

Journal for European Ethnology and Cultural Analysis

Victoria Hegner

Situations of upheaval
Disciplinary development in European ethnology/
cultural anthropology after 1989

Friedemann Schmoll

“Volkskunde 70”
50 years after Falkenstein – an attempt to classify

Janine Schemmer

The cruise city as an area of conflict
Imaginations of the cruise ship
in the Northern Adriatic

Aila Özvegyi

From heroic staging to sober representation?
Photographs by Ernst Brunner from his
military service with anti-aircraft battery 311

Journal of European Ethnology and Cultural Analysis (JEECA)

Edited on behalf of the Deutsche Gesellschaft für Volkskunde by Regina Bendix, Michaela Fenske, Gunther Hirschfelder, Johannes Moser, Thomas Schindler, Friedemann Schmoll, Manfred Seifert, Thomas Thiemeyer

JEECA is published in cooperation with:

Österreichische Zeitschrift für Volkskunde (Verein für Volkskunde, Wien)

Schweizerisches Archiv für Volkskunde (Schweizerische Gesellschaft für Volkskunde)

Contact

JEECA, Geschäftsstelle der dgv

c/o Institut für Europäische Ethnologie/Kulturwissenschaft

Deutschhausstr. 3, 35037 Marburg, Germany

E-mail: jeeca@d-g-v.de

Phone: +49 (0)6421/2826514

Proofreading: Philip Saunders

Abstracts: Ramona Lenz



Indexing is in progress.

Frequency of publication and subscriptions

JEECA is published online biannually and can be acquired via library license. The subscription price for libraries and institutions is 250,-€ and 100,-€ for institutional members of the dgv and libraries/institutions of some countries from the Global South and from (South-)Eastern Europe (please contact JEECA for the reduced subscription fee). The subscription price for individuals is 80,-€ (prices inclusive VAT; cancellation of subscription at the end of the year). More information on terms and conditions:

www.waxmann.com/jeeca

ISSN 2511-2473

© Waxmann Verlag GmbH, Steinfurter Straße 555, 48159 Münster, Germany

Internet: www.waxmann.com, e-mail: info@waxmann.com

Advertising: Paula Brauer, brauer@waxmann.com

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced, stored in a retrieval system or transmitted in any form or by any means, electronic, electrostatic, magnetic tape, mechanical, photocopying, recording or otherwise without permission in writing from the copyright holder.

Journal of European Ethnology and Cultural Analysis

Contents

Volume 5 (2)

Victoria Hegner

Situations of upheaval

Disciplinary development in European ethnology/
cultural anthropology after 1989

123

Friedemann Schmoll

“Volkskunde 70”

50 years after Falkenstein – an attempt to classify

145

Janine Schemmer

The cruise city as an area of conflict

Imaginations of the cruise ship in the Northern Adriatic

169

Aila Özvegyi

From heroic staging to sober representation?

Photographs by Ernst Brunner from his military service with
anti-aircraft battery 311

187

Victoria Hegner

Situations of upheaval*

Disciplinary development in European ethnology/cultural anthropology after 1989

Abstract: The cultural, political and social situatedness of science and scientific practice emerges in a condensed manner in situations of social upheaval. Research on such situations facilitates particularly insightful academic self-reflection. The reappraisal of the scholarly caesura caused by the Nazi regime was addressed early on in European Ethnology; the revision of the discipline at the beginning of the 1970s, as a consequence of the countercultural movement of the time, is also firmly anchored in disciplinary memory. However, the fall of the Berlin Wall and the unification of Germany, with their consequences for the (re)formation of knowledge and disciplinary knowledge culture in (German-speaking) European ethnology/cultural anthropology, have been largely ignored. Against this background and by combining archival source studies with biographical and thematic interviews with protagonists of the time, the present article takes a research-oriented look at the historical developments of the discipline after 1989. It is interesting how, as a result of the fall of the Berlin Wall and the clash between East and West German colleagues, the development of the discipline and its thematic-analytical and social new interpretations were wrestled with. The aim of this study is to create another surface for the reflection of how social upheaval in the field of science continues to have an effect and what specific knowledge emerges from it. In addition, it is a matter of concern to open up the ongoing German-German process of understanding, which is accompanied by strong reservations, more broadly.

Keywords: History of science, development of the discipline, fall of the Berlin Wall, GDR, upheaval, historical ethnography

There is an event in my scientific socialization as a European ethnologist, respectively, cultural anthropologist that is comparatively brief and, in its short duration, quite suitable for being forgotten. However, it has become engraved in my mind, as one says, to make the intensity of an experience particularly vivid. It once again reshaped my view of the discipline, and it is a powerful demonstration of the significance of its history for its cognitive identity, which, relating to Wolf Lepenies, always results from social constellations (1981: I). Here is this little episode:

* This paper was first published in German in *Zeitschrift für Volkskunde* 2020, 116 (2): 193–216. The text and quotations in German have been translated by Stefanie Everke Buchanan.

In order to spark the interest of students of a course on the history of science in the summer of 2016, I had planned a roundtable discussion on the upheavals in the subject caused by the historical caesura of the fall of the Wall. For this purpose, I activated my own biographical resources. I began studying European ethnology, then called ethnography, in Berlin in the 1990s and completed my degree a few years later. I personally knew the important protagonists of the discipline at this time. In my opinion, the guest list represented a good balance between contemporary witnesses from the 'East' and contemporary witnesses from the 'West.' All those invited had promised they would come – hesitantly but, nevertheless, in a friendly manner. However, only a few hours before the meeting, one person after another began to excuse themselves. In the end, only two of the original seven participants arrived, and one of them said his goodbyes right at the beginning of the round: We did have someone to talk to, after all. As I alluded to, the event was accordingly short, and much shorter than planned.

Subsequently, some of the people who had originally been invited took me aside and spoke or wrote to me that I had to understand that they were absolutely willing to talk 'about it' but that they preferred the one-on-one interview for the time being. It became clear – and I had not expected it to be like this – how much ambivalence accompanies the collaborative exchange on this subject even three decades after the dissolution of the GDR and the associated upheavals in the scientific landscape and the field, and that an experimentally unified production of narratives is hardly possible. The call that "I had to understand this" created an irritation that is the starting point for the following exploration into the history of science. Entirely in the sense of an ethnographic approach, one's own alienation creates distance in order to approach the problem of a German-German process of understanding from the historical depth, and to make it understandable and comprehensible for the present – according to the wishes of the actors.

Disciplinary history in European ethnology/cultural anthropology: Its methodological potential and the problems of research in "one's own field"

Since the 1960s, and since the 1950s in the GDR, representatives of European ethnology have repeatedly addressed the reappraisal of the caesuras caused by the Nazi regime in the discipline which was then called *Volkskunde* (folklore studies) (e.g. Bausinger 1965; Bönisch-Brednich 1991: 177–204; Emmerich 1968; Gerndt 1987; Steinitz 1953).

The following considerations are intended to provide a further basis for the reflection of how historical upheavals in academia have been addressed and which complex interrelationships between society and science have arisen and sedimented.

Accordingly, my observations are pervaded by the question of how, as a result of the fall of the Berlin Wall and the encounter between East and West German colleagues, the development of the discipline and its thematic-analytical and social repositioning were wrestled with. How, in this period of upheaval, did one deal with the fact that the proclaimed “democratic renewal process” of GDR science which, according to the recommendations of the Science Council, also offered the old Federal Republic the opportunity to self-critically examine the extent to which parts of the education and research system needed reorganizing (Wissenschaftsrat 1990: 6), was characterized by highly asymmetrical power relationships. The scientists from the former GDR were usually confronted with the administrative “*Abwicklung*”¹ and, thus, the existential questioning of their own scientific achievements. In turn, scientists from the Federal Republic of Germany were offered unexpected career perspectives. So, how did this social distribution of power determine scientific and social practice?

The fundamental theoretical concept of my discussion – the economic contextual dependence and social function of science – is not new in terms of an analytical approach. I follow long-established ideas in sociology and the anthropology of knowledge (e.g. Knorr, Krohn, and Whitley 1980; Latour and Woolgar 1979; Lepenies 1981; Merton 1981: 15–74). Recent studies on folkloristic knowledge production in the 19th and 20th centuries have once again broadened the conceptual and terminological repertoire of scientific (knowledge) research. Studies, such as those by Karin Bürkert (2015) on Tübingen’s carnival research in the 1960s, Lioba Keller-Drescher (2017) on the establishment of folklore studies as a science in Württemberg and Sabine Imeri’s (2019) study on scientific folklore associations in Berlin around 1900, not only highlight the social construction of scientific knowledge and the role played by institutions and individuals beyond universities and scientific research institutions. They also draw attention to the local ties and heterogeneity of scientific knowledge and scientific practice. Focusing in a micro-historical way on everyday routine and social communication, they trace the extent to which scientific practice is linked to overarching social structures and contexts and specifically modelled by them. However, the interrelationship is by no means as determinant, linear and unifying as it sometimes appears in science-theoretical considerations. The interaction of overarching structures and scientific practice always also opens up specific spaces of freedom and possibilities, i.e. creates options for thought and action that can be

1 The “*Abwicklung*” (literally: liquidation, closing down or transitioning) took different forms in the new federal states. It was undertaken on the basis of article 13 of the Unification Treaty (“*Übergang von Einrichtungen*” – transition of institutions). In most cases, “*Abwicklung*” describes a process in which the state governments let the contracts of employees who worked in particularly ideologically charged departments expire at a certain date without giving notice. Departments could be closed down in their entirety. There were also less fundamental changes: Professors could only keep their positions if they had been selected in an appointment procedure based on the principle of the selection of the best.

taken up as a resource but which are not mandatory. In this context, Lioba Keller-Drescher has made the term "*Gelegenheiten*" (opportunities) analytically productive. She uses it to grasp, as she calls it, "what lies between chance and necessity, which is, therefore, neither the seizing of the *kairos* (the favorable moment) nor pure strategy and planning" (Keller-Drescher 2017: 9, translated by Stefanie Buchanan). Following these considerations, my reflections on the development of the discipline following the fall of the Berlin Wall are concerned with addressing this historical situation as a moment of the greatest possible opportunity for the continuation and innovation of the subject in terms of content and analysis: Opportunities that were used but which also passed by or failed in their implementation. A clear calculation was not always followed, and yet, structures began to establish themselves which, as Keller-Drescher puts it, "consist of possibilities for action but also of individuals, power constellations and, ultimately, of discourses or the resulting demands for specific knowledge" (Keller-Drescher 2017: 311, translated by Stefanie Buchanan). In this context, the social moment of upheaval turns out to be a complicated bundle of social and political situations which formed these structures with great power but were also unstable and fragile. In the following, this will also need to be brought to the fore.

In terms of methodology, I make use of historical ethnography and, thus, draw on a central competence of our discipline. In contrast to the structural and socio-historical approaches that have dominated previous analyses of the effects of the fall of the Berlin Wall on the academic system in the Federal Republic of Germany (e.g. Kocka and Mayntz 1998; Pasternack 1999, 2016), ethnography has the potential to come particularly close to the specific ways of action and perception of individuals in order to reconstruct and understand historical contexts, structures and meanings from the actors' individual logic of action (e.g. Fenske 2006: 151–177; Isaac 1980: 43–61; Keller-Drescher 2007: 57–68; Maase 2001: 255–271; Wietschorke 2010: 197–224). In this context, an ethnographic approach functions as an important analytical corrective to rather universalistic assumptions and, thus, as a counterweight to the homogenization of forms of scientific and social knowledge (Herzfeld 2001: 5–19).

Certainly, the historical-ethnographic approach to the past and, thus, also to the history of science in European ethnology/cultural anthropology is a methodological-epistemological matter of course. Studies on the history of the discipline since 1945 have increasingly focused on developments in both the Federal Republic and the GDR in this way (cf. Dietzsch 2004; Dietzsch et al. 2009; Ege et al. 2015; Koffer 2008; Kühn 2007, 2015). The effects that the social upheaval of 1989 had on the discipline and its theoretical content and the question of how 'East' and 'West' colleagues were treated in this situation remain marginal, reflecting the sensitivity inherent in this recent past. Ute Mohrmann (1991: 18–23, 2005: 195–210, 2018)

and Wolfgang Kaschuba and Leonore Scholze-Irrlitz (2012: 423–438, esp. 432–434) have instructively described the situation after the “*Wende*” (turning point)² in 1989 in the (East German) discipline; however, this was done rather in the mode of an overview and autobiographical reflection than as a historical-ethnographic close-up. Teresa Brinkel’s dissertation (2012) on folkloristic knowledge production in the GDR from 1950 onwards offers a first multiperspective approach. However, Brinkel also emphasizes how fragmentary and provisional this remains. It is particularly the East German disciplinary colleagues who have a say in presenting the new structures and restructurings of academia in the GDR at the end of the 1980s and later in the new federal states: Their patterns of interpretation of the situation at the time are the focus of attention. The insights provided are profound and serve as the central starting point for the present study. From here, the focus will be directed even more strongly to the specific interaction between ‘East’ and ‘West’ during the phase of the attempted joint redesign of the discipline and to the ambivalences that underpinned this undertaking. What experiences and wishes but also concerns and disappointments were reflected on the West German side? To which constraints and dilemmas did they succumb? Which opportunities were seized? And how was the situation perceived by the students, and what, if any, generational differences were there?

In trying to answer these questions in order to trace the effects of the fall of the Wall and the subsequent state unity on the discipline in a preliminary way, I resort, on the one hand, to written sources. I use political-administrative records, especially the files of the meetings of academic senates and the Zentrale Personal- und Strukturkommission (Central Personnel and Structural Commission) of the Humboldt University of Berlin from the early 1990s, which are stored in the University Archive of the Humboldt University (UAHU). In addition, I also draw upon private and official correspondence from professors in the late 1980s and early 1990s. These have been made accessible as manuscripts for the first time and systematically recorded in the archives of the Landesstelle für Berlin-Brandenburgische Volkskunde (ALBBV). On the other hand, I use seven contemporary witness interviews that Teresa Brinkel conducted in the context of her dissertation and which were made available to me. These are supplemented by thematically centered interviews with nine other protagonists.

The fact that I was born in East Germany and grew up there until young adulthood represented an important moment of social closeness for the protagonists from the GDR in particular. The origin is formative, and it is not easy to escape it in terms of habitus. However, following Annett Gröschner: “The Easterner within me has shrunk over the years” (Gröschner 2009, translated by Stefanie Buchanan). I received my entire disciplinary imprint in the Federal Republic of Germany, the

2 “*Wende*” is a term which is already set in quotation marks in the publications cited. See Kaschuba and Scholze-Irrlitz (2012: 432).

United States and Canada. The categories 'East' versus 'West' play a role in my own self-image primarily through attributions by others. Social shifts arise here on a contextual basis.

As much as the 'East-West' identifications, both those brought up by others and one's own need to be considered in the scientific-historical debate, the more fundamental question that arises here is that of the 'loyalty' to those being studied. It proves to be particularly sensitive in research in one's 'own' field. In this context, and in order to protect the social integrity of the individual protagonists, I have decided to pursue a consistent anonymization. The only exception to this are people who have already passed away.³ As experience shows, when dealing with ethnographies that address the field of science from a contemporary or historical perspective, recipients are always particularly interested in knowing exactly who is being talked about and quoted. Pierre Bourdieu, therefore, in his book *"Homo Academicus"* – somewhat harshly – described the readers of his work as potential denounciators and coded his data very strictly (Bourdieu 2018: 32; Dressel and Langreiter 2003). In doing so, he sought to avoid the danger that descriptions would be understood too much as anecdotes and as what he called "delightful revelations," and that the individuals made visible by the naming "would have influences and effects attributed to them that were actually caused by the overall structure of the field" (Bourdieu 2018: 35, translated by Stefanie Buchanan).

Of course, anonymization is never entirely feasible.⁴ Especially in a 'small' discipline, such as European ethnology/cultural anthropology, where 'everybody knows everybody,' so to speak, anonymous descriptions and analyses are difficult and often seem absurd ('when you know who it is about').⁵ However, I am sticking to the path of anonymization even if, in the following, individuals can possibly be quickly identified: It is intended to make clear, in Bourdieu's sense, that it is not my goal to make individuals recognizable in their personal actions. I would like to present a form of ideal typology that could be checked by means of further studies in the discipline.

- 3 This concerns Wolfgang Jacobeit. Already during his lifetime, he openly reflected on his biographical experiences in science and what he called his East-West border-crosser-existence (Jacobeit 2000).
- 4 (Contemporary historical) ethnographies in the field of science research, especially those that address politically controversial topics, are consistently anonymized. However, meticulous research begins when one of these studies is published: The specific individuals, situations, places and/or authorship have been identified, to a large extent, in all ethnographies. Examples of this are: Nathan (2005); Stevens (2007); Tuchman (2009). Regarding the problem of anonymization in research in 'one's own' scientific field, see Dressel and Langreiter (2003).
- 5 In order to ensure anonymity to the greatest extent possible, the name of the interviewee is not only omitted in interviews. In the case of material from private archives, the owner is not mentioned either. In order to keep the concrete identity of individuals 'hidden,' references to relevant literature by the individual are avoided, which is not fully successful.

My reflections concentrate on Berlin for a number of reasons. The transformations of the German-German scientific landscape condense in the formerly divided city after 1989. The capital has a signaling function, firstly, in that more than 30% of the entire research and university potential of the GDR was located in East Berlin (Flierl 2006: 2). Secondly, in accordance with the *“Thesen zur strukturellen Erneuerung der Humboldt-Universität”* (Theses on the Structural Renewal of the Humboldt University) of May 3, 1990, Berlin was to be developed into a scientific center that was to assume important East-West bridging and mediating functions in the German and European area.⁶ Thirdly and decisively, the only university institute in the GDR that offered a diploma in ethnology was to be found here. Two other institutions, the ethnological research center in Dresden and the *“Wossidlo-Forschungsstelle”* (Wossidlo Research Center) in Rostock, were assigned to the Academy of Sciences of the GDR, in this case, to the field of cultural history/ethnology. In the Academy, which was also located in Berlin, the emphasis was on research. Contrary to many efforts, the Academy was separated from its 60 research institutes and other institutions in the Unification Treaty of August 31, 1990, as a “scholarly society” and was finally dissolved, under the direction of the so-called *“Koordinierungs- und Abwicklungsinitiative”* (Coordination and *Abwicklung* Initiative), in 1992. This process often discharged the employees into unemployment or into the so-called and largely ineffective “Scientist Integration Program” and, thus, into biographical uncertainty.⁷

In accordance with the *“Strukturplan zur Institutionalisierung des Faches Europäische Ethnologie”* (Structural Plan for the Institutionalization of European Ethnology) at Humboldt University of May 25, 1991 (resolution passed on March 3, 1992), the plan was to “give it a significant position within the German academic landscape” and to create an institute in the future capital city that would be adequate for it. This, as was hopefully noted, was seen as one of the most effective ways to overcome the present traumatic situation.⁸

The following passages describe how this path was taken and the ambivalences of the encounter between ‘East’ and ‘West,’ which were inscribed in the development of the discipline. The focus is on the negotiation of contentual-conceptual proximity and distance, which necessitates a look at the time shortly before the fall of the

6 UAHU, Zentrale Personal- und Strukturkommission No. 11214.

7 The Scientist Integration Program came into force in 1992 and was initially set up for two years but was then extended to five years. The program provided for former East German academy employees to be employed at universities for a limited period with a research project of their own design. During this time, the aim was to develop and implement possibilities for long-term employment, i.e. ‘integration,’ in the academic field. However, the program was doomed to fail in its objectives; also see Brinkel (2012: 220–224); Pasternack (2006).

8 UAHU, Zur Beschlussfassung für die Sitzung des akademischen Senats der Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin of March 3, 1992: 3, Präsidialamt No. 10219.

wall. In other words: How close and how far away were we from each other in the fall of 1989?

