was ethnographic content analysis that supports better the process of interpreting documents as reflexive representations of social meanings and institutional relations. In this way, we could assemble "the context, medium, logic, context, format" (Altheide, Schneider, 2013, p.6) the key messages of the community related to the sewing tradition. This came as an answer to the need to go beyond studying the content of the mass media, by understanding the process, meanings and key messages from the content, by understanding social meanings for actors, including social contexts, situations, and emotions (Altheide & Schneider, 2013).

Using a demo account from Zelist online¹ media instruments, we analyzed the last year (2018-2019) and it showed the following results: fan base of 26522, fan-page interaction 2650 likes, 54 comments and 380 shares, while having a content of 28 posts. The overall interaction index for the last year was 0,0844. This data was not sufficient in order to sustain my analysis, while on the public group I could identify a big amount of posts and comments. Due to the changes in the Facebook conditions from last years, I had to rely my research only on the data that I could find in the public group by searching key words in a timeframe, since the information regarding the members are restricted to administrator and moderators. From all the online tools used for this community (blog, facebook page, facebook group, webpage, youtube and instagram), the one with greatest impact and richness in interactions between initiator and members was the public grup, and therefore I focused my research on this online tool² (initiated in March 2014, 29.500 members).

The documents analyzed in the beginning were very diverse (blog, facebook, instagram, youtube), therefore we had to narrow down our research and understand the beginning of the community and how the “living tradition” model (Beckstein, 2017) is or not a framework that can be extrapolated further to the next years of development of the community.

On the facebook public group SciA there were found relevant messages from the first month of the group, in march 2014, and after narrowing to the first week, we reached a corpus of 56 posts with 1178 comments, from which 242 were of the administrator of the group and the initiator. Its members that are posting and making comments are from Romania (big, medium and small cities), but also from abroad (California – US, Canada, France), Romanians living abroad and that want to re-learn the tradition.

Each post was numbered for each day as *P#_day* and each comment is noted as being made by *user* or by *admin* (e.g. *P2_25 user* is a comment made by an user in post number 2 from 25 March of 2014).

Findings

SCiA appeared in the moment when online communication started to gain importance for different individual projects and actions, while Facebook was an important tool for Romanians. There were members that declared that they made a facebook account especially for being part of this group (Adina Iacob, 15 iunie 2016 “Good evening everybody! Thank you for accepting me in this group! I want to mention that I opened an account on facebook especially for being part of this beautiful story called IA – Romanian blouse!” – our transl).

The messages analyzed in the online community of SCiA were mainly related to following topics:

- The process itself of sewing (with advices, pictures, videos);
- Recalling old memories form personal and community history;
- Showing to the community own work and finalized pieces;
- Involving the community in different contests and activities;
- Place for expressing opinions about traditions, Romanian identity and current role of the community.

The process of content analysis revealed 6 major themes: tradition technicalities, authenticity, economic, emotions related to process, heritage, community. For the purpose of this research, we will mention only the ones that are relevant to the model of living tradition.

Tradition Category

The technical information shared in the group contains various details and pictures related to the entire process of sewing a Romanian Blouse, from choosing the pattern and materials to washing and ironing the product, but also about the different sewing techniques (*cruciulițe, tehnica pielea găinii, motiv paharele mireului, cusătura zig-zag, cheițe*) that later in the development of the online group will

Table 1. Qualitative content analysis categories

SEMNE CUSUTE IN ACTIUNE Online community		
Content Analysis Categories	Themes	Main message
Tradition (technical info)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Technical information about process of sewing - Characteristics for process and end products - Ceremonies, 	Learning sewing technique and patterns from different regions of Romania Exposing own work in process for all products (some worked in secret, as "the old way")
Emotions		Feelings shared by members related to the process itself
Community	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Identity, - Group, - Expert, - Learning - Social media 	How the group is formed around the expert and initiator, through support for learning and mastering the tradition
Authenticity	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - People, - Places, - Values 	Defining what is authentic tradition and what kitch
Heritage		Usable past from personal and community history
Economic		Sharing information about materials and places from where to buy

become hastags (#croi). There are mentioned the tools used (*centimeter, thimble, thread, needles, loom*) so that members are sharing their experience and usage of them.

The terms used are bothin Romanian and English, due to the international participation in the group of Romanian that now live abroad (*Association of quilters* P5_25 user; *chain stich, herringbone, fishtail, feather stich* P12_21 user).