Upheavals: “Who goes to the East goes to another country”

It is obvious in the publications on the history of science after the fall of the Wall how dominant the military image of the ‘front lines’ is: Front lines that were drawn hard between the ‘East’ and ‘West’ and which clearly divided roles: The East was inferior and the West superior (Brinkel 2012; Kocka and Mayntz 1998; Pasternack 1999). From the perspective of the East German representatives, the “ruthless Western appropriation” and the arrogance of West Germans, which was perceived as offensive, was the subject of discussion and often paraphrased with the metaphor of colonization (Kaschuba 1993; Pasternack 1998). This contrasted with the assessment of some West German actors that the former scientists of the GDR, even aside from possible collaboration with state security forces, were extremely unsuitable for the academic job market: Their publication lists were too short, their theoretical approaches too narrow and their state of research simply outdated – a structural problem of the GDR was here converted into individual failure. If the analytical-empirical lens is sharpened a bit, similar fronts emerge at first glance in written and oral statements. At the same time, however, connecting lines and lateral movements appear between them, which are historically and biographically sedimented: Thus, from 1980 to 1985, the folklorist and historian Wolfgang Jacobeit held the chair of ethnography in East Berlin, with ‘ethnography’ being a term derived from the Russian for a type of folklore studies that also included ethnology.⁹ After the war, Jacobeit had studied under Will-Erich Peuckert in Göttingen and in 1956, due to a lack of university positions, had gone to the GDR, to where the then East Berlin director of the institute, Wolfgang Steinitz, had invited him and where he found a permanent position (Scholze-Irrlitz and Scholze 1990: 22). His origins in the Federal Republic did not only provide him with a special freedom to travel: This freedom was, so to speak, cultural and specifically characterized by the subtle difference of bourgeoisie. As a student from the 1980s recalls:

I arrived in ethnography and there were Wolfgang Jacobeit and his wife Sigrid. Politically, they were pleasantly unideological. We could laugh freely about the party, which he could afford to do because of his biography. He was from the West, after all. We students were often invited to their country villa in Birkenwerder. There, we were able to use the private library where there were Western books. That was literally the West in the East. In retrospect – because I didn’t know or notice that at the time, because I hadn’t read my Bourdieu yet – but I think that the bourgeoisie also

9 In the following, I will concentrate on the restructuring processes in the folklore studies area of ethnography. The history of GDR ethnology up to the early 1990s is described in Lentz and Thomas (2015).

recognized each other here, because I myself came from a family of self-employed people, that is, from the middle-class bourgeoisie, which was so suspiciously eyed in the GDR.¹⁰

Over the decades, Wolfgang Jacobeit rose to become the central East-West mediating figure in the discipline. He established connections to West Germany and Austria especially from the 1980s onwards; in this case, to the so-called 'left-wing folklore studies',¹¹ particularly to the Institute in Tübingen, but also to Marburg and Vienna. Thematically and conceptually, one encountered another in the increased focus on everyday and working-class culture and the adoption of Marxist theories. It was about the daily existence beyond the so-called 'idyll of peasant existence' and the 'beauty' and 'truth' of 'folk life' so long invoked by folklore studies. What was of interest was culture as "real life", "as the whole way of life" or, as they said in the GDR: culture as "way of life".

A protagonist from Tübingen retrospectively describes the concentration on "everyday and, above all, working-class culture" as a "gallant bridge" between East and West:

[...] a gallant bridge, a path on which we jointly said: We are concerned with society and politics, with the history of others, and not simply with the 'people,' but with research on workers and workers' culture. [...] In this way [...] a contact zone was created in which debates [...] were possible and in which the concept that the small discipline of folklore studies in the GDR had helped to develop, namely 'culture and way of life,' was taken up. Culture and way of life – that is, the material bond, giving context to experience. That played a major role.¹²

When GDR protagonists describe this period and the coming together in the years shortly before the fall of the Wall, they are more cautious and estimate that from the late 1980s onwards they were hardly able to 'keep up' with their colleagues in the Federal Republic of Germany regarding projects in this research area. In the GDR, as one contemporary witness recalls, there was "such a small cluster of no more than 20 people in the discipline," which resulted in a "limitation of research potential."¹³

10 Interview with a former student, September 14, 2018. Citations from interviews and archive material have been translated into English for better legibility.

11 Regarding the term 'left-wing folklore studies,' I am taking up a term that has been significantly influenced by the cultural anthropologist Götz Bachmann. Bachmann explains that left-wing folklore studies came into being in the early 1970s, and that while the folklore studies of the postwar period sought folk culture mainly in peasant and rural culture, the concept of folk culture in the early 1970s was reinterpreted within the framework of radical theories of society. He further states that the most spectacular and formative of these new theories was the 'Marxist' class theory. According to Bachmann, it was located, above all, in Tübingen, Frankfurt, Marburg and Vienna and later – due to the migration of Tübingen protagonists in particular – in Berlin (Bachmann 2000: 35 f.).

12 Interview with a former protagonist, August 8, 2018.

13 Interview, May 4, 2006, conducted by Teresa Brinkel.

Above all, it was state-ideological hurdles that made research on everyday and workers' culture (as much as this seemed to fit politically into the doctrine of a workers' and farmers' state) more difficult, since it increasingly bore reference to the critical present. This was not desired by the Science, Education and Culture Department of the Central Committee of the *Sozialistische Einheitspartei Deutschlands* (Socialist Unity Party).

Despite these circumstances, a very specific German-German "exchange milieu," as one protagonist calls it, tentatively developed at the end of the 1980s. He points out that, "compared to colleagues in [...] the historical sciences or others, this seemed closer because people knew and trusted each other to a large extent."¹⁴ In part, the unfolding milieu resulted from professional interest, but above all from the left-wing political stance of some West German representatives; a stance which, as another West German protagonist of the time explains in an essay, can be described as a kind of "anti-GDR attitude." In his words, this ranged from "unconditional allegiance and critical solidarity to the hope for a self-reformation of the 'real socialism' that was held in high regard despite many sobering experiences and insights" (Warneken 2018: 165, translated by Stefanie Buchanan).

There were a number of ways of professional cooperation. Thus, during this time, Sigrid and Wolfgang Jacobeit worked on the extensive *Illustrierte Alltagsgeschichte des deutschen Volkes* (Illustrated Everyday History of the German People). The collection of material for this work was largely the result of an intensive East-West exchange: The cross-border procurement of source material, the mutual supply of literature and personal expert discussions.¹⁵ For this purpose, one met privately in the cafes of East Berlin, sometimes even in the country villa in Birkenwerder¹⁶; or Wolfgang Jacobeit and Ute Mohrmann, who had been the chair-holder since 1986, were officially invited to the Federal Republic of Germany by Tübingen or Freiburg representatives. As late as October 1989, West German and Austrian student groups were still in East Berlin, and Tübingen colleagues spent several weeks in the city for an exchange within the framework of the GDR-FRG cultural agreement. They showed an exhibition which had emerged from a teaching project and which, under the heading "*Als die Deutschen demonstrieren lernten*" (When the Germans learnt to demonstrate), dealt with the Prussian election campaign from 1908 to 1910. The fact that the exhibition could be shown in East Berlin was due to the initiative of East Berlin cultural studies representatives, who cooperated particularly with

14 Interview, August 8, 2018.

15 Exactly what the network of this exchange looked like can be gleaned from the acknowledgements in the two volumes of the *Illustrierte Alltagsgeschichte des deutschen Volkes* (Jacobeit and Jacobeit 1985: 12, 1987: 9).

16 Cf. interview with Wolfgang and Sigrid Jacobeit, September 27, 2006, conducted by Teresa Brinkel; interview with a protagonist, August 8, 2018.

representatives from the discipline in Tübingen. The ethnographers, who worked with the cultural studies department, also mingled at the meetings that then took place. The theme of the small exhibition sounded unintentionally contemporary. The discussion in the accompanying lecture program tended to go beyond the historical problematic, and there was a lively exchange about what was happening on the streets of the GDR and especially in East Berlin.¹⁷ Finally, the East Berlin chair of ethnography, together with a colleague from Tübingen, conceived a cross-border student project on everyday experiences in 'East' and 'West,' for which, as the correspondence shows, a lot of patience was spent waiting for the approval of the Council of Ministers.¹⁸ In short, the foundations were laid well for the unexpected fall of the Wall and the coming together of GDR and FRG folklore studies/European ethnology 'eye to eye.' The new conceptualization of the discipline could become a joint project. Thus, only a few months after the opening of the border in 1989, at a time when state unity had been established but not yet achieved, the 'still GDR' colleagues dared to make a first attempt and, on their own initiative, sent a draft for the reconceptualization of the discipline in the new federal states to a representative in Tübingen. The friendly tone and the free addressing of their own insecurity reflect the familiarity with each other:

We send you some documents about our activities and our ideas for the future development of the discipline in our region. Perhaps you can inform your colleagues [...] about it. The official way in these matters is through the DGV [Deutsche Gesellschaft für Volkskunde, German Association for Folklore Studies V.H.] [...] We do not know what the situation will be like in the fall. [...] We are still dependent on your advice in the procedural questions. [...] Cordial greetings.¹⁹

Based on the self-critical demand to have to face the current changes and to pay "in-depth attention" to the contradictory development of the discipline in the GDR, the draft outlined the profile of a future "ethnography of Europe" – still in unity with ethnology which concentrated on Asia and Africa.²⁰ Accordingly, the focus was placed on the "understanding permeation of historical and contemporary everyday life, especially of the broad strata of the population of Germany and other European and non-European peoples."²¹ The training was to be based on the general theme of "mobility and identity," which was aimed at investigations into "intercultural processes, especially ethnic identities and their complex effects."²² In a concept

17 Cf. interview with two protagonists, August 8, 2018, and January 1, 2019.

18 Cf. ALBBV, Korrespondenzen.

19 ALBBV, Korrespondenzen, letter dated July 12, 1990: 1.

20 Private archive, "Entwurf. Institut für Ethnographie an der Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin," Berlin, June 4, 1990: 3.

21 Ibid.

22 Ibid.

that was refined a few months later and which had by then already been developed in exchange with West German colleagues, the East-West transformation processes are addressed as a central concern of the discipline, and ethnographic research on big cities, families, women, youth and minorities is also thematically inscribed.²³ However, this draft was doomed to failure. After state unification, the Berlin Senate decided in December 1990 to enter into the *Abwicklung* of disciplines at Humboldt University that were particularly ideologically charged, including the Section for History, to which ethnography was assigned. Subsequently, a structural and appointment commission was set up, chaired by the West German historian Gerhard Ritter. Under the title of the "Ritter Commission," it became known for the rapidity of terminations and new calls (Brinkel 2012: 201–211; Ritter 1993).

The decision to proceed with the *Abwicklung* created constellations that shook the once existing, albeit timid, "exchange milieu" of folklore studies fundamentally, and yet, one tried to hold on to it. West German colleagues seized the opportunity and opposed the *Abwicklung* of ethnography at the Berlin Senate. Trained in dealings with the Federal German democracy, they addressed the government with a letter. They stressed the competence of ethnography in acting as an East-West mediator. They referred to the close cooperation across East-West borders as not only an effect of the *Wende* and emphasized, "as far as one can say this without arrogance," the professional compatibility of East German ethnography with the "West."²⁴

Among other things, it was this intervention in conjunction with the legal annulment and, thus, the delay of the *Abwicklung* decision that led to a weakening of the *Abwicklung* from a dissolution into a 'restructuring,' thus, allowing the subject to be given the greatest possible scope for development. At the same moment – as a West German protagonist openly describes it – "a gold-digger time started, everyone was fighting for the claims, because we knew that there would not be an unlimited number of positions."²⁵ This "gold-digger" period, as the protagonist calls it and whose semantics inherently contain the assessment of a colonialist act, has been described several times. As with every colonial act, ambivalence and here, one's own sense of shame – the awareness of acting in part against social and personal expectations – is also inscribed into this one. As Johannes Fabian so vividly described in his study on the colonial explorers of Central Africa: They were able to endure their actions and the resulting feelings of shame and guilt in some cases only in a state of intoxication (Fabian 2000: 1–22).

23 Private archive, "Konzept: Ethnographische Forschung und Lehre an der Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin. Wissenschaftsverständnis – Forschungs- und Lehraufgaben – personelle Struktur," Berlin, December 1990: 2, 7.

24 ALBBV, Korrespondenzen, letter dated March 12, 1991: 3.

25 Interview with a protagonist, August 8, 2018.

The ambivalence and the sense of shame because of one's own actions, which partially ran counter to the left-wing political self-image, are reflected in the private correspondence. Thus, one West German colleague writes to another:

P.S.: You will also be involved in the efforts to ensure that the complete 'Abwicklung' (really LTI!²⁶) [...] of the folklorists at Humboldt University does not happen by a simple bureaucratic stroke of the pen. [...] All in all, it is often true that up to now too little has been done by the people themselves [...] Of course: we as knights of freedom, truth and tolerance ... I am horrified!²⁷

And the response to this:

In the matter of 'Abwicklung' [...] of ethnography we have [...] become active. But the whole affair remains a difficult problem because, above all, relatively little has been done by ethnography itself to prevent the stroke of the pen. I had [...] already suggested in the spring [...] that a position should be formulated for ethnography [...]. However, the planned economy is obviously showing its long-term effects here [...]. But I didn't feel comfortable with this [...] because it always sounds like the good advice given by Westerners in secure positions.²⁸

Despite the looming powerful asymmetries, an attempt was made to reprofile the subject as an East-West enterprise. The ideas already laid down by the East German colleagues were synthesized with the topic of West German left-wing folklore studies in the newly developed draft for the discipline of European ethnology – this being the new name of ethnography. With the separation of non-European ethnology, which was now to be represented solely at the Freie Universität Berlin, the following focal points were planned:

German everyday culture in the past and present:

- local and regional cultural development in the city of Berlin and the Brandenburg area,
- the diversity of ethnic and national cultures both regarding the European countries (with a focus on Eastern Europe) and the multicultural situation in Berlin, and
- the methods of practical cultural work and cultural mediation including museological tasks.²⁹

The concept was, as one of the West German actors emphasizes, not only understood as a joint reform of the former GDR subject; rather, the opening of the view of Europe led out of the "dead ends" of previous folklore studies in West Germany: Dead ends

26 LTI: *Lingua Tertii Imperii* – a reference to the book *LTI. Notizbuch eines Philologen* by Victor Klemperer (1946).

27 ALBBV, Korrespondenzen, letter dated December 12, 1990: 2. Underlined in the original.

28 ALBBV, Korrespondenzen, letter dated January 23, 1991: 2.

29 UAHU, Präsidialamt No. 10219, Zur Beschlussfassung für die Sitzung des akademischen Senats der Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin of March 3, 1992: 3.

that had caused the all too strong focus on the immediate region and regional history.³⁰

The German-German conflicts, the attributions of 'East' versus 'West' and the mediation across these demarcation lines were defined as the focus of the future three professorships. The chair was to be headed by a person who could represent the discipline in its entire breadth. The draft stated that the holder of a further professorship would

devote their research to developments that have had a significant impact on everyday culture and the lifeworld in German history and the present [...]. The Berlin-Brandenburg region will be a focal point of observation, with a view [...] to its current function as a point of contact for East and West German everyday culture [...].³¹

The third professorship, finally, was especially dedicated to the "connection between ethnicity and culture in Europe [...]."³²

If one follows the narrative memories of that time, there was a strong consensus among the protagonists in East and West that the institute – in order for it to survive and have a discourse-setting effect beyond the new federal states – had to be occupied by a person from the old Federal Republic: This was undisputed.³³ One of the other professorships – if one follows the narratives – intended to be scientifically fair, was reserved for a representative from East Germany.³⁴

However, this well-thought-out plan was influenced by structures of the time of upheaval, by which one was ultimately defeated despite the resources used in terms of action and design. Thus, it was found that the East German person who had been designated for one of the professorships had worked for the State Security. This constitutes a decisive moment which was one of the reasons for the failure of the reorientation of the subject as an East-West enterprise. How dramatic this was experienced is shown, among other things, by the fact that interviewees, especially students, remember the disclosure of the involvement with the State Security precisely and describe it in detail. As an example, a student who was active in the institute at the time said

For me, there is the glass box scene [nickname for one of the two seminar rooms in the Berlin Institute, V.H.]. The person had to admit that they were with the Stasi [Ministerium für Staatssicherheit: State Security Service]. [...] The person sits in front and cries and says that they had been with the Stasi. In the 1950s. [...] That

30 Interview with a protagonist, August 8, 2018.

31 UAHU, Präsidialamt No. 10219, Zur Beschlussfassung für die Sitzung des akademischen Senats der Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin of August 13, 1992.

32 Ibid.

33 Interview with contemporary witnesses, September 27, 2006, conducted by Teresa Brinkel; interview with a contemporary witness, June 28, 2007, conducted by Teresa Brinkel.

34 Interview with contemporary witnesses, September 27, 2006, conducted by Teresa Brinkel; interview with a contemporary witness, August 8, 2018.

was a shock for everyone who sat there. The person didn't duck away, I have to give them credit for that. The person [...] came clear in the glass box. [...] But I felt this disappointment [...] From then on there was [...] this break because it was clear that it wasn't going to be this person: If you are Stasi, you become nothing. The orientation of the discipline had to be rethought. This meant that the personnel line was lost, the connection that was needed to save something directly afterwards.³⁵

What started out as a shared concern – a 'rescue operation' – of East and West German colleagues had now been powerfully transformed into a West German venture. All three professorships were later filled by West German and non-GDR socialized protagonists – with the harsh consequences this had for East German biographies and the recognition of the associated body of knowledge: "That the heads of those who were ideologically entangled rolled, that was obvious," as one student at the time commented. "But they also took away people who were not under such general ideological suspicion."³⁶

Transitions: "Don't look back, only forward, only the new"

The decisions and processes had serious consequences. In the narratives, they coagulate into the topos of a social rupture between East-West-colleagues in the discipline and strengthen the symbol of the colonization of the East by the West. At the same time, this is broken by the narrative of the increasing attractiveness of the discipline. "Don't look back, only forward, only the new," as the former student describes the situation. This shows that the metaphor of colonization must be differentiated by generation. Thus, the student further describes:

The one professor was very important for me. [...] I met him with great scientific curiosity, [...] because he brought other topics [...] because he was a different guy, so relaxed and casual [...]. Once he simply asked me if I would walk with him to the subway and, bam, he involved me in a perceptual walk [central method of urban research and sensory ethnography, V.H.]. [...] He was also curious about [...] East German biographies.³⁷

"The new," as the student calls it at the beginning of her elaborations, does indeed address stocks of knowledge and academic-social manners that were 'Western' in character or interpreted in this way. However, at the same time, "the new" semantically means much more: Especially for students from the former GDR. Another student at the time describes that she

of course [...] wanted to get to know the West, [...] in other words, everything that I could not see or learn at school. I, therefore, didn't want a standard curriculum,

35 Interview, September 5, 2018.

36 Interview, September 14, 2018.

37 Interview, September 14, 2018.

as one could have studied in the GDR. And European ethnology offered me this, this 'freedom'. You could think your way into completely new contents of knowledge, gather completely new experiences. In cultural theories, it was as if I was discovering the world in a completely new way. This has certainly something to do with 'East' and 'West.'

After some consideration, she differentiates:

"But it was not straightforward in the seminars: We are now adopting what is valid in the West. For example, if I had studied folklore studies according to the Western pattern, somewhere in the old federal states, where it was still about folk costumes, customs and traditions, I would not have liked that. The thought and feeling of this time were much more comprehensive: Finally, I could think and read freely and no longer parrot some ideology – no matter if 'East' or 'West.' This was the idea that was communicated and not at all whether it was left or right, 'West' or 'East.' It was much more the understanding: Wow, we have the experimental field of our lives here.³⁸

Empathically, one of the interviewees from the old federal states also believes that the East German colleagues accordingly perceived West German colleagues as foreign bodies. "By right," as he points out:

I don't know how I would have behaved if someone in the West had shown up and said: Now I am here. This transitional phase was very precarious and also really difficult for me, partly because I actually found my colleagues very pleasant.³⁹

The fact that former GDR academics were not given permanent positions and were forced out of the university system "personally affected me very much," as another actor coming from the Federal Republic of Germany at the time feels moved to say, also – as he sums up the moral dilemma inherent in the structures of upheaval – "because all I ever wanted to become was something other than colonial. [...] One just got into this situation somehow. You won in the *Wende* [...] and others lost."⁴⁰

In view of the topics of seminars already existing in the GDR, one of the professors deliberately began to offer courses with a reference to the city:

Also in connection with the fact that there was already a tradition of urban research through the one colleague who then left. She had already done small ethnographic projects in Berlin, and other colleagues had done the same [...]. She actually had a good program [...]. Based on the work she had done, I found her interesting.⁴¹

In addition, new job holders began to address their own situation on site by looking more closely at local history. Thus, one of the first student projects studied an East-West mediation project that had already started in the 1910s at the location of the Institute for European Ethnology. Even before World War I, educated citizens from

38 Interview, March 3, 2020.

39 Interview, July 7, 2018.

40 Interview with a protagonist, January 21, 2019.

41 Interview, July 7, 2018.

the Western part of the city had moved there, to the proletarian East of Berlin – a trend that was to be found in large cities all over the world and which became known as the ‘social settlement movement.’ The desired goal was to fill the rift that metaphorically ran through society, and which was reflected in the specific topographical separation of ‘poor’ and ‘rich’ (‘East’ and ‘West’) through a form of civilizing work. This has been interpreted critically and rigorously in historical research as a form of colonization of lifeworlds. At the same time, the bourgeois actors have been attested an idea of reconciliation, friendship and love (Wietschorke 2013). In a way, this movement formed a self-reflexive allegory of the present. As one of those involved in the project recalls:

The settlement movement – [...] I found this a very appropriate project at the time for the transitional period. I think people liked the title of the book as well: *Wer in den Osten geht, geht in ein anderes Land* (Who goes to the East goes to another country) – for reasons that were very much in the present day. The East German Academy publishing house particularly found it very appropriate for the time. And I thought it was fitting in the local context that we were actually addressing our own situation because we were also a kind of settlement, to a certain extent.⁴²

Over the following years, the Berlin location of the discipline became the largest in Germany. It had a discourse setting effect on the discipline and proactively created public spheres beyond the university. Urban research was established from here as a central disciplinary line of investigation. Women’s studies and – in a broader theoretical and empirical sense – gender studies were able to establish themselves further in the discipline, both in terms of content and structure. European ethnology developed rapidly from a historically working discipline into a contemporary one, with decisive impulses coming from Berlin. A programmatic document that put a preliminary end to the reorganization of the discipline in Berlin and, thus, in the new German states in a discourse setting manner is the volume *Kulturen, Identitäten, Diskurse. Perspektiven der Europäischen Ethnologie* (Cultures, Identities, Discourses. Perspectives of European Ethnology), edited by Wolfgang Kaschuba (1995). The publication contains the inaugural lectures of the professors and the contributions of other (international) colleagues. It reveals the potency of cultural analysis in the post-Marxist era. The concepts of nation and ethnicity have replaced the talk of ‘folk life’ and ‘folk culture.’ One looked at an increasingly connected world and its significance for everyday cultures. The gaze is directed far into Europe and especially into Eastern Europe. The realization of the earlier new concept of the discipline, developed jointly by East and West German representatives of the subject, began to show. However, representatives socialized in East Germany do not appear in the volume. Nevertheless, their ideas and the collaborative struggle to

42 Interview, July 7, 2018.

establish a disciplinary profile did become inscribed under the powerful transformations brought about by the fall of the Wall. Still, biographies shaped by East Germany have largely disappeared from the discipline. On the one hand, this finding underscores what Peer Pasternack has already pointed out: The “Westernization” of the sciences in the new federal states, respectively, the Federal Republic of Germany as a result of the fall of the Wall is also evident in European ethnology (Pasternack 2005). But, on the other hand, in view of the events and perceptions presented here, it also becomes apparent that the topos of “Westernization” falls short. Here, the social caesura is measured by its results, ignoring the complicated process of its negotiation: The fragility, the collegial distortions and the resulting moral dilemmas, the failure and success of ideas, and the discipline-specific contradictions that arose from them. In the future, it will be necessary to focus even more strongly on these partially conflicting developments in the disciplinary upheavals brought about by the fall of the Berlin Wall, to address them and endure them in order to promote understanding.