The messages that are referring to emotions category are strong related to the tradition category, since members of the groups are referring to higher aspirations and feelings that they link with this online community and this tradition ("I will have my dreams painted" P3_25user, "dream your own Romanian blouse" P1_20admin; "I miss home (Romania-nOC)" P5_25user; "I need courage to start" P5_26user).

Authenticity Category

When referring to authentic traditon members and admin are reffering to various reknown crafters: *Varvara Buzilă (reknown specialist)* P6_22 admin, "Adela Petre from Buzău, live human heritage"

P9_21 admin, *Marius Matei from Giroc, Timișoara* P5_25 admin, "group of Ioan-Sorin Apan from Brașov" P4_20 user, "Giuntii Hunii (from Arad, member Facebook – nOC³)" P3_21 user, *Silvia Floarea Toth* P1_26 admin. Most of the examples are given by the admin, which is positioning her as expert and specialist in the field.

Analyzing the sources for patterns is made in historical and geographical context, sharing each member what they know: "*flowers on blouses are slavic influence, from south, not carpathian. I do; not wonder why they were not chosen in the interbelic collections*" P6_22 admin; "the saxons were not wearing sewed blouses" P5_25admin; "In Transylvania were not sewed blouses with *altită*⁴, *încreț*⁵ and *râuri*⁶" P5_25user).

Important discussions are made around the subject *authentic old* and *kitch*, especially in the context of communist history in Romania, where some original sources were not promoted. Old interbelic printed collections are mentioned as reliable sources and are used as important argument in different messages related to evolution and transformation of the

tradition during time (“from 1856 Elena C Cornescu (is signaling that patterns are dissapearing – nOC)” P6_22 admin; “D. Comsa album” P5_25 user; “old, cheap and popular books are not including and mentioning (*încrêț* – nOC)” P1_24 admin; “in elaborated books, all sewed blouses have *încrêț*” P1_24 admin; “I have found a book with sewing motifs and their simbolic meaning” P5_25 user).

A true continuation of the tradition is important for SciA’s members: “this is a correct altita” P6_22 admin; “respect the original colouring” P6_27 user; “this is not fabric for sewed blouse” P9_21 user; “I want a sewed blouse done with my own hands, I promise to research thouroughly” P3_26user.

The group’s desiderata is said very clear: “This is a free zone from kitch. Sewed egss and eggs with bunnies – in your house, but not here. Thank you!” P7_25admin; “This group was created especially for Romanian blouses. To reborn this lost subject. Maybe there are other pages with embroidery for other elements. Me myself, I want to learn as much as I can ONLY about Romanian blouse. I hope I am not wrong when I say this thing” P7_25user.

Community category

Joining this group and activity becomes for its members an act of expressing the national identity (“You are to be admired! Maybe through this campaign ww will learn not only to sew our own Romanian Blouses, but also their history and their meaning. Maybe we will learn to respect one another, to love more and to be more united. To remember that we are not a nation of thieves” P3_27 user).

This is why in only one week from initiation, this group becomes a label for its members: “the efforts of Sewd Signs and of other people from this group is to encourage the continuation of sewing the traditional Romanian blouse” P6_22user; “This group is a school for future promotors of art.” P1_20user; “hearted people” P5_21user; “you are brilliant people” P12_21user; “I am glad to enter in such a special community, but most a soul community” P1_23user.

The online enviroment is used to bring together people alike and contribution is praised: “we want to

see pictures, pictures, pictures. This is an activity to be shared” P1_20admin. Is defined as a place to learn the tradition in a correct way (“this group has the purpose to eliminate the mistakes. So... no offense!” P5_27user), a place for healthy competition (“Iwas the firsts and now I am the last (...) I hope to reach the firsts next week” P3_26 user) and for reciproc encouragements (“you are the Great Adviser (to another member – nOC) P3_26user). The learning theme under this cathegory is extremely productive in terms of messages, the community expressing their support or asking for help for various situations (sewing techniques or even how they find time to sew).

The online community is extending activities also offline (“thank you a lot for the wonderful afternoon that I spend together with the lovers, keepers and givers of the authentic tradition” P1_23user).

In clustering the online community and activities, the initiator has a very important role as she is positioning herself as expert and specialist, that is acknowledged by its members (“expert’s opinion (of Ioana Corduneanu – nOC) is important” P1_21user; “Mrs. Ioana is helping us with advices” P5_21user; “Iread all post with the word sewed blouse, especially thw writings of Ioana Corduneanu” P2_22user; “your advices (of admin – nOC) are helping me very much” P1_23user.