A plea for a comparative ethnographic history of science

Aim of this contribution was to understand why, thirty years after the fall of the Berlin Wall, protagonists invited to a discussion roundtable still found it troubling to reveal together how their own discipline and the German-German scientific landscape in general were reshaped as a result of this historical caesura. Through biographical memories and archive documents, the article explores the reformation of the thematic-analytical orientation and sociality of a discipline, and how East and West German colleagues struggled with this. I have outlined a surface for reflection of how situations of upheaval in academia were dealt with and which interdependencies between society and science emerge and stabilize in the process.⁴³

In view of the caesura of the fall of the Berlin Wall, the dichotomy between ‘East’ and ‘West,’ which has often been observed in scientific history, does not do justice to the complexity of actions, events and the collegial ruptures and interrelationships, nor does it allow us to understand the situation at that time. The dominant thesis of a “colonization” and “Westernization” of the East German sciences may prove to be accurate in macrostructural and statistical terms. However, the assessment of a simple reproduction of the existing federal republican canon once again fails to recognize the contribution made by East German colleagues to the academic changes after 1989. In addition, generational and disciplinary cultural differences are homogenized. In the sense of a corrective to universalizing theoretical and historical

43 In order to profile and differentiate this reflection surface for the discipline, it would be fruitful for further investigations to focus on the momentous dissolution of the Academy of Sciences and the new establishment of the East German site in Jena.

assumptions, I propose an ethnographically oriented and discipline-comparative history of science: A history of science that results from the interweaving of social, micro and biographical history. It offers a contradictory and incomplete multiperspectivity. In doing so, it produces a history of science that provides legitimacy and significance to the knowledge and socialities of different groups – also in terms of their power – and, thus, enables insightful scientific self-reflection.

Such perspectivistic research has time on its side: The retention periods on personal files are falling. Let us turn to them and risk, more than 30 years after the fall of the Berlin Wall, to further open up the German-German process of understanding in the field of science to jointly produce narratives about the events of the past.

Bibliography

- Bachmann, Götz. 2000. "Der Belegschaftskultur-Ansatz und die Links-Volkskunde. Ein Blick zurück nach vorn." In *Arbeitskulturen im Umbruch. Zur Ethnographie von Arbeit und Organisation*, edited by Irene Götz and Andreas Wittel, 35–54. Münster: Waxmann.
- Bausinger, Hermann. 1965. "Volksideologie und Volksforschung. Zur nationalsozialistischen Volkskunde." *Zeitschrift für Volkskunde* 61: 177–204.
- Bönisch-Brednich, Brigitte, ed. 1991. *Erinnern und Vergessen. Vorträge des 27. Deutschen Volkskundekongresses Göttingen 1989*. Göttingen: Schermer.
- Bourdieu, Pierre. 2018 [1992]. *Homo Academicus*. Frankfurt on the Main: Suhrkamp.
- Brinkel, Teresa. 2012. *Volkskundliche Wissensproduktion in der DDR. Zur Geschichte eines Faches und seiner Abwicklung*. Berlin and Zurich: LIT-Verlag.
- Bürkert, Karin. 2015. *Fastnacht erforschen: Zur Herstellung und Vermittlung von Kulturwissen (1961–1969)*. Tübingen: Tübinger Vereinigung für Volkskunde.
- Dietzsch, Ina. 2004. "Volkskunde in Berlin oder Berliner Volkskunde? Überlegungen zu einer orts- und raumbezogenen Wissenschaftsgeschichte." In *Verräumlichung, Vergleich, Generationalität. Dimensionen der Wissenschaftsgeschichte*, edited by Matthias Mideel, Frank Uetkötter, and Ulrike Thoms, 46–69. Leipzig: Akademische Verlagsanstalt.
- Dietzsch, Ina, Wolfgang Kaschuba, and Leonore Scholze-Irrlitz, eds. 2009. *Horizonte ethnografischen Wissens*. Cologne et al.: Böhlau Verlag.
- Dressel, Gert, and Nikola Langreiter. 2003. "Wenn 'wir selbst' zu unserem Forschungsfeld werden [30 Absätze]." *Forum Qualitative Sozialforschung/Forum: Qualitative Social Research* 4 (2), Art. 27. Accessed May 20, 2020. Available at: <http://nbn-resolving.de/urn:nbn:de:0114-fqs0302276>.
- Ege, Moritz, Irene Götz, and Johannes Moser, eds. 2015. *Zur Situation der Volkskunde 1945–1970: Orientierungen einer Wissenschaft zur Zeit des Kalten Krieges*. Münster and New York, NY: Waxmann.
- Emmerich, Wolfgang. 1968. *Germanistische Volkstumsideologie. Genese und Kritik der Volksforschung im Dritten Reich*. Tübingen: Tübinger Vereinigung für Volkskunde.
- Fabian, Johannes. 2000. *Out of Our Minds: Reasons and Madness in the Exploration of Central Africa*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press. <https://doi.org/10.1525/california/9780520221222.001.0001>

- Fenske, Michaela. 2006. "Mikro, Makro, Agency – Historische Ethnografie als kulturanthropologische Praxis." *Zeitschrift für Volkskunde* 102 (2): 151–177.
- Flierl, Thomas. 2006. "Innovation durch Integration." In *WIP-Kolloquium. "Innovation durch Integration"*, February 14, 2006, in the Senatssaal of the HUB, Gewerkschaft Erziehung und Wissenschaft, 2–4. Accessed March 8, 2020. Available at: http://www.peer-paster-nack.de/texte/Pasternack_Druckfassung.pdf.
- Gerndt, Helge, ed. 1987. *Volkskunde und Nationalsozialismus: Referate und Diskussionen einer Tagung der Deutschen Gesellschaft für Volkskunde, München, 23. bis 25. Oktober 1986*. Munich: Münchner Vereinigung für Volkskunde.
- Gröschner, Annett. 2009. "Der Osten in mir." *TAZ – Die Tagesszeitung*, February 28. Accessed May 20, 2020. Available at: <https://taz.de/!714824>.
- Herzfeld. Michael. 2001. "Orientations. Anthropology as a Practice of Theory." In *Anthropology. Theoretical Practice in Culture and Society*, edited by Michael Herzfeld, 5–19. Malden, MA, Oxford, Carlton: Blackwell.
- Imeri, Sabine. 2019. *Wissenschaft in Netzwerken. Volkskundliche Arbeit in Berlin um 1900*. Berlin: Panama-Verlag.
- Isaac, Rhys. 1980. "Ethnographic Method in History: An Action Approach." *Historical Methods* 13: 43–61. <https://doi.org/10.1080/01615440.1980.9955246>.
- Jacobeit, Sigrid and Wolfgang. 1985. *Illustrierte Alltagsgeschichte des deutschen Volkes. Vol. 1: 1550–1810*. Leipzig: Urania-Verlag.
- Jacobeit, Sigrid and Wolfgang. 1987. *Illustrierte Alltagsgeschichte des deutschen Volkes. Vol. 2: 1810–1900*. Leipzig: Urania-Verlag.
- Jacobeit, Wolfgang. 2000. *Von West nach Ost und zurück: Autobiographisches eines Grenzgängers zwischen Tradition und Novation*. Münster: Westfälisches Dampfboot.
- Kaschuba, Wolfgang. 1993. "Neue Götzen, alte Rituale. Die Berliner Humboldt-Universität im Kulturkonflikt." *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, March 20/21.
- Kaschuba, Wolfgang, ed. 1995. *Kulturen, Identitäten, Diskurse. Perspektiven Europäischer Ethnologie*. Berlin: Akademie-Verlag.
- Kaschuba, Wolfgang, and Leonore Scholze-Irrlitz. 2012. "Von der Ethnographie zur Europäischen Ethnologie. Volks- und Völkerkunde nach 1945 in der SBZ/DDR." In *Geschichte der Universität unter den Linden 1810–2010. Selbstbehauptung einer Vision*, edited by Heinz-Elmar Tenorth in cooperation with Volker Hess and Dieter Hoffmann, 423–438. Berlin: Akademie-Verlag.
- Keller-Drescher, Lioba. 2007. "Die Frage der Gegenwart und das Material der Vergangenheit – Zur (Re-)Konstruktion von Wissensordnungen." In *Historizität. Vom Umgang mit Geschichte*, edited by Andreas Hartmann, Silke Meyer, and Ruth-E. Mohrmann, 57–68. Münster: Waxmann.
- Keller-Drescher, Lioba. 2017. *Vom Wissen zur Wissenschaft: Ressourcen und Strategien regionaler Ethnografie (1820–1950)*. Stuttgart: Kohlhammer.
- Klemperer, Victor. 1946. *LTI. Notizbuch eines Philologen*. Leipzig: Reclam.
- Knorr, Karin D., R. Krohn, and Richard P. Whitley, eds. 1980. *The Social Process of Scientific Investigation*. Dordrecht: Reidel.

- Kocka, Jürgen, and Renate Mayntz, eds. 1998. *Wissenschaft und Wiedervereinigung. Disziplinen im Umbruch. Forschungsberichte der Interdisziplinären Arbeitsgruppen der Berlin-Brandenburgischen Akademie der Wissenschaften. Vol. 6.* Berlin: Akademie Verlag.
- Koffer, Blanka. 2008. "Zwischen politischem Anspruch und Fachtradition. Schlaglichter auf die akademische Volkskunde in Dresden vor 1990." *Volkskunde in Sachsen* 20: 189–204.
- Kühn, Cornelia. 2007. "'...eine neue, mit dem Volk verbundene Kultur entwickeln'. Laienkunst als Ressource für die Etablierung der Volkskunde in der frühen DDR." In *Wissenschaft und Öffentlichkeit als Ressourcen füreinander*, edited by Sibylla Nikolow and Arne Schirrmacher, 197–216. Frankfurt on the Main and New York: Campus.
- Kühn, Cornelia. 2015. *Die Kunst gehört dem Volke? Volkskunst in der frühen DDR zwischen politischer Lenkung und ästhetischer Praxis.* Münster: Lit-Verlag.
- Latour, Bruno, and Steve Woolgar. 1979. *Laboratory Life: The Social Construction of Scientific Facts.* Beverly Hills: Sage Publication.
- Lentz, Carola, and Silja Thomas. 2015. "Die Deutsche Gesellschaft für Völkerkunde. Geschichte und aktuelle Herausforderungen." *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie* 140: 225–253.
- Lepenies, Wolf. 1981. "Einleitung. Studien zur kognitiven, sozialen und historischen Identität der Soziologie." In *Geschichte der Soziologie. Vol. 1*, edited by Wolf Lepenies, I–XXXIV. Frankfurt on the Main: Suhrkamp.
- Lindner, Rolf. 1997. "Wer in den Osten geht, geht in ein anderes Land": Die Settlementbewegung in Berlin zwischen Kaiserreich und Weimarer Republik. Berlin: Akademie-Verlag. <https://doi.org/10.1515/9783050073415>
- Maase, Kaspar. 2001. "Das Archiv als Feld? Überlegungen zu einer historischen Ethnographie." In *Die Poesie des Feldes. Beiträge zur ethnographischen Kulturanalyse*, edited by Katharina Eisch and Marion Hamm, 255–271. Tübingen: Tübinger Vereinigung für Volkskunde.
- Merton, Robert King. 1981. "Zur Geschichte und Systematik der soziologischen Theorie." In *Geschichte der Soziologie. Vol. 1*, edited by Wolf Lepenies, 15–74. Frankfurt on the Main: Suhrkamp.
- Mohrmann, Ute. 1991. "Statement einer (DDR-)Volkskundlerin aus der BRD." *Kuckuck. Notizen zur Alltagskultur* 1 (1991c): 18–23.
- Mohrmann, Ute. 2005. "Volkskunde in the German Democratic Republic on the Eve of Its Dissolution." In *Studying Peoples in the People's Democracies. Socialist Era Anthropology in East-Central Europe*, edited by Chris Hann, Mihály Sárkány, and Peter Skalník, 195–210. Münster: Lit-Verlag.
- Mohrmann, Ute. 2018. *Ethnographie in der DDR. Rückblicke auf die Fachgeschichte.* Berlin: Panama-Verlag.
- Nathan, Rebekah. 2005. *My Freshman Year: What a Professor Learned by Becoming a Student.* Ithaca: Cornell University Press.
- Pasternack, Peer. 1998. "Demokratische Erneuerung und Kolonialisierung. Prüfung zweier Klischees." In *Ostprofile. Universitätsentwicklungen in den neuen Bundesländern*, edited by Alfons Söllner and Ralf Walkenhaus, 146–173. Opladen and Wiesbaden: Westdeutscher Verlag. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-322-85116-1_9

- Pasternack, Peer. 1999. *„Demokratische Erneuerung“. Eine universitätsgeschichtliche Untersuchung des ostdeutschen Hochschulumbaus 1989–1995. Mit zwei Fallstudien: Universität Leipzig und Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin.* Weinheim: Deutscher Studien Verlag.
- Pasternack, Peer. 2005. „Wissenschaftspersonal als Transformationsproblem. Resümee eines unverdauten Vorgangs.“ In *Evaluationskultur als Streitkultur*, edited by Petra Boden and Frank-Rutger Hausmann, 494–509. Bielefeld: Aisthesis Verlag.
- Pasternack, Peer. 2006. „Das WIP als Geschichte einer Problemverschiebung.“ In *WIP-Kolloquium. „Innovation durch Integration“*, February 14, 2006, in the Senatssaal of the HUB, Gewerkschaft Erziehung und Wissenschaft, 23–26. Accessed March 8, 2020. Available at: http://www.peer-pasternack.de/texte/Pasternack_Druckfassung.pdf.
- Pasternack, Peer. 2016. *Die DDR-Gesellschaftswissenschaften post mortem: Ein Vierteljahrhundert Nachleben (1990–2015). Zwischenfazit und bibliografische Dokumentation unter Mitarbeit von Daniel Hechler.* Berlin: Berliner Wissenschaftsverlag.
- Ritter, Gerhard. 1993. „Der Neuaufbau der Geschichtswissenschaft an der Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin – ein Erfahrungsbericht.“ *Geschichte in Wissenschaft und Unterricht* 44: 226–238.
- Scholz-Irrlitz, Leonore, and Thomas Scholze. 1990. „Vom wissenschaftlichen Alltag des Wolfgang Jacobeit. Ein Gespräch nach der ‚Wende‘ (September 1990).“ *Info-Blatt 1. Gesellschaft für Ethnographie*: 11–44.
- Steinitz, Wolfgang. 1953. *Die volkskundliche Arbeit in der Deutschen Demokratischen Republik, Reihe: Kleine Beiträge zur Volkskunstforschung*, edited by Zentralhaus für Volkskunst in Leipzig, Issue 1, Leipzig: VEB Friedrich Hofmeister.
- Stevens, Mitchell L. 2007. *Creating a Class: College Admissions and the Education of Elites.* Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Tuchman, Gaye. 2009. *Wannabe U: Inside the Corporate University.* Chicago: The University of Chicago Press. <https://doi.org/10.7208/chicago/9780226815282.001.0001>
- Warneken, Bernd Jürgen. 2018. „Wandel durch Annäherung.“ In *Mein 68 begann 65. Eine Tübinger Retrospektive*, edited by Bernd Jürgen Warneken, 165–170. Tübingen: Klöpfer & Meyer.
- Wietschorke, Jens. 2010. „Historische Ethnografie. Möglichkeiten und Grenzen eines Konzepts.“ *Zeitschrift für Volkskunde* 106 (2): 97–124.
- Wietschorke, Jens. 2013. *Arbeiterfreunde: Soziale Mission im dunklen Berlin 1911–1933.* Frankfurt on the Main: Campus.
- Wissenschaftsrat. 1990. *Perspektiven für Wissenschaft und Forschung auf dem Weg zur deutschen Einheit. Zwölf Empfehlungen.* Cologne 1990.

Friedemann Schmoll

“Volkskunde 70”*

50 years after Falkenstein – an attempt to classify

Abstract: The German Folklore Society hosted a university teachers’ conference at the Heimvolkshochschule Falkenstein in September 1970 with the goal of revising and redefining the theoretical foundations, tasks and knowledge goals of *Volkskunde*. The “Falkensteiner Resolution,” written 25 years after the fall of the Nazi regime, marked the renewal and opening up of *Volkskunde*. The resolution also recommended a new name for a renewed cultural science. What does the reform of that time mean for the disciplinary identity of the “multi-named subject” today?

Keywords: History of science, concept of culture, National Socialism, Nazism, disciplinary identity.

Introduction

The German Folklore Society hosted a university teachers’ conference at the Heimvolkshochschule Falkenstein in September 1970 with the goal of revising and redefining the theoretical foundations, tasks and knowledge goals of *Volkskunde* (folklore/ethnology). The event produced a special book replete with conflicting memories of the *mythomoteur* of the Falkenstein working conference and entitled *Volkskunde in Deutschland. Begriffe – Probleme – Tendenzen. Diskussion zur Standortbestimmung* (‘Volkskunde in Germany. Terminology – Problems – Tendencies. Repositioning the Discipline’). The book is a collection of position papers, statements and counterstatements that were quickly photocopied in the desire to communicate their contents. The papers are a suspenseful 332-page account of the transition of a discipline. A black and white photograph showing the outlines of raised hands was the motif for the cover. Heinz Schilling, who designed the layout of the book, no longer remembers exactly how he came by the photo: “The hands are supposed to call up associations with ‘discussions’ and ‘voting.’ I see it as symbolizing discourse + dynamics, things are happening.”¹ The *Falkensteiner Protokolle* (the minutes of the Falkenstein conference) were never intended to be enjoyable reading material.

* This paper was first published in German in *Zeitschrift für Volkskunde* 2020, 116 (2): 217–240. The text and quotations in German have been translated by Julia Heinecke und Jessica Wallace.

1 E-mail from Heinz Schilling to the author dated February 17, 2020.

As the publisher, Wolfgang Brückner, explains in the title pages, they are “not a publication under copyright law” but rather “the minutes of the academic conference of the standing committee on university and study questions of the German Folklore Society held in Falkenstein, in the Taunus (at the Adolf Reichwein Foundation’s Heimvolkshochschule, an adult education center) from September 21 to 26, 1970.”² The content and structure of the book reflected the course of the discipline’s self-conceptualization in the years before and after 1970 and the dynamics of a deep-rooted process of renewal.

Not only does it contain Wolfgang Brückner’s opening speech and reports “with selected and edited minutes of discussions recorded on tape” (FP 1971: 141–303), it also includes “draft versions of the program, discussion papers and flyers” that had been in circulation prior to the conference. “Most of this jumble of papers” (Brückner’s preface, FP 1971: 12) document the intensity of the event and the ensuing “discussions about the discipline and how to rename it” (FP 1971: 305–328), topics that still continue to concern the discipline today.

Some of the important social aspects at play in Falkenstein were lost in the transcription; this may have contributed to the subsequent creation of myths surrounding the conference, such as the tense mood, provocations and animosities. The book conveys little of the atmosphere during the last night when participants toiled with the FP until two in the morning. Instead, it postulates a formula that represents a consensus aimed at enabling cohesion and renewal within the discipline: “1. *Volkskunde* analyzes the communication of cultural values (and the sources of those values and the associated processes) through objectification and subjectification. The aim is to help solve sociocultural problems” (FP 1971: 303).

It was anything but a matter of course that Falkenstein could even take place. The “pre-debate,” as Brückner refers to it in the preface, “inadvertently took on a fierce nature,” so that people feared an “uproar.” “But the opposite was true” (FP 1971: 11). The five days spent in the Taunus in September were called to take a careful look at the theoretical propositions, research purposes and epistemic goals of *Volkskunde* in order to redefine the discipline. They were not some ephemeral uproar but rather the climax of a culminating process that began after 1945 and hoped to review a discipline whose history had seldom experienced long phases of stability. At the latest, student protests at the congresses in Würzburg in 1967 and Detmold in 1969 expressed the need for discussion. Subsequently, the conflicts turned into a constructive academic debate. Countless publications prior to and after Falkenstein accompanied the discussions. The *Abschied vom Volksleben* (‘Farewell to Folk Life’) presented policies that are printed on the back of the book: Since this discipline suffered “from the constraints of a sluggish tradition,” the authors demanded that

2 See the German Wikipedia article “Heimvolkshochschule Falkenstein” for more on the history of the place. Quotes from the *Falkensteiner Protokolle* will be referred to as FP hereafter.

"Volkskunde be transformed into a critical social science" (Geiger, Jeggle, and Korff 1970).

There are few academic disciplines that were changed by the transformation of the 1960s as much as that which at the time was known as *Volkskunde*. Immediately after Falkenstein, for example, Helge Gerndt called the *Falkensteiner Protokolle* "a first-rate document on the history of the field. We can only hope that it is not pushed aside after managing to get the ball rolling, and will instead be an encouragement along the path toward a meaningful future for *Volkskunde* research, if not an important milestone" (Gerndt 1971b: 255). What did Falkenstein signify: The long overdue self-reflection of a discipline behind the times? The beginning of the end, as Leopold Schmidt warned in the face of the "dissolution and fragmentation that was apparent within the discipline" (Schmidt 1981: 37)?³ Or quite the opposite: Would introducing a more general concept of culture enable a metamorphosis, during the course of which the field could confidently come to be understood "as a covert key discipline" (Lindner 1987: 6), thanks to its innovational strength and appeal during the 1980s? What paths led to today's "field of many names" – "From *Volkskunde* to 'The field of many names'" (Bendix 2012)? What distinct concepts, theories and methods united the institutes that belong to the German Folklore Society (Deutsche Gesellschaft für Volkskunde, dgV) and are known by names such as European ethnology, cultural anthropology or empirical cultural studies?

"Volkskunde beyond the ideologies": Reform initiatives after 1945

In retrospect, Helge Gerndt claimed that one of the prevalent achievements of the Falkenstein conference was that it prevented "the imminent division of the field" (Gerndt 1988: 2). The "unity of the field" (FP 1971: 303) had also been called for at Falkenstein. But what exactly did this evocative phrase mean? Was it the social unity of a supportive milieu that was not only recruited from the scientific community but also from nonscientific groups active in the cultural sphere who promoted the preservation of regional values and traditions? Was it the ongoing historical development of a cognitive identity for the science of *Volkskunde*? Did such an identity even exist? Since the 19th century, a permanent state of instability was the only type of continuity the discipline had ever experienced. *Volkskunde* was an "additional product" (Weiss 1946: VII), at odds with the scientific community.

3 The "Volkskunde der Gegenwart" ('Present-day *Volkskunde*') from 1981 is an extended reprint of "Volkskunde heute, 1968. Beobachtungen und Betrachtungen," published in *Antaios*. The "news-paper for a free world" was founded in 1959 by Ernst Jünger and Mircea Eliade. Most of the people involved were conservative thinkers. The newspaper also attracted *Volkskunde* authors (Will-Erich Peuckert, Max Lüthi, etc.). Before it was discontinued in 1971, numerous nonconformist and left-wing alternative scholars also published articles, for example, the anthropologist Ernesto de Martino or Sergej Golowin's "Psychedelische Volkskunde" ('Psychedelic *Volkskunde*') (1971).

However, in exchange, it offered more opportunities for points of contact with other disciplines. Its ambiguous position could be attributed to its peculiar nature and the coexistence of different methods of practicing the science of *Volkskunde*. In this respect, the field can undoubtedly be understood as “an interface discipline whose way of thinking is associated with a flexible combination of theories and methods”: “There is hardly any other field for which transdisciplinarity has played such a big role – long before the word even existed” (Wietschorke 2015: 63).

The Nazi regime had fallen 25 years before September 1970. *Volkskunde* was reorganizing itself after having been heavily involved in the ideology the Nazis used to seize and maintain power. After 1933, the discipline had contributed to dismantling the boundaries between ideology and science. In addition, it was the Nazis’ science policy that explicitly made it possible for *Volkskunde* to be established as a university subject. The same policy appointed university chairs based primarily on party loyalty and ideological compatibility. The academic institutionalization after 1933 also called into question the field’s scientific character and its self-mobilization as a science for legitimizing *völkisch* nationalism and Germanophile esoterism. Whether it was a ‘collapse’ or ‘liberation,’ there was a cut after 1945; nevertheless, the discipline failed to reflect on its role under the Nazi regime. Initially, skepticism was confronted with the desire to maintain a continuity and carry on as before (Maus 1946; Peuckert 1947). Attempts at repositioning the discipline during the 1950s decidedly omitted the field’s Nazi history. Nowadays, they sound like insider voices from of an insular culture – a world of its own that shows little interest in the outside world. For the most part, the authors’ academic qualifications were acquired before 1945. Many of those who voiced these opinions on policies had linked their academic work to their political engagement for the Nazi party, the fight for national traditions and nationalistic education (e.g. Freudenthal 1955; Schier 1959).

In 1960, Adolf Bach published a new edition of his 1937 book *Deutsche Volkskunde* (‘German *Volkskunde*’), the publication history of which clearly illustrates the mechanisms employed to establish continuity within the discipline. This was the only comprehensive work published during the postwar period and was clearly rooted in Nazi ideology. At most, Bach had made superficial changes, and the rejection of his racist ethnocentrism was modest at best. Rudolf Kriss, for example, criticized the distressfully blunt terminology of the Nazi era: “How close his alliances still are is divulged by his continued usage of the term ‘Volk’ as coined by a leading representative of Nazi *Volkskunde*, A. Helbok (p. 127)” (Kriss 1961: 58). A scandal? Not at all, otherwise, the book received unreserved recognition. The legitimization for the lack of reflection was found in Will-Erich Peuckert’s dictum of two types of *Volkskunde* divided into a political and unscientific movement, on the one hand, and a scientific and ethical one, on the other. Continuity could be established in the postwar era by adapting and adjusting the semantics of key concepts and patterns

of orientation (Bollenbeck and Knobloch 2001). In doing so, the semantic field *Volk* maintained its role as the integrative core of the discipline (Eggmann et al. 2019; Moser, Götz, and Ege 2015).

In addition to the preservation of continuity, certain policies were removed (Beck 1997: 104–127) almost without notice, subtle attempts at denazifying the discipline. Hans Moser, Karl Sigismund Kramer and their Munich School attempted to liberate the field from its *völkisch* nationalistic tendencies and constructions of Germanic continuity using historical and critical methods for studying the '*Volkskultur*' or 'people's culture.' By contrast, the *Volkskunde* community expressed a great deal more skepticism of Hermann Bausinger's attempt to emancipate the field from its narrow confines as a science restricted to premodern relics and, instead, conduct a cultural analysis of modern industrial society. Gerhard Heilfurth proposed new reform policies in his inaugural lecture in Marburg, "Jenseits der Ideologie" ('Beyond ideologies') (1961), that called for the field to orient itself toward the social sciences and cultural anthropology. All of these approaches were tools for liberating *Volkskunde* from the limited focus on the "nostalgic and retrospective direction" it was taking and, thus, to maximize the "social status of our field" (Greverus 1969: 17).

The foundation of two separate German states in 1949 initiated a dual history of German-German competition and cooperation in which neither East nor West Germany were initially willing to give up the idea of unifying the discipline. In alternating phases of alienation and rapprochement, individuals and institutes on both sides of the German-German border (also) saw themselves as members of a pan-German discipline, despite divisive differences in content, for example, the branch of *Volkskunde* in the West dedicated to displaced persons and the orientation to Soviet ethnography in the East. In East Germany, *Volkskunde* also clung to the term '*Volk*.' Now, the discipline's task was "to study the material and psychological culture of the working German *Volk*" (Steinitz 1955: 30), thus, maintaining the connection between *Volk*, nation and culture. The East German *Volkskunde*, as an academic discipline in an anti-fascist state, already seemed to have been relieved of the duty of carefully examining its Nazi past. It is that much more remarkable that Wolfgang Jacobeit referred to the history of the discipline between the two world wars as the antecedent to the Nazi era in his book *Bäuerliche Arbeit und Wirtschaft* (1965). Meanwhile, *Volkskunde* in East Germany tried to find a middle ground between its independence and a growing obligation to allow itself to be instrumentalized by party ideology. Regular policy alignments included a pledge to the scientific model of "real socialism" as part of the third university reform (Jacobeit and Mohrmann 1968/69). Here, too, the discipline was expanded to include "contemporary research" (Jacobeit and Nedo 1969).⁴

4 Cf. Mühlberg (1999) for more on '1968' in East Germany, or Mohrmann (2001) for a focus on *Volkskunde*.

Volkskunde had only managed to establish itself at universities after 1933. Consequently, its position seemed very unstable during the 1950s, even as institutes and departments in Kiel, Münster, Marburg, Freiburg, Mainz, Bonn and Würzburg were quietly expanding. The younger generations who were promoting reforms sounded the alarm in the midst of this consolidation. While the German Council of Science and Humanities, which was founded in 1957, suggested a massive program of expansion for the universities in 1960, it recommended that “The existing chairs appear to be sufficient for *Volkskunde* (‘folklore studies’)” (German Council of Science and Humanities 1960: 92). Hermann Bausinger responded by diagnosing the lasting impact of the “discreditation of the subject area due to the research it conducted to support the Nazis.” Calling the discipline “folklore studies,” he claimed, “makes light of the discipline in an unbearable manner.” He went on to say that *Volkskunde* has long stopped “focusing its research on mythological relics; instead, it aims to achieve an understanding of the history of human thought in historical cultural movements and vanishing ways of life and to study folk culture in industrial society.” The lack of disciplinary unity “risks dilettantism, on the one hand, while also opening the floor for discussions between disciplines and the humanization of the extensive range of academic research.”⁵

In West Germany, *Volkskunde* was wrestling with enormous problems relating to its identifiability. Here is one episode that exemplified the discipline’s unclear status: During consultations with the Ministry of the Interior in Bonn, Helmut Dölker, chairman of the *Volkskunde* association, was told in 1955 by Carl Gussone, a government official, that his subject area was no longer categorized as a science and was now the responsibility of the culture department. Dölker stated: “He said this decision had been made by analogy with the working group of the German homeland, hiking and nature conservation associations; they were in the right hands with him as he was responsible for ‘general culture.’”⁶ This legacy of seeing *Volkskunde* as a nonacademic field of study dates back to its prescientific stage of development and continued to have an impact well after 1945 (Bagus 2005; Nikitsch 2006; Schürch, Eggmann, and Risi 2010), impeding efforts to professionalize the discipline. *Volkskunde* was relegated to a marginal position in the new concepts of the educational reform. It was bound to lose its status as a popular field of science with a large number of amateur players over the course of the euphoric plans and academic reforms of the 1960s.

- 5 Hermann Bausinger: Das Fach Volkskunde in den Empfehlungen des Wissenschaftsrates, manuscript, Archiv des Seminars für Volkskunde Bonn [Archives of the Department of Cultural Anthropology, Bonn], file A-J 1961.
- 6 Bericht über Besuch beim Bundesministerium des Innern am 4. März 1955. 14.30 bis 15.20 – Ministerialrat Gussone (H. Dölker March 4, 1955), [Report of a visit to the Ministry of the Interior on March 4, 1955. 2:30 to 3:20 pm – Head of Division Gussone], Archiv der Deutschen Gesellschaft für Volkskunde [Archives of the German Folklore Society], Freiburg, file 218.

Gerhard Heilfurth was elected chairman of the Verband der Vereine für Volkskunde (Alliance of *Volkskunde* Associations) in 1961. He was responsible for modernizing the association by transforming it into the academically viable Deutsche Gesellschaft für Volkskunde or German Folklore Society (Köstlin 2015). Founded in 1963 and reorganized in 1965, the association presented itself at a conference entitled "The importance of work for people" in Marburg (Heilfurth and Weber-Kellermann 1967). It was the last conference that colleagues from East Germany were able to attend for some time. In view of the public status of the event, the conference in Marburg, which welcomed 497 attendees and received a great deal of public attention, marked the beginning of a new era.

In his welcoming speech, the president of the university in Marburg, Karl Paul Hensel, addressed "the importance of *Volkskunde* in the totalitarian system of the Third Reich" and praised Adolf Reichwein's role as a dissident (dgv-Informationen 1965: 1). The renewal resulted in an increase in membership and more diversity in a previously self-contained milieu. Whereas the old association only had corporate members (1963: 144), personal members (1968: 314 plus 150 corporate; Sauermann 1970) were now also permitted, although initially their acceptance was conditional on being recommended by established members. Both the *Volkskunde* community and the German Folklore Society were opening their doors. Bolstered by the wave of democratization in the 1960s, students joined the organization in throngs and demanded a say. The old, close-knit association could accurately be described as a relatively self-contained community that shared the same values and ideology and had undergone similar experiences in their socialization. Considering that until then this had been a largely homogenous milieu, the escalating conflicts between generations and interest groups were all the more vehement. Students attended the *Volkskunde* conferences in Marburg in 1965 and Würzburg in 1967 and shook the foundations of the association's values, which had been resisting efforts at modernization. They established a counter-public with new types of protest and debates on the social responsibilities of academia.

Born in 1909, dgv chairman Gerhard Heilfurth belonged to the generation of *völkisch* nationalistic students of the late Weimar Republic who had paved the way for the Nazi regime, becoming functionaries after 1933. Now, in the modernized postwar democracy of West Germany, he was aiming for a balance: "Since our meeting in Würzburg in 1967, the German Folklore Society has repeatedly been attacked by students who felt uneasy about the current situation in the field and were calling upon the society to give this matter more attention" (DGV-Informationen 1969: 3)⁷. At the Detmold working conference, he submitted a report as the outgoing chair-

7 At the general meeting, a commemoration of members who had died in 1968 marked a generational shift and a new era. Max Hildebert Boehm, Theodor Frings and Adolf Helbok were among those commemorated.

man in which he expressed his dismay at “the disgruntlement, the aggression, and, unfortunately, invectives” in the discussion of fundamental issues. But he also welcomed the critical debate: “Critical debates are the lifeblood in a world striving for democracy; but they must be objective, issue-driven, and as rational as possible, without insulting others, especially when it comes to scientific questions” (DGV-Informationen 1969: 12).

After 1945, Heilfurth was one of those who promoted modernization and democratization. His book *Volkskunde jenseits der Ideologien* (‘Volkskunde beyond Ideologies’) (1961) and his recommendations that the discipline orient itself on English-speaking cultural anthropology were aimed at liberating *Volkskunde* from its national confines. Nevertheless, both his personal connections and the discipline’s past involvement with the Nazi regime were left unmentioned.

“In the shadow of the past” – Aftermath of nazism

The history of the Nazi era gave the worldwide youth protests of 1968 a special quality in Germany. Beginning in the late 1950s, attempts to distance the country from its uncritical ties to the Nazi regime had sparked “dynamic times” (Schildt, Siegfried, and Lammers 2000) – including a search for new ways of life, emancipation from authoritarian conditioning, a criticism of the continuity within political and public institutions, or the reformation of the principles of science and universities. Since Georg Picht declared the German education crisis in 1964 and Ralf Dahrendorf proclaimed, “education is a civil right” (1965), universities had been working on distancing themselves from the norms and principles of the past. Consequently, student protests, social liberalization, and education and university reforms were inseparably connected to the social concepts of “coming to terms with the past” and “working through the past.” Theodor W. Adorno had already questioned the phrase “working through the past” as a cross between an imposition and a promise, claiming it “does not mean seriously working upon the past, that is, through a lucid consciousness breaking its power to fascinate. On the contrary, its intention is to close the books on the past and, if possible, even remove it from memory” (Adorno 1963: 125). The terms refer to the yearning to be relieved of a historical responsibility. They imply that one can “come to terms with” the past, i.e. the past can be controlled and “worked through” and will then be over and done with.

In examining the aftermath of the Nazi era, questions arose regarding continuities and their consequences – the ongoing presence of certain people, the survival of ways of thinking and the persistence of theories whose legitimacy was not thoroughly examined after 1945. It is surprising that the Nazi history was not explicitly addressed at the meetings to establish the self-conception of the discipline between 1967 and 1970. Even as a critical analysis of the history of *Volkskunde* and its ideology was beginning to take place, barely any reference was made to their Nazi past

at the conferences in Würzburg, Detmold and Falkenstein. Nevertheless, the later analysis of the Nazi period and its impact still played an important role in triggering the subsequent years of reform. In these years, at least, momentous events took place: The neo-Nazi party NPD (National Democratic Party of Germany) was represented in seven state parliaments in West Germany in 1968. Willy Brandt kneeled at the Warsaw Ghetto memorial in December 1970, a tribute to the victims of the Nazi genocide, a gesture that symbolized a German chancellor asking for forgiveness and accepting the blame and responsibility for the crimes committed by the Nazi regime.

Twenty-five years after the fall of the Nazi regime, its legacy could still be felt on various levels. The initial attempt to denazify the universities after 1945 – which was soon largely reversed – was never supported by the universities themselves but rather enforced by the Allied occupiers. In the field of *Volkskunde*, party upstarts from the rival Nazi research institutes Amt Rosenberg and the SS Ahnenerbe were in fact excluded from the scientific community in 1945, effectively ending their academic careers. But otherwise, the discipline appeared to be mostly at peace with itself. Against this backdrop, Gerhard Heilfurth's 1966 summary of the history of *Volkskunde* is rather disconcerting, as he believed that the only thing the former *Volkskunde* association had achieved between 1933 and 1945 was to successfully assert the scientific integrity of the discipline until the "collapse of the Nazi regime": "During this entire period, the council [...] tirelessly promoted the gradual expansion of *Volkskunde* despite numerous setbacks and helped to strengthen and improve the position of *Volkskunde* at universities and other institutes of higher education" (Heilfurth 1966: 7). Heilfurth consistently drew from the experiences of a "society in collapse" after 1945, reviving the discourse of victimhood.

The Nazi legacy only began to be addressed in interdisciplinary lecture series at universities across the country (Haug 1967; Lammers 2000). During a series of lectures in Tübingen entitled "German intellectual life and Nazism," Hermann Bausinger rejected the idea that the discipline had been usurped from the outside, insisting instead that Nazism "had indeed emphasized central concepts of this scientific discipline." He, therefore, believed it was important to discuss whether the name itself "did not automatically preserve certain ideological elements" (Bausinger 1965: 177). Consequently, "if *Volkskunde* is the field in which Nazi ideologies were most rampant, then it is also the field that must uncover ideological elements and develop robust theories" (Bausinger 1965: 202). This admonition was soon followed by systematic efforts to achieve just that. Wolfgang Emmerich's thesis (1968) incited heated debates, which he stoked up in a second edition written for the influential "edition suhrkamp" (1971). This critical study of the ideology uncovered fault lines; in view of hardening confrontations, it finally forced scholars to examine the issue of the "unity of the discipline" that had been invoked in Falkenstein. Utz Jeggle addressed the reflexive defensiveness that was appearing in reviews of the book

to describe how the discipline was caught “in the shadow of the past”: “At first glance, it is striking that all three reviewers do not seem to have understood the book” (Jeggle 1970a: 6). Why? Because they rejected the critical examination of the discipline’s Nazi past. Jeggle noted a disconnect between the generations and saw a “deeper meaning” in the “unwillingness to come to terms with a specific era and a developmental trend in the history of the discipline”: “They want to be rid of the past as quickly as possible, saying everything has been dealt with! And anyone who does not want to accept these lies as truth is attacked and discredited as a troublemaker” (Jeggle 1970a: 7).