Her role is also to guide and direct the correct work of community’s members (“Ioana Corduneanu is a mother that is guiding each step. Thank you and God bless you for this wonderful action!” P3_26user; “somebody should give you a prize” P2_21user).

The initiator story is very important in creating the community around the tradition, by expressing the ancient way of passsing over the tradition from one generation to another (“my grandmother taught me how to sew, but she passed away when I was 9” P9_27 admin). The personal quest and struggle to discover the authentic tradition is giving her the notoriety and respect (“after two years of daily study and drawing (of patterns – nOC) from specific regions, I think I could create a model, but only for what I researched” P6_22admin).

Heritage category

Passing down this sewing tradition happened for some before the community was created, due to family or personal context that facilitated the learning of the tradition, for others, this online community being the replacement of the lack of this experience.

Most of the stories while they have been taught, are from childhood, when mothers or grandmothers were passing over this (“I learned this from my mother and I want to take it forward” P2_27user; “when I was a child, I was doing embroidery” P3_26user; “my grand-grandmother showed me how is done when I was 5 years old” P1_24user; “I was taught by my grandmother when I was little, and I thought that everybody is doing like this” P1_24admin).

The ones that are using this platform for learning the tradition are fewer but openly stating their interest (“my mother was doing it in youth. Now she pretends not to know” P9_21user; “My parents’ generation rejected the paysan outfit, trying to be modern? Who knows? Anyway, my ancestors didn’t have any abilities and interest in this. So, it comes down to me this mission to compensate? Too bad I have two left hands” P1_20user).

The community is used also to pass down further this tradition to the next generations, as product (“I finished the blouse for my 3 year boy” P12_27user; “I will start a blouse for my son” P3_26user; “for my twins” P10_21user) or as sewing tradition (“when my daughter was little and I was sewing, I was giving her also a piece of fabric and a blunt needle” P5_26user; “Thank you for accept. We come inside (the community-nOC) me and my daughter Mara (7yearsold). She wants to sew herself her blouse, I am just supporting and encouraging her” P11_21user).

When mentioning learning the tradition, members are referring also to people from their community, as family, friends, sellers from specialized shops (“a neighbour taught me” P1_21user, P3_22user, “I saw crafters working like this” P7_21admin; “The man from there (from shop – nOC) was telling me that this fabric is used more in the north of Bucovina, but I do not know how reliable this information is” P1_22user).

Based on the qualitative analysis of the messages from the public Facebook group SciA, we concluded that the tradition of sewing the Romanian blouse is

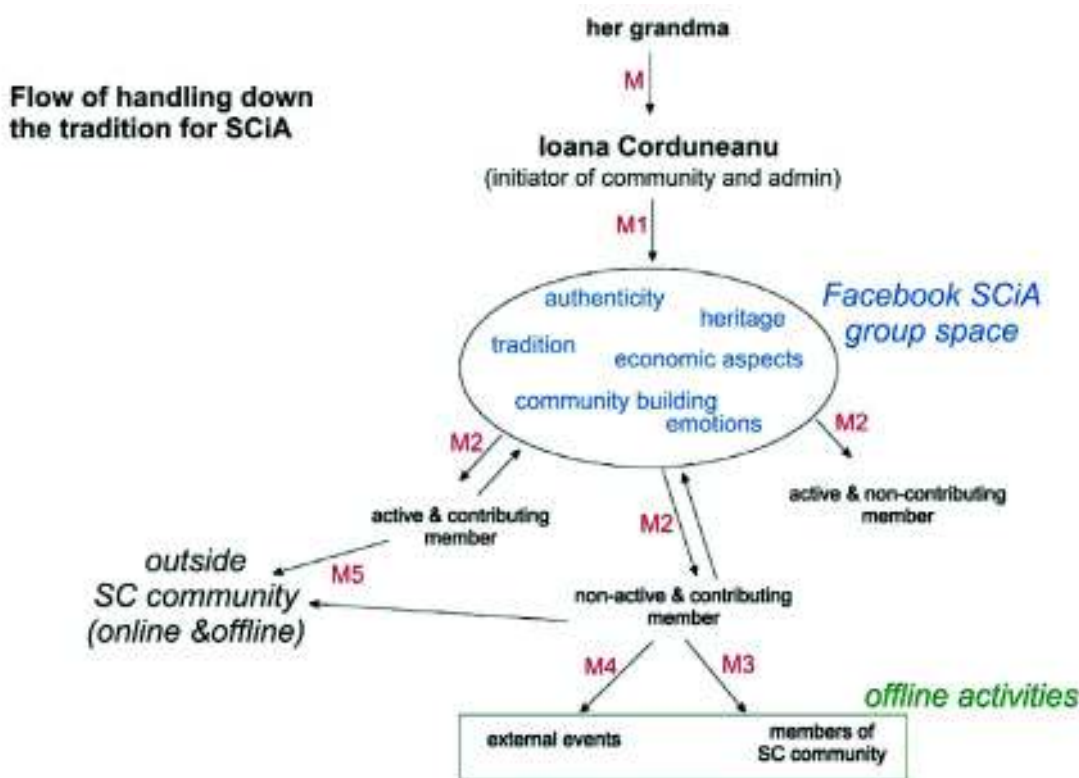


Figure 2. Flow of handling down the tradition in SCiA

handled down using online and offline context, as shown in figure 2.

The sewing Romanian blouse is a tradition with ancient roots, Oprescu was mentioning in 1940 that “we are in front of an old tradition of hundreds, maybe thousands of years” (Oprescu, 1940, p. 4), on his affirmation making similarities with similar blouses from museums in Brussels, Louvre or Berlin. Following Iorga’s argument that this is a heritage from thracian culture (Iorga apud Oprescu, 1940), Oprescu is affirming that the tradition is, maybe, even older, based on the major resemblance with Egyptian copts blouses (Oprescu, 1940, p. 8).

Amzar et al. and Bot et al. documented the sewing tradition in the evening gatherings of the Romanian village from the beginning of the XX century, while not mentioning the specific sewing of Romanian blouses, more other traditions like to “spin wool or hemp, crochets socks and jerseys, sew or spin thread” (Bot et al., 2008, p. 8).

Therefore the sewing tradition of Romanian blouse has the origins back in history, so that we can affirm that the persons that are teaching or spreading the tradition are not the originator, but some recipients that became transmitters of their understanding.

By applying the “living tradition” model (Beckstein, 2017), we can match different categories from content qualitative analysis to the model, as follows in Tabel 2:

We can apply the qualitative equivalence criteria to the various forms of material of tradition that is seen in process of handling down the tradition, and draw the conclusion that *prima facie* of the act is respected (transmitting the authentic sewing), while addressing the new context of living (social media, Romania diaspora).

Conclusions

This research analyzed from a qualitative point of view the social messages from the Facebook group of sewing Romanian blouses, Semne Cusute in Actiune (SCiA), in the first week of their establishment, in march 2014. On this corpus, the theory framework of “living tradition” model (Beckstein, 2017) was applied to understand in which way we can conclude that the online community and discourse is a form of re-invented tradition and that the virtual interaction is, in fact, an adaptation to the modern times.

Based on the examples illustrated above, we conclude that the qualitative equivalence required by Beckstein is met, so that an act of tradition is made while the material of tradition (sewing the Romanian blouse) hasd taken a different form than the physical happening that was required in the Romanian villages from the beginning of XX century (Amzar et al., 2013; Bot et al., 2008). The re-invented form of this

Tabel 2. Comparison between Beckstein’s model and SCiA

BECKSTEIN’S MODEL	SCiA group	Content analysis categories that correspond to the model
Originator	Not known	
Transmitter I	Initiator’s grandmother	
Receiver ->Transmitter	Ioana Corduneanu (initiator)	
	All members of the group	Community
Receiver ->Transmitter	Members that are contributing	
Material of tradition	Sewing Romanian Blouse (M1, M2)	Tradition (technical info) Economic
Act of Tradition	Process of sewing	Tradition (technical info) Heritage Emotions Authenticity

tradition took into account the online development and its advantages, by creating a virtual community dedicated to passing over the authentic way of sewing Romanian blouses.

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Notes

1) <https://zelist.ro> accessed 07.04.2019

2) <https://www.facebook.com/groups/224922601040515/>, accessed on 25.03.2019.

3) nOC = note Oana Calin.

4) *Alțiță* (untranslatable) is part of the Romanian Blouse, a part of the fabric (triangle or trapeze shape) that has a specific function: to give volume to the sleeve and to give the necessary shape to the curve of the shoulder. It is mentioned separately because it is sewed with other patterns than the other parts of the same blouse.

5) *Increț* (translated: pleating) is another part of the blouse that is making the connection between *altita* and the sleeve. First it was supposed to have a utility function, but later on became the sign of an authentic Romanian blouse.

6) *Râuri* (translated: rivers from the sleeves) are the ornamental fields from the sleeves that are made based on specific pattern.

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