The generational conflict escalated. The vow of silence of the older cohorts proved irreconcilable with the demands of the younger generations to “work through the past” and promote a renewal of the discipline. An analysis of the interdependencies between the academic discipline *Volkskunde* and the practices of the Nazi regime resulted in considerable problems for the ensuing debates. These concerned 1) the deficits in the scientificity of the discipline referred to as “an antipathy to theory” (Bausinger 1968/69), which also manifested in the name “*Volkskunde*.” This resulted in 2) the name debate that connected problems of identifiability with issues related to the cognitive identity of the discipline. Where in the hodgepodge of related disciplines from philology and the social sciences to cultural anthropology could *Volkskunde* find a new home? And, finally, 3) questions arose regarding the political relevance and benefits of science for society (e.g. Hartinger 1993). These questions yielded the most unproductive answers and ended in energetic accusations of ideologism being tossed back and forth. Wolfgang Brückner, for example, wished to talk with Emmerich in Falkenstein about “this important and necessary book that, however, had itself been written from an ideological point of view.” But he also took a passing shot, adding, before the edition suhrkamp “exploited and popularized it as ‘devotional Marxist literature’” (FP 1971: 137 f.).

“Farewell to folk life,” “Who benefits from *Volkskunde*?” – Questions and turning points

Attempts to establish the field’s theoretical foundation as a critical social science revealed one option for *Volkskunde* to gain significance as a restored discipline. According to Hermann Bausinger, “theoretical analysis alone is the critical analysis of existing habits and is the only way to establish a practice that is no longer a blind repetition of how things were always done” (1968/69: 57). Another question remained: What was it about the tiny state of *Volkskunde* that appealed to those troubled students of 1968 who were also overcome by a worldwide “spirit of unrest” (Rosenberg, Münz-Koenen, and Boden 2000)? What were they searching for and what did they find here that could not be found in those disciplines that inspired new theories and were easily identified as socially relevant and connected to politi-

cal causes, such as emancipation and social criticism? Compared to the intellectual sex appeal of the large theoretical disciplines in the humanities and social sciences, the theories produced by *Volkskunde* were more comparable to a small subsistence farm. So, who in 1968 was interested in this field whose social relevance was well concealed, at least ostensibly? In any case, the older generations' lack of theoretical research had given way to the enthusiasm of the younger generations, who were calling for theoreticization – as an alternative to the self-purposeful collection and preservation of the old *Volkskunde*. This revealed new paths for disciplinary renewal initially aimed at overcoming the key term "volk" in exchange for an open-minded concept of culture. To use Wolfgang Brückner's words: "In Falkenstein, an actual consensus with the 'old' (for many of us, one could probably say 'ancient'), *Volkskunde* appeared at first glance to be possible on one matter only – this, however, was a decisive issue – the conscious emphasis on the dynamic character of culture [...]" (FP 1971: 20).

Of course, generational conflicts preceded the agreement on culture. To come back to the turbulent years of 1967, 1968 and 1969, an antiquated milieu became the stage for new forms of protest and activism. There may well have been a sense of familiarity and comprehension in the study of historical forms of protest or ritualized rebuke. But less so, of course, when it came to the strange world of student orchestrations in which the distinction between serious statements and irony could not be clearly made. During a boat trip in Würzburg in 1967, students from Tübingen released balloons with "*Jugend forscht*" ('youth research') printed on them into the sky and disseminated flyers that "expressed their regret" (*Volkskunde-Forum* 1967: 13). This regret was aimed at the unwavering ignorance regarding the objection raised by Heinz Maus who had "appealed to the conscience of a deprived *Volkskunde* and, in the end, denied the discipline its right to exist." Before the subject area could develop self-confidence, he claimed, it must first reflect on its past. The students were calling for a "scientific analysis" that would need, "Less personal courtesy, more objective debate." Furthermore, "A departure from provincialism. The presumption would be to finally pay attention to and examine related sciences such as sociology, cultural and social anthropology, psychology, etc." (*Volkskunde-Forum* 1967: 13).

Two years later, in Detmold, students from Tübingen organized a "*VOLKSKUNDE HAPPENING*" in mockery of the fraternization of the *Volkskunde* community.

Der nachträglich in die „Dokumentation aussterbenden Handwerks und volkstümlicher Arbeiten“ aufgenommene, preisgekrönte, wertvolle etc. Film (Nr. 8 Mitteleuropa, Detmold) „Das Ausblasen bemalter Windeier“ kann nun doch nicht gezeigt werden, da der Vorführer sich nicht mit seinen eigenen Eiern solidarisieren.⁸

8 Flyer by students from Tübingen, Archiv der Deutschen Gesellschaft für Volkskunde [Archives of the German Folklore Society], Freiburg.

It was a diffuse mixture of deadly seriousness, sarcasm, and accusatory rhetoric used to provoke controversy. In the meantime, students and junior faculty were shaking up the previous division of power and fighting for the right to have a say in the *Volkskunde* community and the German Folklore Society. They questioned the effectiveness of previous committees, strove for the democratization of the institutes, and won seats and influence on the council.

Günter Wiegelmann, who was almost twenty years younger than Heilfurth, was elected chairman in Detmold in 1969. Born in 1928, he belonged to the generation that had been socialized in Nazi youth organizations, experienced the disillusionment that set in after 1945 and, along with their cohorts, had played an important role in shaping the developments of the 1960s. Wiegelmann attempted to act as a moderator to counterbalance the centrifugal forces, delegating the organization of the Falkenstein conference to Wolfgang Brückner. The conference was originally intended to be a precursor to producing a modern book of basics for the discipline, with the aim of establishing

a critical outline of the methods of our discipline that is reflected in the terms it uses. This outline could serve as the basis for a candid self-conception of the discipline that is comprehensible for everyone, without expecting it to be the final word and foundation of a kind of 'Volkskunde 70'; a basis for discussion as well as proving additional information (FP 1971: 24)⁹.

A quick re-canonization of the discipline was still very far off, as was illustrated by the never ending debate. While this discussion provided the opportunity to "let off steam," as the host Brückner put it, "it also established positions that could then be debated directly" (FP 1971: 12). The self-conception of the discipline was also discussed on other occasions. The issues of the journal *Zeitschrift für Volkskunde* that were published in 1970 and thereabouts and publication platforms such as the *Ethnologica Euroepaea*, which was founded in 1967 as an arm of the Société Internationale d'Ethnologie et Folklore (SIEF), set the stage for conceptual debates by posing potentially key questions about the "antipathy to theory of *Volkskunde*" (Bausinger 1968/69), its "social responsibility" (Niederer 1969), the "criticism of the canon" (Scharfe 1970a), and other large and small questions, such as: "Who benefits from *Volkskunde*" (Kramer 1970), the relationship between "*Volkskunde* and ethnology" (Lutz 1969) or drafts "for a curriculum of cultural anthropology" (Greverus 1971).¹⁰ Another novelty among the publications in *Zeitschrift für Volkskunde* was that these articles were explicitly intended to encourage debate and prompted controversial comments.

9 In 1969, Ingeborg Weber-Kellermann had presented an outline of the history of the discipline, which became a call for transforming the field into a social science (Weber-Kellermann 1969).

10 Unfortunately, a full overview of the articles cannot be given here.

Falkenstein was intended as a conference for university teachers. The composition of participants reflected the shift in the distribution of power. Nine women were among the 46 people on the list. The circle was composed of university representatives and external *Volkskunde* academics who were increasingly at odds with one another. The controversies addressed presumed deficits in the scientificity of the discipline.

University members were quick to accuse the representatives of "*Volkskunde's* collecting sciences" (museums, local institutions) of resisting new developments. In the meantime, the debates were narrowing their focus to specific problems. Martin Scharfe believed "the *Volkskunde* museum was an imposition" (Scharfe 1970a). In doing so, he was responding to claims by Ernst Schlee – director of the Schleswig-Holstein state museum and vice chairman of the DGV – who had initiated a discussion of "the *Volkskunde* museum as a problem" in Mainz 1970 (Schlee 1970). Irreconcilable, yet, substantially productive, the concepts of the museum as a place of "monumentation" or "documentation" – temple of muses or place of education – stood in contrast to one another. In addition, members of the media, such as Dorothee Kiesselbach from the editorial office of the Bayerischer Rundfunk's radio program "Land und Leute" ('Country and People') were present. Gexi Tostmann, an entrepreneur who sold traditional costumes, was Austria's only delegate. Tostmann had obtained her doctorate in 1967 with a thesis entitled "*Wechselwirkung von Tracht und Mode in Österreich. Traditionseinflüsse in der Kleidung der Gegenwart*" ('The interplay between traditional costumes and fashion in Austria. The influence of tradition on present-day clothing'). Students were not explicitly included in the list of participants. Helge Gerndt counted: "7 professors and lecturers; 22 university assistants, academic staff at *Volkskunde* research institutes, and museum professionals; 14 students; 3 others" (Gerndt 1971a: 162). After Falkenstein, the map of *Volkskunde* was to be divided more clearly into places and non-places – depending on the perspective – with regional schools. 'We' and 'the others' – disciplinary views could now be mapped in a *Volkskunde* topography of competing schools. The conference proceedings refer homogenously "to the Tübingen academics," not only because they were the largest group at the conference (FP 1971: 143). The regional distribution of the participants undoubtedly revealed who had the power of definition: Tübingen 9, Kiel 6, Frankfurt 5, Munich 5, Freiburg 4, Göttingen 4 and Münster 2; one representative each from Mainz, Giessen, Zurich, Marburg, Bonn, Vienna, etc.

Considering the rapid speed of communications and the hyperemotional nature of the debate, reading the Falkenstein minutes is an experience not unlike today's social media. Arguments and counterarguments, accusations and admonitions were tossed back and forth. This was especially true for the heated period reflected in the proceedings by the discussion papers and flyers circulated between January and September 1970 (FP 1971: 21–126). The proceedings also mention statements that

were never published, such as the “Comic strip by the red project group 2 about ‘Gebhard Luft,’ the *Volkskunde* student council in Göttingen and the use of the ‘plagiarism hammer.’” There was a funny story behind this about how the agitations of the “red project group 2” (favorite motto: “The goal of *Volkskunde* is to recognize the effects mechanisms of specific cultural systems have on the entire late-capitalistic structure”) were abruptly ended by an “overdose of Habermas” (according to Ernst Heinrich Rehermann, FP 1971: 82). The “red project group 2” had in fact been very liberal in their paper “*Zum Verhältnis von Theorie und Geschichte*” (‘On the relationship between theory and history’) in their use of the artistic language employed by Jürgen Habermas in his article “*Analytische Wissenschaftstheorie und Dialektik*” (‘The analytical theory of science and dialectics’) about the positivist dispute at the Tübingen sociology conference in 1961. At the same time, however, they were equally honest and generous in acknowledging their source, listing the reprint of Habermas’ article in the Luchterhand volume entitled “*Der Positivismusstreit in der deutschen Soziologie*” (‘The Positivist Dispute in German Sociology’) that could often be spotted on the shelves of student rooms during this transitional period. Occasionally, mere bagatelles even turned into scandals. In his welcoming speech, Wolfgang Brückner recapitulated all of the large and small arguments – known by names such as the “cassette scandal,” “quotation mark scandal” and “letter scandal” (FP 1971: 134) – to then reprimand the “quotation of joke notes” (FP 1971: 135) severely. This was a reference to Utz Jeggle’s “Farewell to folk life” in which he noted that “theory is still being condemned. In Detmold, an attentive attendee had placed a note on the car belonging to a colleague from Tübingen. The note read: “You Tübingen academics don’t need theory, you just need a good spank” (Jeggle 1970b: 33).

The Falkensteiner Resolution expressed the unanimous “opinion that the academic label *Volkskunde* was not compatible with either the defined objectives or international standards” (FP 1971: 303). Attempts were made to come to an agreement to meet the challenge of finding a new name that would reconcile the discipline itself with its designation. These attempts were reminiscent of the international efforts during the 1950s that had failed, in large part, due to the resistance of the German-speaking *Volkskunde*. After 1945, the goal was to standardize the discipline, which was split up into heterogeneous European research paradigms with national varieties and different fields of study. At the time, a handbook of basics was also initially suggested as an effective tool for standardization. After 1945, Arnold van Gennep had proclaimed “the need for an international terminology in the ethnological sciences” (Gennep 1948). This initiative was pursued for some time and not without results, producing the two volume *International Dictionary of Regional European Ethnology and Folklore* (Bødker 1965; Hultkrantz 1960). However, the response was muted after attempts at establishing a cognitive identity of “European ethnology” had failed at

the conference of the Commission International des Arts et Traditions Populaires in Arnhem in 1955. Again, the issue of a cognitive identity manifested itself as a problem of nomenclature within the competing forces of indecisive tendencies in the social sciences, cultural anthropology and philology: "The Quintessence of the Problem. Nomenclature and Subject Matter of Folklore" (Dias 1956). The old questions arose again 15 years later. However, instead of being an international matter, they were only on the agendas of the German-speaking *Volkskunde* scholars who appeared to take little notice of the patchwork of international varieties of cultural anthropology, ethnography and folklore studies.¹¹

On the last night of the conference, new names were finally voted on and summarized in the Falkensteiner Resolution. A majority of the remaining 30 attendees "adopted the following names": 1. Cultural anthropology (20), 2. Culturology (16). The following names were also voted on: Cultural sociology (13), European ethnology (13), social culturology (9), cultural history (8), social anthropology (6)" (FP 1971: 303). No vote was held on the term "cultural ethology," which had been claimed by behavioral biologists in 1970 as a borderland science between the cultural and natural sciences. Contemporary, extremely topical, long-term but solitary concepts such as "culturology" or "cultural sociology" also offered guidance. In conjunction with "social culturology," these terms reflected a definitive trend toward the social sciences. For others, the affiliation with cultural anthropology had a great deal of appeal. The third option, European ethnology, was far less popular. This term was based primarily on the concept of comparative European cultural research on a regional basis that was well established in Scandinavia and had been developed by Sigurd Erixon (e.g. Erixon 1937, 1938; Rogan 2008). It was this suggestion, however, although at the time poorly received, that would assert itself in the long term, especially during the later Bologna reforms.

"The quintessence of the problem." The search for a name

This survey proved to be no more than a preliminary overview of opinions. From that point on, the discipline began a vehement discussion of the "names and what they signified" (Bendix and Eggeling 2004). The Falkensteiner Resolution was "an urgent appeal to members of the field, especially universities and other academic institutes [...] to come to a decision regarding an agreed name [...] for the sake of the unity of the discipline" (FP 1971: 303). A lengthy discussion ensued; even as the debate was in full swing, some departments had already been given new names

11 In face of the abstinence of the Austrians and the hesitant response from Switzerland, the debate that ensued only applied to German *Volkskunde*. Subtle as always, Herbert Nikitsch (2006: 272) interpreted the abstinent attitude in Austria as cultural lag. If we are to understand the debates that took place in the late 1960s as "delayed," then Austria must be diagnosed as being doubly delayed. Cf. Kuhn (2015) for more on Switzerland.

(Korff 1996). Initially, Falkenstein had prevented the further erosion of unity within the discipline. Those who had met in Falkenstein had, at least, agreed to leave behind the old and search for a new name, thus promoting the transformation into a modern science based on scientific theory and cultural analysis.

Whether suitable opportunities for revitalizing the discipline could be found in the social sciences, the internationally established field of cultural anthropology or a relatively vague subject area called European ethnology, would become another point of contention with considerable potential for conflict.

However, neither the telling absence of many DGV members nor their immediate complaints would change the provisionally established unity. In a letter to Brückner, Walter Hävernick acknowledged the Falkensteiner Resolution and warned that it was now "time to protect our field from all those backward-looking old gentlemen who are ruining our reputation as a science." If the German Folklore Society was also incapable of achieving this, he claimed, a new society should be founded to replace it. In any case, Hävernick estimated that "80–85% of all researchers and students were unbending in their views and actions" (FP 1971: 307). Brückner, 40 years old at the time, countered his colleague, who was 25 years his senior, with a few meaningful words: "We are holding a legacy in our hands that is threatening to crush our fingers" (FP 1971: 308).

The vote on the Falkensteiner Resolution had only just opened up the question of nomenclature. The DGV chairman, Günther Wiegelmann, moderated the discussion by moving it onto the international stage. The results of the survey on "the question of an international name for the discipline" were published in the *DGV-Informationen*. These were condensed, brief attempts at nomenclature that recapitulated the historical development of the discipline, outlined the status of the institutes in each of the countries, and noted important trends and work areas in the field. This evaluation revealed once again that the diversity of names for the field also reflected a diversity in research directions and identities, giving rise to the question of whether this discipline of many names could ever become a single discipline with a common terminology, mindsets, theoretical approaches and body of knowledge. There were plenty of possible names, such as *Volkskunde*, folklore, European ethnology, *folkminne*, ethnography, *folklivsforskning*, culturology, cultural or social anthropology, *ethnologie française*, *anthropologie culturelle régionale* and *laographie*. But was it possible to unite this open field of fluctuating interests between *Volkskunde*, folklore studies, cultural and social anthropology as known in the English-speaking world, ethnography (especially in Southeastern and Eastern Europe) into a cohesive discipline? Among those who wished to maintain this plurality were veteran spokespeople of internationalization such as Jorge Dias. They pointed out that this lack of clarity was nothing new, reminding everyone of previous attempts to standardize the discipline by renaming it, for example, in Arnhem in 1955, or the transformation of

the former Commission International des Arts et Traditions Populaires into the SIEF. Karel C. Peeters, as the president of SIEF, issued a statement in which he spoke out for the term European ethnology (DGV-Informationen 1971: 6).

Among *Volkskunde* scholars in East Germany, where many favored a "critical *Volkskunde*" that transcended the German-German border, there was very little understanding of the name debate. Hermann Strobach believed that the name was

clearly a secondary matter. The fact that the current discussion in West Germany of the problematic nature of a bourgeois *Volkskunde* often ended in a name debate demonstrates once again that these attempts at civic 'reforms' failed to go beyond a superficial analysis of the problem. (Strobach 1973: 87).

All the "critical" and alternative options for orientation, including shifting the focus toward the social sciences and cultural anthropology, which involved stepping outside of the official East German doctrine were generally rejected as either "bourgeois" or "late bourgeois."

In contrast to the names suggested which were favored by the majority of participants in Falkenstein, a strong preference for European ethnology was now taking hold. Most of the statements postulated double names that reflected both a connection to tradition and a desire to write a new history. In the middle of the discussion, Günther Wiegelmann drew some first conclusions in early 1971. He noted that the aim was to find an overarching term with international validity. His preliminary conclusion was:

The formula *Volkskunde* (European ethnology) that some have expressed a direct wish for and many have mentioned will, therefore, most likely be the new standard name for the discipline. Using a double name helps to preserve the tradition of *Volkskunde* while also demonstrating its international ties. (DGV-Information 1971: 18)

Thus a formula, not a name. According to Wiegelmann, the next step was to realize the expressed "willingness to accept an international name for the discipline." What form that would take was to be left up to each institute: "There is, however, no question that the unity of the discipline depends largely on having a uniform name, and it is, therefore, advisable to use a name that is as close to what is generally used in the concrete situation" (Zur Benennung des Faches 1971: 18).

The rest of the survey was presented in the following *DGV-Informationen*. However, the DGV chairman had already committed to a term in the middle of the discussion and that term would determine the path of the discipline for the future (at least nominally). Confronted with the chairman's change in policy in favor of "European ethnology," Utz Jeggle began to "wonder whether this correction was intended as a substitute for the urgently needed reevaluation of the discipline" (Jeggle 1971: 27). He suspected that exchanging "*Volk*" for "ethnos" was nothing more than a pseudo-academic glorification and identified "ethnos" as an unmodern theorizable "category void of meaning" (Jeggle 1971: 29). In the meantime, Tübingen

gen had gone its own way, establishing facts by renaming the institute early on. The Ludwig Uhland Institute applied for an internal renaming of the institute on January 15, 1971, deciding on the term "*Empirische Kulturwissenschaft*" (in English, literally 'Empirical cultural studies'; the institute uses the English name Historical and Cultural Anthropology) (Tübinger Korrespondenzblatt 1971). The special path taken by the Tübingen institute cleared up any misunderstandings caused by the old name, signaled its self-conception as a cultural science and was unambiguously identifiable within the context of the times – which, however, was lost as cultural sciences became widespread in universities during the 1980s.

"The customary becomes problematic" – Culture and everyday life

Despite the fact that the reform euphoria at the universities let up in the early 1970s, giving way to permanently underfinanced improvisation, the number of students had been generally increasing since 1970. This rise in numbers had already been expressed in the specter of the 'mass university' after the educational reforms had begun in the early 1960s. As culture and everyday life had replaced the key concept of '*Volk*' as the key field of study, the varieties of *Volkskunde* that saw themselves as a cultural science acquired the status of a "key national discipline" (Lindner 1987). The transformation of the discipline affected extensive reform processes. As the grand theories came to an end, *Volkskunde* took advantage of the research void they left behind, uncovering new research questions and objects. The big narratives and great theories with their analysis of structures and systems lost their heuristic cohesiveness, fostering the willingness to conceptualize society based on its lifeworlds and social microfields – from the perspective of the subjects, their experiences, the practice of meaningful appropriation and their conceptualization of the world.

Instead of a "*Volkskultur*" (Volk culture), the focus shifted to an analysis of historical and contemporary everyday culture (Lipp 1993). Everyday culture served as a heuristic concept for renewal and emancipation from a history in which the discipline's key concepts and antimodern claim to actuality had given it the role of a national agency for self-interpretation. The issue of everyday culture seemed to be less ideological and, thus, predestined for demystifying the many constructions of old *Volk* connotations. Beyond the horizons of *Volkskunde* as a cultural science, the question of everyday culture, which was posed with an intent to alienate, became the focus for a generation caught between revolt and renewal. In anticipation of a renewal, Utz Jeggle wrote "The customary is becoming problematic" (Jeggle 1978: 81), after everyday life had become a promising field of research for social analysis, not just for *Volkskunde* as a new social science (e.g. Hammerich and Klein 1978; Heller 1978; Wieser and Wieser 1975). Since 1978, the journal *Der Alltag* ('Everyday Life') – to take an example from the intersection between science, pop culture

and journalism – had become a “journal of the sensations of everyday life” that took an ethnographic perspective, using observation and reporting to dissect the subjects of cultural studies. The journal’s initiators, Walter Keller and Nikolaus Wyss, *inter alia*, had studied *Volkskunde* in Zurich and collaborated with Arnold Niederer on an analysis of everyday life as “the culture of the ground floor” (Niederer 1975/76). As everyday university operations shifted from the old *Volkskunde* to a renewed cultural science, Nikolaus Wyss documented the transition in a diary written for his former fellow student Keller, here in July 1974: “*Volkskunde* is encumbered by fanatics and girls obsessed with traditional handicrafts, dumb and aggressive; their concept of *Volkskunde* is something from which *Volkskunde* should distance itself, an uncritical collection of folkloric artifacts, customs and traditions, blood and soil and the loom” (Wyss 2019: 39).

Defining culture as the central research topic and consensus between diverging work fields now enabled the de-ideologization, an increase in theoreticization and a higher degree of commitment to the cognitive identity of the discipline. Whereas the field still had features that distinguished it from philology and the social sciences in the early 1970s, the focus on culture changed the discipline, increasing its general appeal. *Volkskunde* served as the pioneer plant in the biotopes of research on historical and contemporary everyday culture. However, the success of the 1980s and 1990s soon became a burden that weighed down the discipline as these research topics were absorbed by closely related fields. (Korff 1996: 427 f.). The innovations were followed by a period of fatigue, during which culture and everyday life lost their appeal and value for describing and explaining society (Lipp 1993). The next wave of new names brought on by the Bologna reform was subsequently no longer accompanied by an attempt to define the fundamental basis of the discipline and, thus, to harmonize its name and cognitive identity; instead, it was based on the need for functional adjustments. The question of the extent to which the current status of the “discipline of many names” is a long-term result of Falkenstein and what unites the discipline today is one that continues to arise again and again.

Bibliography

- Adorno, Theodor W. 1963. “Was bedeutet Aufarbeitung der Vergangenheit.” In *Eingriffe. Neun kritische Modelle*, edited by Theodor W. Adorno, 125–146. Frankfurt on the Main: Suhrkamp.
- Bach, Adolf. 1937. *Deutsche Volkskunde. Ihre Wege, Ergebnisse und Aufgaben. Eine Einführung*. Munich: S. Hirzel.
- Bach, Adolf. 1960. *Deutsche Volkskunde. Wege und Organisation, Probleme, System, Methoden, Ergebnisse und Aufgaben, Schrifttum*. 3rd edition. Heidelberg: Quelle & Meyer.
- Bagus, Anita. 2005. *Volkskultur in der bildungsbürgerlichen Welt. Zum Institutionalierungsprozess wissenschaftlicher Volkskunde im wilhelminischen Kaiserreich am Beispiel der Hessischen Vereinigung für Volkskunde*. Giessen: Universitätsbibliothek.

- Bausinger, Hermann. 1961. *Volkskultur in der technischen Welt*. Stuttgart: Kohlhammer.
- Bausinger, Hermann. 1965. "Volksideologie und Volksforschung. Zur nationalsozialistischen Volkskunde." *Zeitschrift für Volkskunde* 61 (1): 177–204.
- Bausinger, Hermann. 1968/69. "Zur Theoriefeindlichkeit der Volkskunde." *Ethnologia Europaea* 2 (3): 55–58.
- Beck, Stefan. 1997. *Umgang mit Technik. Kulturelle Praxen und kulturwissenschaftliche Forschungskonzepte*. Berlin: Akademie-Verlag.
- Bendix, Regina F. 2012. "From *Volkskunde* to 'The Field of Many Names.' *Folklore Studies in German-Speaking Europe since 1945*." In *A Companion to Folklore*, edited by Regina F. Bendix and Galit Hasan-Rokem, 364–390. Malden/Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell.
- Bendix, Regina F., and Tatjana Eggeling. 2004. *Namen und was sie bedeuten. Zur Namensdebatte im Fach Volkskunde*. Göttingen: Schermerse.
- Birkalan-Gedik, Hande, Christiane Cantauw, Jan Carstensen, Friedemann Schmoll, and Elisabeth Timm, eds. 2021 (in preparation). *Detmold, September 1969: Abschied vom Kanon. Ein internationaler Rückblick auf die Deutsche Volkskunde in der Diskussion*. Münster: Waxmann.
- Bødker, Laurits. 1965. *Folk Literature (Germanic)*. (International Dictionary of Regional European Ethnology and Folklore, Vol. II). Copenhagen: Rosenkilde & Bagger.
- Bollenbeck, Georg, and Clemens Knobloch, eds. 2001. *Semantischer Umbau der Geisteswissenschaften nach 1933 und 1945*. Heidelberg: Winter.
- Brückner, Wolfgang, ed. 1971. *Falkensteiner Protokolle*. Frankfurt a.M.: Deutsche Gesellschaft für Volkskunde.
- Dahrendorf, Ralf. 1965. *Bildung ist Bürgerrecht – Plädoyer für eine aktive Bildungspolitik*. Hamburg: Christian Wegner.
- dgv-Informationen. 1965. "Bericht über den Deutschen Volkskunde-Kongress in Marburg vom 26. bis 30. IV. 1965." *dgv-Informationen. Mitteilungen der Deutschen Gesellschaft für Volkskunde*, 70 (October): 1–6.
- dgv-Informationen. 1969. "Bericht über die wissenschaftliche Arbeitstagung in Detmold vom 22.–27. IX. 1969." *dgv-Informationen. Mitteilungen der Deutschen Gesellschaft für Volkskunde*, 78: 1–12.
- dgv-Informationen. 1971. "Zur Benennung des Faches." *dgv-Informationen. Mitteilungen der Deutschen Gesellschaft für Volkskunde e. V.*, 80: 1–18.
- Dias, Jorge. 1956. "The Quintessence of the Problem. Nomenclature and Subject Matter of Folklore." *Actes du Congrès International d'Ethnologie Régionale Arnhem 1955*. 1–14. Arnhem: Het Nederlands Openluchtmuseum.
- Eggmann, Sabine, Birgit Johler, Konrad J. Kuhn, and Magdalena Puchberger, eds. 2019. *Orientieren & Positionieren Anknüpfen & Weitermachen – Wissensgeschichte der Volkskunde/Kulturwissenschaft in Europa nach 1945*. Münster: Waxmann.
- Emmerich, Wolfgang. 1968. *Germanistische Volkstumsideologie. Genese und Kritik der Volksforschung im Dritten Reich*. Tübingen: Tübinger Vereinigung für Volkskunde.
- Emmerich, Wolfgang. 1971. *Zur Kritik der Volkstumsideologie*. Frankfurt on the Main: Suhrkamp.
- Erixon, Sigurd. 1937. "Regional European Ethnology I. Main Principles and Aims with Special Reference to Nordic Ethnology." *Folk-liv* 2 (3): 89–108.

- Erixon, Sigurd. 1938. "Regional European Ethnology II. Functional Analysis – Time Studies." *Folk-liv* 3: 263–294.
- Freudenthal, Herbert. 1955. *Die Wissenschaftstheorie der deutschen Volkskunde*. Hannover: Niedersächsischer Heimatbund.
- Geiger, Klaus, Utz Jeggle, and Gottfried Korff, eds. 1970. *Abschied vom Volksleben*. Tübingen: Tübinger Vereinigung für Volkskunde.
- Gennep, Arnold van. 1948/2. "The Need for an International Terminology in the Ethnological Sciences." *CIAP Informationen* 1: 1–2.
- Gerndt, Helge. 1971a. "Volkskundliche Arbeitstagung in Falkenstein." *Zeitschrift für Volkskunde* 67 (1): 161–168.
- Gerndt, Helge. 1971b. "Rezension der Falkensteiner Protokolle." *Zeitschrift für Volkskunde* 67 (1): 253–255.
- Gerndt, Helge, ed. 1988. *Fach und Begriff "Volkskunde" in der Diskussion*. Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft.
- Greverus, Ina-Maria. 1969. Zu einer nostalgisch-retrospektiven Bezugsrichtung der Volkskunde. *Hessische Blätter für Volkskunde* 66 (1): 11–28.
- Greverus, Ina-Maria. 1971. "Zu einem Curriculum für das Fachgebiet Kulturanthropologie." *Ethnologia Europaea* 5: 214–244.
- Greverus, Ina-Maria. 1978. *Kultur und Alltagswelt. Eine Einführung in Fragen der Kulturanthropologie*. Munich: C.H. Beck.
- Hammerich, Kurt, and Michael Klein, eds. 1978. *Materialien zur Soziologie des Alltags* (Sonderheft der Kölner Zeitschrift für Soziologie und Sozialpsychologie, Heft 20). Opladen: Springer VS.
- Hartinger, Walter. 1993. "Volkskunde zwischen Heimatpflege und kritischer Sozialarbeit." In *Kulturbegriff und Methode. Der stille Paradigmenwechsel in den Geisteswissenschaften. Eine Passauer Ringvorlesung*, edited by Klaus P. Hansen, 41–48. Tübingen: Gunter Narr.
- Haug, Wolfgang-Fritz. 1967. *Der hilflose Antifaschismus. Zur Kritik der Vorlesungsreihen über Wissenschaft und Nationalsozialismus an deutschen Universitäten*. Frankfurt on the Main: Suhrkamp.
- Heilfurth, Gerhard. 1961. *Volkskunde jenseits der Ideologien. Zum Problemstand des Faches im Blickfeld empirischer Forschung*. Marburg: University of Marburg.
- Heilfurth, Gerhard. 1966. "Deutsche Gesellschaft für Volkskunde. Geschichte, Bedeutung und Aufgaben." *Mitteilungen der Deutschen Gesellschaft für Volkskunde* 71: 1–9.
- Heilfurth, Gerhard and Ingeborg Weber-Kellermann, eds. 1967. *Arbeit und Volksleben. 15. Deutscher Volkskundekongress vom 26.–30. April 1965 in Marburg*. Göttingen: Otto Schwartz & Co.
- Heller, Agnes. 1978. *Das Alltagsleben. Versuch einer Erklärung der individuellen Reproduktion*. Frankfurt on the Main: Suhrkamp.
- Hultkrantz, Åke. 1960. *General Ethnological Concepts*. (International Dictionary of Regional European Ethnology and Folklore. Vol. I). Copenhagen: Rosenkilde & Bagger.
- Jacobeit, Wolfgang. 1965. *Bäuerliche Arbeit und Wirtschaft. Ein Beitrag zur Wissenschaftsgeschichte der deutschen Volkskunde*. Berlin: Akademie-Verlag.
- Jacobeit, Wolfgang, and Ute Mohrmann. 1968/69. "Zum Gegenstand und zur Aufgabenstellung der Volkskunde in der DDR." *Lëtopis Reihe C, Volkskunde* 11 (12): 94–103.

- Jacobeit, Wolfgang, and Paul Nedo, eds. 1969. *Probleme und Methoden volkskundlicher Gegenwartsforschung. Vorträge und Diskussionen einer internationalen Arbeitstagung in Bad Saarow 1967*. Berlin: Akademie-Verlag.
- Jeggle, Utz. 1970a. "Im Schatten der Vergangenheit. Eine Erwiderung auf die Emmerich-Rezensionen." *Tübinger Korrespondenzblatt. Herausgegeben im Auftrag der Tübinger Vereinigung für Volkskunde* 1: 5–10.
- Jeggle, Utz. 1970b. "Wertbedingungen der Volkskunde." In *Abschied vom Volksleben*, edited by Klaus Geiger, Utz Jeggle, and Gottfried Korff, 11–36. Tübingen: Tübinger Vereinigung für Volkskunde.
- Jeggle, Utz. 1971. "Beharrung oder Wandel? Fragen an eine kulturanthropologisch orientierte Ethnologie." *Zeitschrift für Volkskunde* 67 (1): 26–37.
- Jeggle, Utz. 1978. "Alltag." In *Grundzüge der Volkskunde*, edited by Hermann Bausinger, Utz Jeggle, Gottfried Korff, and Martin Scharfe, 81–203. Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft.
- Köstlin, Konrad. 2015. "Ad exemplum dgv: Materialisierte Kohäsion." In *Materialisierung von Kultur. Diskurse – Dinge – Praktiken*, edited by Karl Braun, Claus-Marco Dieterich, and Angela Treiber, 56–70. Würzburg: Königshausen & Neumann.
- Korff, Gottfried. 1996. "Namenwechsel als Paradigmenwechsel? Die Umbenennung des Faches Volkskunde an deutschen Universitäten als Versuch einer 'Entnationalisierung.'" In *Fünfzig Jahre danach: Zur Nachgeschichte des Nationalsozialismus*, edited by Sigrid Weigel and Birgit R. Erdle, 403–434. Zurich: VDF.
- Kramer, Dieter. 1970. "Wem nützt Volkskunde?" *Zeitschrift für Volkskunde* 66 (1): 1–16.
- Kriss, Rudolf. 1961. "Adolf Bach. Deutsche Volkskunde." *Österreichische Zeitschrift für Volkskunde* 64 (1): 56–59.
- Kuhn, Konrad J. 2015. "'Beschauliches Tun' oder europäische Perspektive? Positionen und Dynamiken einer volkskundlichen Kulturwissenschaft in der Schweiz zwischen 1945 und 1970." In *Zur Situation der Volkskunde 1945–1970. Orientierung einer Wissenschaft zur Zeit des Kalten Krieges*, edited by Johannes Moser, Irene Götz, and Moritz Ege, 177–204. Münster: Waxmann.
- Lammers, Karl Christian. 2000. "Die Auseinandersetzung mit der 'braunen' Universität. Ringvorlesungen zur NS-Vergangenheit an westdeutschen Hochschulen." In *Dynamische Zeiten. Die 60er Jahre in den beiden deutschen Gesellschaften*, edited by Axel Schildt, Detlef Siegfried, and Karl Christian Lammers, 148–165. Hamburg: Wallstein.
- Lindner, Rolf. 1987. "Zur kognitiven Identität der Volkskunde." *Österreichische Zeitschrift für Volkskunde* 90 (1): 1–19.
- Lipp, Carola. 1993. "Alltagskulturforschung im Grenzbereich von Volkskunde, Soziologie und Geschichte. Aufstieg und Niedergang eines interdisziplinären Forschungskonzeptes." *Zeitschrift für Volkskunde* 89: 1–33.
- Lutz, Gerhard. 1969. "Volkskunde und Ethnologie." *Zeitschrift für Volkskunde* 65: 251–63.
- Maus, Heinz. 1946. "Zur Situation der deutschen Volkskunde." *Die Umschau. Internationale Revue* 1: 349–359.
- Michel, Karl Markus, and Harald Wieser, eds. 1975. *Kursbuch 41: Alltag*. Berlin: Rotbuch.

- Mohrmann, Ute. 2001. "Roundabout 68. Zur DDR-Volkskunde Ende der sechziger und während der siebziger Jahre." In *Volkskundliche Tableaus. Festschrift für Martin Scharfe*, edited by Siegfried Becker and Martin Scharfe, 375–384. Münster: Waxmann.
- Moser, Johannes, Irene Götz, and Moritz Ege, eds. 2015. *Zur Situation der Volkskunde 1945–1970. Orientierung einer Wissenschaft zur Zeit des Kalten Krieges*. Münster: Waxmann.
- Mühlberg, Dietrich. 1999. "Wann war 68 im Osten? Oder: Wer waren die 68er im Osten?" *Berliner Blätter. Ethnographische und ethnologische Beiträge* 18: 44–58.
- Nikitsch, Herbert. 2006. *Auf den Bühnen früher Wissenschaft. Aus der Geschichte des Vereins für Volkskunde (1894–1945)*. Vienna: Verein für Volkskunde.
- Niederer, Arnold. 1969. "Zur gesellschaftlichen Verantwortung der gegenwärtigen Volksforschung." In *Kontakte und Grenzen. Probleme der Volks-, Kultur- und Sozialforschung. Festschrift für Gerhard Heilfurth zum 60. Geburtstag*, edited by his co-workers, 1–10. Göttingen: Otto Schwartz.
- Niederer, Arnold. 1975/76. "Kultur im Erdgeschoss. Der Alltag aus der neuen Sicht des Volkskundlers." *Schweizer Monatshefte. Zeitschrift für Politik, Wirtschaft, Kultur* 55/6: 461–467.
- Nikitsch, Herbert. 2006. *Auf den Bühnen früher Wissenschaft. Aus der Geschichte des Vereins für Volkskunde (1894–1945)*. Vienna: Verein für Volkskunde.
- Peuckert, Will-Erich. 1948. "Zur Situation der Volkskunde. Die Nachbarn." *Jahrbuch für vergleichende Volkskunde* 1: 130–148.
- Picht, Georg. 1964. *Die deutsche Bildungskatastrophe*. Freiburg: Olten.
- Rogan, Bjarne. 2008. "The Troubled Past of European Ethnology. SIEF and International Co-operation from Prague to Derry." *Ethnologia Europaea* 38 (1): 66–78.
- Rosenberg, Rainer, Inge Münz-Koenen, and Petra Boden, eds. 2000. *Der Geist der Unruhe. 1968 im Vergleich. Wissenschaft – Literatur – Medien*. Berlin: Akademie-Verlag. Saueremann, Dietmar. 1970. "Außerordentliche Mitgliederversammlung am 4. April 1970." *Zeitschrift für Volkskunde* 66 (1): 326–332.
- Scharfe, Martin. 1970a. "Kritik des Kanons." In *Abschied vom Volksleben*, edited by Klaus Geiger, Utz Jeggle, and Gottfried Korff, 74–84. Tübingen: Tübinger Vereinigung für Volkskunde.
- Scharfe, Martin. 1970b. "Das volkskundliche Museum als Zumutung." *Zeitschrift für Volkskunde* 66 (1): 76–78.
- Schier, Bruno. 1959. "Zur Stellung der Volkskunde im Wissenschaftsgefüge unserer Zeit." *Zeitschrift für Volkskunde* 55: 1–10.
- Schildt, Axel, Detlef Siegfried, and Karl Christian Lammers, eds. 2000. *Dynamische Zeiten. Die 60er Jahre in den beiden deutschen Gesellschaften*. Hamburg: Wallstein.
- Schlee, Ernst. 1970. "Das volkskundliche Museum als Herausforderung." *Zeitschrift für Volkskunde* 66 (1): 60–76.
- Schmidt, Leopold. 1968. "Volkskunde heute, 1968. Beobachtungen und Betrachtungen." *Antaios* 10: 217–238.
- Schmidt, Leopold. 1981. "Volkskunde in der Gegenwart. Hinweise und Randbemerkungen." *Österreichische Zeitschrift für Volkskunde* 84 (35): 1–40.
- Schürch, Franziska, Sabine Eggmann, and Marius Risi, eds. 2010. *Vereintes Wissen. Die Volkskunde und ihre gesellschaftliche Verankerung*. Münster: Waxmann.

- Steinitz, Wolfgang. 1955. *Die volkskundliche Arbeit in der Deutschen Demokratischen Republik*. 2nd edition. Leipzig: Hofmeister.
- Strobach, Hermann. 1973. "Positionen und Grenzen der 'kritischen Volkskunde' in der BRD. Bemerkungen zu Wolfgang Emmerichs Faschismuskritik." *Jahrbuch für Volkskunde und Kulturgeschichte* 16 (1): 45–91.
- Tübinger Korrespondenzblatt. 1971. "Zur Umbenennungsfrage." *Tübinger Korrespondenzblatt*, 3 (April).
- Volkskunde-Forum. 1967. "Zeitschrift der Volkskunde-Studenten und Assistenten Heft 1." Marburg: Deutsche Gesellschaft für Volkskunde.
- Weber-Kellermann, Ingeborg. 1969. *Deutsche Volkskunde zwischen Germanistik und Sozialwissenschaften*. Stuttgart: Metzler.
- Weiss, Richard. 1946. *Volkskunde der Schweiz. Grundriss*. Erlenbach-Zürich: Eugen Rentsch.
- Wietschorke, Jens. 2015. "Inter-/Trans-/Disziplinär? Die Volkskunde im Spannungsfeld Der Wissenschaften 1945–1970." In *Zur Situation der Volkskunde 1945–1970. Orientierung einer Wissenschaft zur Zeit des Kalten Krieges*, edited by Johannes Moser, Irene Götz, and Moritz Ege, 53–68. Münster: Waxmann.
- Wissenschaftsrat, ed. 1960. *Empfehlungen des Wissenschaftsrates zum Ausbau der wissenschaftlichen Einrichtungen. Teil 1: Wissenschaftliche Hochschulen*. Tübingen: Mohr.
- Wyss, Nikolaus. 2019. "Walter Keller. Der strategische Tabubrecher." In *Walter Keller, Beruf: Verleger*, edited by Urs Stahel and Miriam Wiesel, 38–49. Zurich: Edition Patrick Frey.

Janine Schemmer

The cruise city as an area of conflict*

Imaginations of the cruise ship in the Northern Adriatic

Abstract: Cruise ships and cruise travels have been causing fierce conflicts in various European destinations for some years now. Venice's historical center has received full coverage in the media portrayal of the destructive impact of arriving ships, due to their disproportionate dimensions against the medium-sized city's backdrop. While public debates mainly revolve around overtourism and ecological and health implications, the industry's conflicts and impacts are more far-reaching but remain blind spots. This contribution docks in the cruise cities of Venice and Monfalcone in the northern Adriatic. Taking the two settings as an example, it discusses the effects of the coexistence of cruise tourism and shipbuilding. By following the debates about the cruise ship, the article explores the local impacts of a global market and a deterritorialized industry. Regarding the two cities, the ship bundles imaginations of opposing views. While protests in Venice contribute to its imagination as an intruder, the Shipyard Museum in Monfalcone establishes shipbuilding as heritage without narrating the precarious conditions connected to the industry. The contribution focuses on local controversies and negotiation processes to investigate the complex relationship between the cruise industry and urban everyday life.

Keywords: cruise ship, cruise industry, ethnography, imagination, protest, infrastructure, ethnicity, heritage

Docking in the cruise city

Cruise tourism, which mainly took place in the Caribbean from the 1980s, has been increasingly reaching European port cities for about ten years (Pattullo 1996).¹ Venice, along with Barcelona, Marseille and Civitavecchia, is an important home port, i.e. the port where many ship voyages start and most passengers embark. This intensified circulation of people and their landfalls in European destinations has been making waves for several years. Cruise ship travel has increasingly come under

* This paper was first published in German in *Österreichische Zeitschrift für Volkskunde* 2020, 123 (1): 5–29. The text and quotations in German have been translated by Philip Saunders.

1 Studies with a focus on the cultural analysis on European cruise destinations that deal with spatial and sociocultural developments are scarce. Studies from the tourism industry, marketing and transportation have dominated so far; cf. Vaya et al. (2018).

fire for its environmental, social and cultural impacts on destinations, sometimes expressed in residents' protests in many southern and some northern European port cities.² Consequently, the tone of reporting on the ships, the people travelling on them and the industry as a whole has intensified (Gregor 2016).

If, according to George Marcus, one follows the conflicts that determine mass media discourse from an empirical cultural analysis perspective, it quickly becomes apparent that the structure around the cruise ship is more complex and the controversies are more far-reaching than public debates pretend (Marcus 1995: 110). The disputes in Venice's historic center have received a great deal of attention in the media's portrayal of the destructive impact of arriving ships. However, Venice is not only a central destination for cruise ship tourism. Marghera, an industrial part of the lagoon city located on the mainland, is also home to one of the production sites of the Italian shipbuilding company Fincantieri, which has become the world market leader in the manufacture of cruise ships since the 1980s.

I will consider the processes observable in Venice in their connection to the surrounding regions in the northern Adriatic in the spirit of multi-sited ethnography. The maritime economy has had a long tradition not only in the Veneto region, but also in the neighboring region of Friuli-Venezia Giulia. The second setting, Monfalcone, a town of about 30,000 inhabitants, is located 130 kilometers north of Venice and about 30 kilometers west of Trieste in the extreme northeast of Italy on the border with Slovenia. Large ships, such as the Queen Mary, have been built there since the late 1980s. Cruise enthusiasts know their names much better than that of their production site. I mean by a cruise city, therefore, not only a cruise tourism destination, for which the term is typically used, but also cities where the production of the ships takes place, an area that receives little media attention.³ Yet, the coexistence of industry, ships and the city creates equally conflictual situations there, although they are not visible at first glance.⁴ This tension between cruise

2 Regarding Venice, see Fabbri and Tattara (2014). Debates are taking place from Barcelona to Kiel. The performance collective *geheimagentur* in Hamburg, for example, critically examines urban politics and maritime history (geheimagentur 2020).

3 The cruise sector is of central importance for the local economy and politics of the two cities, both in terms of tourism and shipbuilding. Just a few figures make this clear. Since 1990, 95 cruise ships have been built at the two shipyards, 72 of them since 2002 alone, see Fincantieri (2017).

4 Other locations where I dock to investigate the local specifics in the reception and handling of cruise ship construction and cruise tourism are the smaller and internationally (still) relatively unknown cities of Trieste and Koper. Cruise tourism already is and will be economically relevant in their future developments. As these port cities compete in terms of transportation, industry, and tourism, the analysis enables the understanding of the tension between the stakeholders and residents involved.

tourism, shipbuilding and everyday life in the cruise city is the starting point of my reflections.⁵

Venice and Monfalcone are the central anchor points of my ethnographic research, which operates at the intersection of urban anthropology, anthropology of space, mobility studies, and empirical regional research. In this paper, I present the initial findings from my ongoing research, which draws on participant observation, gray literature from protest groups, informal conversations and preliminary interviews at both sites. The aim of the research is to show the linkage of the cruise industry with tourism and shipbuilding in cruise cities, and to elaborate the impact of the industry on everyday urban life.

In both cities, the cruise ship has a central but diametrically opposed meaning, which I will examine in this article. The imaginations that are evoked in each of the settings combine different perspectives on the relationship between the city and the ship. The ship stands symbolically for the effects of tourism and for those of the industries associated with shipbuilding. In the first step, I explore the use and function of the imagination in the attribution of meaning to the cruise ship in the cruise city. Subsequently, I present the changing local arrangements and the conflicts associated with the cruise industry. In the third and fourth step, I take a closer look at the fields of conflict and the actors in both settings.

Powerful discourses – Imaginations of the cruise ship

Ships are artifacts that are overloaded with multiple dimensions of meaning and imagination. Since time immemorial, they have functioned as projection surfaces for a wide variety of perspectives and needs.⁶ The current cruise ship industry and its tourism is unbalancing many former attributions to the sea voyage and the imaginary worlds associated with the symbol of the ship, or filling them with entirely new images and meanings. The cruise ship has become a vehicle in which, on the one hand, the desires and hopes of the travelers materialize in a legitimate place of transportation. On the other hand, it stands for the endangerment of social, cultural and spatial orders and is transformed into an artifact in which the fears and resistances of the residents manifest themselves.

For its critics, the cruise ship is symbolic of changes in the cultural practice of ship travel, captured, for example, in the concept of hyperreality, referring to the notion of cruise ships as self-contained, postmodern spaces of tourism and con-

5 I would like to thank Marion Hamm, Ute Holfelder and Klaus Schönberger for the constructive exchange of ideas about ships and travelers, cities and residents.

6 There are innumerable literary, artistic, and scientific discussions on the attribution of meaning, the listing of which would go beyond the scope of this article. Rolshoven and Schlör (2015) have dedicated a publication to the sea voyage as an experience of transition. On the cultural technique of going to sea, see Siegert (2015: 68 ff.). See also Johnson (2016).

sumption (Weaver 2018). The voyage involves maintaining a “distant proximity” to the destinations called at, since the focus is on the ship as a destination (Reitz 2018). Therefore, the purposelessness and aimlessness of this kind of sea voyage are condemned. In the spirit of the adventure society, the individual experience is the desired result of cruising (Scheppe 2009: 304). Consequently, it is no longer the visit to the destinations but rather the imagination of the cities, i.e. the images charged with meanings, that become powerful, an aspect that characterizes the debates in Venice.⁷ In addition, the controversies depicted in the media revolve around the phenomenon of overtourism (Papathanassis 2017; Wöhler 2011). Ecological aspects and heavy air pollution in residential areas near the cruise terminals (due to high emissions from the ships) further dominate the discussions.

The imaginations associated with the cruise ship point to a web of relationships between the global cruise industry, related local economies, and actors and their everyday lives. The cruise ship bundles the contradictions and ambivalences of current global social developments and tendencies. It can, therefore, be considered as a collective symbol in the debate about the effects of a global economy (Link 1978). The ship has a communicative and mediating function between the perspectives of the most diverse actors involved in the production of the symbol. The ship materializes imaginations of a global capitalism that is not easily tangible but can be traced through the economic, social and cultural entanglements of the cruise sector in urban spaces. The analyses of local perspectives and attributions of meaning express these linkages (Marcus 1995: 98).

Common discourses are similarly addressed, negotiated, and produced in cruise cities. I will, therefore, focus on the imaginations that emerge through the connection between cruise ship and cruise city. The imaginations become powerful on-site, where the conflicts and debates around and the visions of the two cruise cities are articulated. The controversies that arise in the collision of ship and city make clear that imagination is a central “space of contestation in which individuals and groups seek to annex the global into their own practices of the modern” (Appadurai 1996: 4). Imagination has an important role to play in the dynamic and complex process of moving and arriving, in the necessary infrastructures and industries, and in their effects on cities. Arjun Appadurai further describes imagination as “a staging ground for action” (Appadurai 1996: 7). It also serves as an instrument for the production and negotiation of economic, social and cultural practices and represents a space of possibility with potential for change from different directions. The “imaginative realm” of the ship is, thus, produced and fueled by diverse actors (urban politics, protest groups, workers, media and industry) (Foucault 1992: 46).

7 Regarding the work of the imaginations, see Lindner (2008).

The cruise ship can be seen as a central symbol in both northern Italian cities that is consistently appropriated or from which one resolutely distances oneself. The protests in the lagoon city, for some years part of the everyday practice of many, contribute to the imagination of the ship as an intruder. Moreover, the ship is symbolic of the tourism "*mordi e fuggi*," literally biting off and fleeing. The expression illustrates the very short stay, which brings hardly any economic benefits for the cities and people visited, but rather negative consequences. The citizens' criticism, however, refers less to the tourists. Rather, they disapprove of political decisions and oppose the external imagination of Venice as a tourist destination par excellence with their everyday life.

In Monfalcone, in contrast, the symbol of the cruise ship is taken up to consolidate shipbuilding as a cultural heritage of the city in the narrative about it. Monfalcone is described as the "city of cruise ships" on the Italian Wikipedia page (n.d.). On the municipality's website, Monfalcone presents itself as an "industrial city in transition to a commercial and service city, thanks particularly to the port" and because of the important presence of the Fincantieri company, which operates the local shipyard (Comune di Monfalcone n.d.). Ship, shipbuilding and city are, thus, imagined here as a successful unity.

Both locations are characterized by shipping and industry. Nevertheless, controversies, some of which have been going on for decades, culminate here because the symbol of the cruise ship makes changed social orders of the local visible as if through a prism: Ecological and social sustainability, growth debates, effects of overtourism, and the international division of labor in production and shipping. In both cases, the ship is symbolic of different developments in the cruise industry that affect and are negotiated in everyday urban life, though they hardly determine common discourses about cities.

Changing regimes – visible and invisible conflicts

Venice has received full coverage in the media portrayal of the destructive impact of arriving ships.⁸ The images of large ships in the Giudecca Canal, which runs through the historic center past St. Mark's Square, circulated through the media a few years ago and were the subject of intense debate (e.g. Der Spiegel 2019). Due to their disproportionate dimensions against the backdrop of a medium-sized city, the images are both impressive and threatening. The topic was also reported throughout Europe because of the protests on-site. The discourse here was particularly powerful because it was possible to draw on a rich repertoire of imaginations and the myth of

8 In the lagoon city, conflicts regarding ecological, social and cultural impacts become visible in a condensed form, which also occur elsewhere but have scarcely been made public. Even though Venice is a specific setting, the city can be considered a laboratory, as some developments exemplify many cruise destinations in the Adriatic and the Mediterranean.

the threat of the city's own demise.⁹ This shows that widespread images and imaginations contribute to the constitution of space as a social environment and societal product through the agency of historically coagulated ideas (Schmid 2005: 30).¹⁰

While the images conveyed by the media focus exclusively on tourism and the historical center of Venice, the industrial area of Marghera and the production of ships located there remain completely invisible. However, the conflicts are localized here as well. Predominantly infrastructural developments and ecological aspects are problematized in the controversies in Venice.¹¹ This is because the cruise industry, which the ship symbolizes, transforms and shapes large parts of the urban and natural topography. Cruise infrastructures (in terms of tourism and industry) not only have a lasting impact on the urban texture and everyday use of public spaces but also on the development of the industrial area and the lagoon due to the ships' routes. In this way, infrastructures challenge spatial and social orders and evoke tensions that manifest themselves in the resistant practices of different actors on-site. The very materiality of a place exposes practices of governance (Larkin 2013: 335). The infrastructural transformations point to the power imbalance behind them (Kreichauf 2017), which is the focus of the vociferous disputes in the lagoon city.

The disputes in Monfalcone revolve around temporary workers, who have been increasingly involved in shipbuilding for about two decades and come mainly from Asia and Eastern Europe.¹² The disparities of a global market and competition associated with shipping – such as shipping companies operating under flags of convenience in order to save taxes and costs, with the consequences of precarious working conditions on board – are also evident in cruise tourism as well as in the industries and service sectors serving the industry, as the example of the precarious temporary employment in shipbuilding shows.¹³ The latter is only one of many aspects that have, so far, barely been taken up in the public debate about cruise ships and cruise cities. Social and ethnic aspects play a marginal role in the public perception, but they can be vividly illustrated by the example of local industry ties (Zukin 2009). Cruise ships are seen as “potent symbols of new forms of economic and cultural colonization,” revealing existing power asymmetries that shape the entire shipping

9 Regarding the origin and continuity of the myth, see Mathieu (2007: 115f.). See also Nies (2014: 12).

10 Regarding the cultural production of port cities, see Berking and Schwenk (2011).

11 Marghera has been the scene of numerous environmental scandals since the 1970s, some of which are due to the chemical industry located there, see Zazzara (2017).

12 Regarding the transformation of the industry, see Varela, Murphy, van der Linden (2017). See also Barlen (2018: 31).

13 Regarding the development in the field of cruise shipping, see Chin (2008). Elisabeth Schober and her team at the University of Oslo are dealing with these processes in the field of maritime work in the research project “Container Ships. Global Ethnographic Explorations into Maritime Working Lives.”

industry (Watts 2014: 80).¹⁴ These developments, I argue, also transfer to cruise cities, mirroring developments in the shipping sector. The “invisibilities produced by the tourist gaze regime” can be revealed in the cruise sector and in cruise cities by looking at employment and dependency relationships (Lenz 2007: 142).

Cruise ships and cities are places where leisure and work mobility coexist and overlap. Movement and arrival always entail cultural change, and social and spatial orders experience a shift through the positioning of the actors (Merkel 2002; Rolshoven 2011: 54). Thus, it is primarily infrastructures and production sites in cruise cities that are not perceived by the public but where the actual conflicts are kindled. Debates about growth and future concepts of industry as well as about everyday life in the city are equally central.

Venice – The ship as an intruder

Although the number of cruise tourists in Venice is relatively small, about 1.7 million per year, in relation to the total of 27 million people who spend one or more days in the city, the former have a major impact on the transformation of urban infrastructures.¹⁵ Cruise tourism is concentrated in only a few months and has a strong impact, for example, on consumer spaces in the historic center. Tourist snack bars are replacing established restaurants, and more and more souvenir stores selling cheap goods are displacing stores that provide everyday supplies. At the same time, the city’s population has declined sharply in recent decades. The local debates are not only about the inner-city space but also about the development of the large industrial area of Marghera. The struggle that has already been actively waged in Venice for years against the cruise ship is, therefore, only symbolic of more far-reaching transformations.

Protests as an indictment of local politics

A heterogeneous group of associations and citizens’ initiatives has been expressing its displeasure with the political handling of social, cultural and ecological developments in the city since around the mid-2000s. The main issues addressed are the effects of an overbearing cruise industry on people and the environment and visions for the future direction of the city. One focus of which politics is losing sight is on the use of public spaces.

The central actor of the protests is the *No Grandi Navi* committee, which began as a neighborhood information platform about large ships. The Costa Concordia ac-

14 The disparity is partly due to the deterritorialization of the industry, which has continued inexorably since the 1970s, see Wood (2004). The artist Allan Sekula (2002) used the example of container shipping to deal intensively with the sea as a central space of globalization.

15 The numbers are from 2014, see Zanardi (2017: 1720).

cident near Isola del Giglio in 2012, which killed 32 people, eventually led to the creation of a protest group. This group has established an extensive transversal and transnational network in recent years. The group takes up the dimension of the cruise ships and the threatening scenario associated with them against the backdrop of the historic old town even in its name. *No Grandi Navi*, meaning “no big ships,” refers to the disproportionality of city and ship, but above all, the group ties in with the discourse against dominant interests (in this case the cruise industry) that are imposed on citizens by large infrastructure projects decided by politics and that permanently change both natural and urban space. This is a reference to the current debate about infrastructure projects and the question of social participation (Flitner, Lossau, and Müller 2017). At the same time, the committee continues discussions that have been going on for decades, for example, regarding urban industries and ecological and health implications, but have scarcely been taken up in the media debate about the cruise industry and cruise tourism.¹⁶

The committee also visually reinforces the idea of the ship’s destructive potential. Its symbol, a crossed-out ship, expresses the demand to ban big ships from the city and the lagoon because of their threat to the cultural and ecological balance. The committee regularly initiates confrontational actions, especially at the Zattere, a central walk along the Giudecca Canal. It organized an unofficial referendum in June 2018, in which 18,000 Venetians participated in just one day, to demonstrate to local politics the latter’s inability to act.¹⁷ They opposed the current routes with 99 percent of the votes. Despite the enormous public pressure that the activists built up as a result, local politics ignored the action.

The image production of the committee and their activities contribute to the creation of the imagination of the ship. The group creates a counter-narrative to politically made decisions, which is now being taken up by other actors. Numerous initiatives and associations have been founded in recent years that deal with urban transformation processes and continue to develop the narrative. They are fighting for affordable housing and against related displacement processes, for their access to and use of public spaces, and against the ongoing privatization of specific buildings and entire islands in the lagoon (Schemmer 2019). They also communicate their activities on websites, YouTube channels and social networks. These perspectives break through dominant romanticizing and nostalgic images of the city and relieve it of its symbolic function. Instead, the everyday practices of the inhabitants and places that are in the process of disappearing become the focus of representation. In these processes, the myth of Venice is juxtaposed with the lived city (Mancuso 2009). One of my interviewees explicitly highlighted this new type of active citizen-

16 Some of the founding members of the committee have been actively promoting environmental protection in the lagoon city for decades.

17 About 50,000 people currently live in the city.

ship, which he has observed increasingly in recent years.¹⁸ The civic engagement and various activities, including joint ones, underline Henri Lefebvre's ideas of the city as a resource (Schmid 2005: 190). In the process, citizens and activists sound out the "balance of power" affecting their everyday urban lives, both among themselves and vis-à-vis local politics and overbearing industry (Schönberger 2018: 47).

Thus, the heterogeneous groups do not so much advocate against the tourist presence but raise their voices mainly against the political management of cultural and environmental consequences of tourism and the urban policies that put it at the center.

Expansion of infrastructures – space appropriation and displacement

The analysis of local discourses makes it clear that it is primarily urban and transport infrastructures that are at the center of the debates, referring to the monopoly of the industry. Giuseppe Tattara, a retired Professor of Economics at Ca' Foscari University and an active participant in the protests since the beginning, expresses his criticism of local leaders forcefully in a letter addressed to the local and national government:

Important infrastructures for the city, linked to mass tourism, are being planned. These are aimed at bringing short-term tourism to the city (such as the airport's second runway), and they strengthen maritime traffic. Modern infrastructure projects for the benefit of residents do not exist; these projects are aimed only at 'qualitative' improvement of the historic center (Tattara 2018; translated by the author).¹⁹

He makes clear in his statement that major transportation and tourism infrastructures predominantly serve the interests of industry and tourism, are not regulated and are, therefore, highly controversial in terms of their spatial, environmental and sociocultural impacts. In addition, he openly questions the role of politics.

The seemingly limitless growth of ships and, thus, also of the cruise industry is also taken up by the Venetian journalist and activist of the protest group *No Grandi Navi*, Silvio Testa. His book *E le chiamano navi* ('And they Call them Ships') begins with the following observations:

Huge floating boxes cross the basin of San Marco: they are white, they call them ships, and indeed, they are supposed to be. However, compared to the magnificent ships of the past, their only remaining function is to carry passengers, and lots of them, as many as possible (Testa 2011: 5; translated by the author).

In this, Testa, on the one hand, refers to discourses on the critique of this way of traveling. On the other hand, in his writing, published in a series focusing on recent

18 Interview with E. V., July 16, 2020.

19 The letter circulated via the committee's mailing list.

developments in Venice, he clearly condemns the profit maximization of the industry and the unsustainable construction and circulation of oversized ships and related transport facilities, in which neither local nor national politics intervene.

The dominance of external interests in the lagoon city has been the subject of public debate for decades (Benevolo 1979: VIII). These discussions are now culminating in the cruise ship protests because this development encompasses multiple levels of tourism and industry. The sector is transforming everyday infrastructures that are increasingly declining as cruise and tourism infrastructures expand (e.g. in terms of public transportation, housing, waste disposal and shopping). These areas are increasingly adapted to the needs of tourists, a development that leads to competition for use between tourists, on the one hand, and residents, on the other.

The spatialization of the ship manifests itself in the “built environment” through cruise terminals and new transportation structures (Schmid 2005: 42).²⁰ The Venice Passenger Terminal was founded in 1997. Up to seven cruise ships dock here every day during the high season. Passengers who want to leave the ship and explore Venice before, during or after the cruise have been transported closer to the historic center of the city by the People Mover since 2009. These facilities not only affect everyday structures but also have an impact on the future design of the industrial area that extends on the mainland next to the historic center.

The companies behind cruise tourism, in collaboration with the port authority, have been planning the expansion of passenger facilities in the industrial area on the Venetian mainland of Marghera for several years. In the public discourse, this controversial development is taken up in the debates about the routes of the ships and the excavations of the canals necessary for it. However, these debates revolve around much more than finding alternative routes to steer ships past St. Mark’s Square. Firstly, dredging deeper navigation channels in the lagoon would be a delicate undertaking as some channels are heavily contaminated due to environmental scandals from the chemical industry dating back several decades. Secondly, cruise tourism in close proximity to industry would be incompatible with the continuation of production activities located there, which is why workers worry about their jobs.²¹ This is indicated by new constellations in the *No Grandi Navi* committee, which, together with members of the metalworkers’ union FIOM, is trying to strengthen its positions in the current negotiations on the routes.

I understand the infrastructures closely intertwined with the cruise ship as relational entities that are “imagined, implemented, and experienced by the various actors” and are central to the debates and images associated with the ship in the lagoon city (Vonderau 2015: 160). While the international division of labor related to the sector and its impact on everyday urban life is seldom discussed publicly in

20 Other effects of the industry are gentrification and overtourism, see Mordue (2017).

21 Interview with S. M., October 26, 2019.

Venice, debates about labor migration dominate the controversies in the second arena.

Monfalcone – City of cruise ships

Monfalcone has a long shipyard history, starting in 1908 (Carnemolla 2012). The maritime industry in and around Trieste, as a seaport of the Habsburg Empire, flourished in the 19th century, later expanding from the city into the surrounding countryside. It was in this context that the shipyard in Monfalcone, the “factory by the sea,”²² was founded by the Cosulich brothers, originally from Mali Losinj in present-day Croatia. From the beginning, they built mainly military and passenger ships. Different owners and partial nationalizations followed over the decades. The shipyard has been operated by the Italian company Fincantieri since 1984. While a crisis in the 1980s led to the closure of many shipyards in Europe, Fincantieri succeeded in reinventing itself by specializing in the construction of cruise ships. This process was also skillfully marketed: The architect Renzo Piano was commissioned with the new ship design, which was inspired by the silhouette of dolphins. The site was repeatedly threatened with closure in the late 1990s, and there was talk of moving the hull production abroad. In the end, Fincantieri retained the Monfalcone site.²³ Numerous workers were recruited from Asian countries and Eastern Europe in order to save costs. Thus, the local shipyard industry is still an important economic sector in the region today.

Shipyard work and cultural difference

Migrants are very present in the townscape of Monfalcone. They make up about 20 percent of the small town’s total population, come from a wide variety of countries and continents, and work mainly in shipbuilding (Attanasio 2017). Workers in blue overalls, many of whom get around on bicycles, crossed my path every time I visited. The inner-city infrastructure, with Asian and African grocery stores, bars and eateries, indicates that people have long since tapped into other contexts of life and work besides the shipyard.

It should be mentioned that the mobility of the product of shipbuilding was related to the work on its production even in the founding history of the shipyard. Workers were recruited for the flourishing shipbuilding industry from throughout the region as well as from Istria and England at the beginning of the 20th century. Thus, labor migration has been an essential factor in the development of the shipyard and the city. This is commemorated, *inter alia*, by the partisan memorial erected in 1979

22 Regarding the historical development, see Fragiaco (2017).

23 The background of these developments is probably related to local and regional politics, see Scheppe (2009: 315).

in front of the factory gates, which, it is written, commemorates the Italian and Slovenian workers who opposed Nazi fascism during the Second World War.²⁴

However, the employment conditions of the people have changed in the last few decades. The transformations in the shipbuilding sector, mentioned at the beginning of this article, have led to a new composition of the workforce. Jobs have increasingly been filled by workers from the global South since the 1990s, many of whom are subcontracted and employed precariously. While Fincantieri currently employs only around 2,500 people directly in the region, the number of workers employed by subcontractors is estimated at over 14,000 (Patucchi 2017). One journalist's impression of Monfalcone was "like a shipyard in Manila, Taiwan or Dacca" (Maugeri 2015). Local politics, dominated for some years by the right-wing populist party Lega, has declared the presence of migrant workers a problem and instrumentalized their precarious conditions for its own purposes.

Former employees of the shipyard are also grappling with the transformation of the industry. One of my interviewees, formerly an engineer at Fincantieri, emphasized repeatedly in our conversation that he had been involved in the construction of various important large-scale floating projects, thus, tying in with established narratives about professional pride and a continuous identification with shipbuilding.²⁵ In doing so, he implicitly and repeatedly criticized the problematic social developments of the prevailing labor market policies but without naming them specifically, presumably to avoid discussions on this politically sensitive topic.²⁶

The actors currently involved in the construction of the ships in large numbers embody through their presence the change in the well-established structures of this industry, in which professional recognition and appreciation of knowledge and skills through appropriate forms of remuneration and compliance with safety regulations have long since ceased to be a part of everyday working life. However, the self-proclaimed city of cruise ships likes to adorn itself with them to the outside world. Regarding the migrants themselves, though, the ship means, above all, precarious and dangerous working and living conditions.

The problematic working conditions, as indicated by media reports and initial discussions on-site, have been negotiated by trade unions, regional politics and company management for years but, so far, without results. Instead, these debates, which problematize the presence of people from the global South in urban everyday life in various ways, reinforce cultural differentiation and their social marginalization by granting them hardly any social participation (Reiners 2017). The town's

24 Slovenian-speaking workers migrated increasingly due to the industrial development of the city. However, Slovenian is recognized as an official minority language in Monfalcone, which points to its evolved historical presence.

25 Interview with V. T., June 13, 2019. See Murawska (2015: 57f.).

26 Regarding the transformation, see Panariti (2011).

example shows that “migration, illegalization and labor market policies [...] are exemplary for the European migration regime and its structures” (Neuner 2015: 114).

While the ethnicization of migration has been an integral part of local and national politics in the border town of Monfalcone since the two world wars, at the latest, and the historical revisionist politics pursued currently shape social discourses and construct the strangers anew time and again, these processes take on a new dimension with the instrumentalization of migrant workers (Purini 2010).

Shipbuilding as cultural heritage – locality and voids

The Shipyard Museum Museo della Cantieristica a Monfalcone, which opened its doors in 2017, is located just a few minutes from the city center on the outskirts of the small town. The museum is located in the former accommodation of the shipyard workers, which used to house mostly those coming from Istria, an impressive building dating from 1920. The museum building is located directly opposite the shipyard site but is separated from it by a high fence.

The development of the city and the factory cannot be detached from each other, as the exhibition of the shipyard museum makes clear even in the entrance area. The parallel and interwoven growth of the shipyard and the city is impressively illustrated by the multimedia map shown at the beginning of the exhibition. Ship models dominate the exhibition rooms. The history of the shipyard until the 1980s is also told, at least in rudimentary form, in its socio-historical dimension. The considerable space devoted to the topics of occupational safety and health is striking. Part of the space is dedicated to asbestos, the material that caused the death of countless shipyard workers and their relatives in Monfalcone. The darker side of the industry is clearly addressed here with the depictions of the court cases that were fought for decades by the victims and their relatives.

Overall, however, the exhibition traces a development that focuses on the enumeration of technical achievements. Above all, so-called record-breaking ships and various technical feats developed on-site dominate the exhibition narrative. The Shipyard Museum focuses on shipbuilding technology as a cultural heritage of the city and the region. The artifact ‘ship’, especially passenger and cruise ships, is used here to produce the local imagination of shipbuilding as cultural heritage. The exhibition seems to be predominantly an instrument of the industry and an attempt to let industry and museum profit mutually. It almost gives the impression that the aim is to direct attention away from current developments.

While the museum also addresses current ship production and techniques, it does not address the structures that influence the regulation of the labor market,

international developments in shipbuilding or current labor market policies.²⁷ Thus, labor migration does not find a place in the museum's representation, neither from a historical nor from a contemporary perspective. Consequently, the relatively current exhibition misses the chance to establish the museum as a "contact zone" and meeting space where effects of global economies can be discussed (Clifford 1997). By showing neither the historical nor the present complexity of the people working on site, this institution also perpetuates the marginalization of a large part of the workforce. The staging of the former workers' village Panzano is exemplary for this marginalization. The housing estate built in the 1920s in the immediate vicinity of the shipyard, today a district of Monfalcone, has for a few years now been valorized as a historic working-class neighborhood within the framework of regional promotion. This working-class neighborhood, which has been declared a cultural heritage site, highlights the completely different living and working conditions of people employed at the shipyard today.

A snapshot – ship, industry and city

My remarks illustrate the close connection between the cruise industry (tourism and shipbuilding) and the mobilities associated with it, as well as the incursion into urban everyday life and working worlds. The example of the cruise ship as a symbol, to which different meanings are attributed in different settings but whose symbolic content is also constantly reproduced there, allows the tracing of relationships. The cruise ports presented here function as a mirror for the developments that have long been set in motion on the ship (in shipping) through deterritorialization.

Imagination can be seen in these processes as a practice regarding the production and negotiation of contemporary mobility experiences and their effects on urban life and transforming socio-spatial orders. Imagination and everyday life in Venice and Monfalcone collide in different ways. While in Venice, the conflict between residents and urban politics, which has been going on for decades, culminates symbolically in the cruise ship, in Monfalcone, there is a local politically forced return to the tradition of shipbuilding, which uses the imaginations of the cruise ship by declaring it a cultural heritage.

The actors active at the sites that have remained invisible so far are to be explored more closely in the course of the research. Further questions concern, for example, the actors and practices in the making of the locality of the "displaced, deterritorialized and transient populations that constitute today's ethnoscapes" (Appadurai 1996: 66). Following on from this, it will be worth investigating what resonance spaces are formed for workers in the industries associated with shipbuild-

27 The nature and content of the exhibition provoked the first critics to speak out, see Mellinato (2008).

ing. This raises the question of the future alliances that can be built in the workplaces, in the places of residence and beyond, and to what extent these develop into transregional or transnational phenomena. The weighting of service and industry in cruise ports will also have to be observed. And what role does the cruise industry itself play in the creation of the imagination arsenal? These aspects should also be considered in other locations in the northern Adriatic.

The cruise industry was hit hard by the Covid-19 pandemic and the lockdown that followed from mid-March 2020. The immobility faced by the travel industry created new images and emptied cruise ships of their meaning. There was talk of ghost ships. Debates about ships as hotels or reception centers for refugees flared up. While many people in Venice literally breathed a sigh of relief at first and dolphins reclaimed the harbor areas instead of cruise ships, the shipyard in Monfalcone resumed work on new ships for the military sector as early as April 2020. Cruise ships have again been calling at Venice (albeit in smaller numbers) since August 2020. During the ongoing Corona crisis, however, the cards are being reshuffled and debates are being held about the relocation of tourism to surrounding cities. It remains to be seen which imaginations will be nurtured in the future and after the crisis.

Bibliography

- Appadurai, Arjun. 1996. *Modernity at Large: Cultural Dimensions of Globalization*. Minneapolis, London: University of Minnesota Press.
- Attanasio, Paolo. 2017. "La comunità bengalese nell'area di Monfalcone. rapporto di ricerca." Monfalcone 2017, Ministero del Lavoro e delle Politiche Sociali. Accessed October 1, 2020. Available at: <http://www.integrazionemigranti.gov.it/Documenti-e-ricerche/Analisi%20comunit%C3%A0%20bengalese.pdf>.
- Barlen, Vivien. 2018. *Zwischen zwei Arenen. Betriebliche Mitbestimmung bei Leiharbeit und Werkverträgen*. Wiesbaden: Springer VS.
- Berking, Helmuth, and Jochen Schwenk. 2011. *Hafenstädte. Bremerhaven und Rostock im Wandel*. Frankfurt on the Main, New York: Campus Verlag.
- Carnemolla, Stefania Elena. 2012. "Monfalcone, storia di un cantiere navale." *Diacronie* 12. Accessed October 1, 2020. Available at: <http://journals.openedition.org/diacronie/2584>.
- Chin, Christine B. N. 2008. *Cruising in the Global Economy. Profits, Pleasure and Work at Sea*. Washington D.C.: Routledge.
- Clifford, James. 1997. "Museums as Contact Zones." In *Routes: Travel and Translation in the Late Twentieth Century*, edited by James Clifford, 188–219. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Comune di Monfalcone. N.d. Accessed October 1, 2020. Available at: <https://www.comune.monfalcone.go.it/monfalcone-e-il-suo-territorio>.
- Der Spiegel. 2019. "S.O.S. Wahnsinn Kreuzfahrt – die dunkle Seite des Traumurlaubs." *Der Spiegel*, August 10, 2019: 33.
- Di Benevolo, Leonardo. 1979. *Citta in discussione, Venezia e Roma*. Bari: Laterza.

- Fabbi, Gianni, and Giuseppe Tattara. 2014. *Venezia, la laguna, il porto e il gigantismo navale. Libro bianco sul perché le grandi navi debbono stare fuori della laguna*. Venezia: Moretti Honegger.
- Fincantieri. Varata a Marghera "Carnival Horizon." *Fincantieri*. The sea ahead. March 10, 2017. Accessed October 15, 2020. Available at: <https://www.fincantieri.com/it/media/comunicati-stampa-e-news/2017/fincantieri-varata-a-marghera-carnival-horizon/>.
- Flitner, Michael, Julia Lossau, and Anna-Lisa Müller, eds. 2017. *Infrastrukturen der Stadt*. Wiesbaden: Springer VS.
- Foucault, Michel. 1992. "Andere Räume." In *Aisthesis. Wahrnehmung heute oder Perspektiven einer anderen Ästhetik*, edited by Karlheinz Barck, Peter Gente, Heidi Paris and Stefan Richter, 34–46. Leipzig: Reclam.
- Fragiacomo, Paolo. 2017. *Una Fabbrica sul Mare*. Ronchi dei Legionari: Consorzio culturale del monfalconese.
- geheimagentur. "Ein Kreuzfahrtterminal." Accessed October 1, 2020. Available at: <https://www.geheimagentur.net/projekte/ein-kreuzfahrtterminal-3/>.
- Gregor, Wolfgang. 2016. *Der Kreuzfahrtkomplex: Traumschiff oder Alptraum*. Hamburg: tredition.
- Jäger, Margarete, and Siegfried Jäger. 2007. *Deutungskämpfe. Theorie und Praxis Kritischer Diskursanalyse*. Wiesbaden: Springer VS.
- Johnson, Peter. 2016. "The Ship: Navigating the Myths, Metaphors and Realities of Foucault's Heterotopia Par Excellence." *Heterotopian Studies* 2: 1–15.
- Kreichauf, René. 2017. "Michel Foucault: Raum als relationales Mittel zum Verständnis und zur Produktion von Macht." In *Schlüsselwerke der Stadtforschung*, edited by Frank Eckardt, 411–433. Wiesbaden: Springer Fachmedien.
- Larkin, Brian. 2013. "The Politics and Poetics of Infrastructure." *Annual Review of Anthropology* 42: 327–343.
- Lenz, Ramona. 2007. "Pauschal, Individual, Illegal: Aufenthalte am Mittelmeer." In *Turbulente Ränder. Neue Perspektiven auf Migration an den Grenzen Europas*, edited by Transit Migration Forschungsgruppe, 141–154. Bielefeld: transcript.
- Lindner, Rolf. 2008. "Textur, imaginaire, Habitus." In *Die Eigenlogik der Städte. Neue Wege für die Stadtforschung*, edited by Helmuth Berking and Martina Löw, 83–94. Frankfurt on the Main, New York: Campus.
- Link, Jürgen. 1978. *Die Struktur des Symbols in der Sprache des Journalismus. Zum Verhältnis literarischer und pragmatischer Symbole*. München: Fink.
- Mancuso, Franco. 2009. *Venezia è una città. Come è stata costruita e come vive*. Venezia: Corte del Fontego.
- Marcus, George E. 1995. "Ethnography in/of the World System: The Emergence of Multi-sited Ethnography." *Annual Review of Anthropology* 24: 95–117.
- Mathieu, Christian. 2007. *Inselstadt Venedig. Umweltgeschichte eines Mythos in der Frühen Neuzeit*. Cologne: Böhlau.
- Maugeri, Mariano. 2015. "Appalti e 'bangla' hanno battuto la crisi." *Il Sole 24 ORE*. July 3, 2015. Accessed October 1, 2020. Available at: https://st.ilssole24ore.com/art/impresa-e-territori/2015-07-03/appalti-e-bangla'hanno'battuto-crisi'063641.shtml?uuid=ACxk89K&refresh_ce=1.
- Mellinato, Giulio. 2008. "Spazi di lavoro e di vita. Monfalcone 1966–1988." In *Da territori industriali a paesaggi culturali. Percorsi progettuali, esperienze, potenzialità di valoriz-*

- zazione, riconversione e recupero del patrimonio e dei siti dell'archeologia industrial, edited by Comune di Monfalcone. Monfalcone.
- Merkel, Ina. 2002. "Außerhalb von Mittendrin. Individuum und Kultur in der zweiten Moderne." *Zeitschrift für Volkskunde* 2 (98): 229–256.
- Mordue, Tom. 2017. "New Urban Tourism and New Urban Citizenship. Researching the Creation and Management of Postmodern Urban Public Space." *International Journal of Tourism Cities* 4 (3): 399–405.
- Murawska, Oliwia. 2015. *Die Familienwerft. Strukturen, Traditionen, Nachfolge*. Münster: Waxmann.
- Neuner, Nadja. 2015. "Tagungsbericht 'Hungerlöhne, Slums und Illegalisierung. Dynamiken des Ausbeutens in der Lebensmittelproduktion.'" *Österreichische Zeitschrift für Volkskunde* 1+2: 113–117
- Nies, Martin. 2014. *Venedig als Zeichen. Literarische und mediale Bilder der „unwahrscheinlichsten der Städte“ 1787–2013*. Marburg: Schüren.
- Panariti, Loredana. 2011. "Tute blu e principesse. L'organizzazione del lavoro nel cantiere di Monfalcone (1987–2007)." In *Il sistema marittimo-portuale del Friuli Venezia Giulia. Aspetti economici, statistici e storici*, edited by Romeo Danielis, 218–256. Trieste: EUT.
- Papathanassis, Alexis. 2017. "Over-Tourism and Anti-Tourist Sentiment. An Exploratory Analysis and Discussion." *Ovidius University Annals* 2: 288–293.
- Pattullo, Polly. 1996. *Last Resorts: The Cost of Tourism in the Caribbean*. London: Ian Randle.
- Patucchi, Marco. 2017. "Monfalcone la città-cantiere, 100 etnie in bilico all'ombra dei colossi da crociera." *La Repubblica*, March 30, 2017. Accessed October 1, 2020. Available at: https://www.repubblica.it/economia/2017/03/30/news/monfalcone_la_citta_-_cantiere_100_etnie_in_bilico_all_ombra_dei_colossi_da_crociera-161804454/.
- Purini, Piero. 2010. *Metamorfosi etniche: i cambiamenti di popolazione a Trieste, Gorizia, Fiume e in Istria 1914–1975*. Udine: Kappa Vu.
- Reiners, Diana. 2017. "Zur Situation von Migrant_innen auf dem Südtiroler Arbeitsmarkt: Einseitige Bedarfsorientierung und Integrationshindernisse – Ein Überblick." In *Migrantisches Arbeitswelten in Südtirol. Explorativ-ethnographische Ergebnisse eines Euregio-Lehrforschungsprojektes*, edited by Gilles Reckinger, Diana Reiners, and Dorothy Zinn, 15–22. Innsbruck: Innsbruck University Press.
- Reitz, Michael. 2018. "Von der Lust an der Kreuzfahrt. Flanieren auf See." *Deutschlandfunk*, August 26, 2018. Accessed October 1, 2020. Available at: https://www.deutschlandfunk.de/von-der-lust-an-der-kreuzfahrt-flanieren-auf-see.1184.de.html?dram:article_id=424166.
- Rolshoven, Johanna, and Joachim Schlör, eds. 2015. "Die Schiffsreise – The Sea Voyage." *Mobile Culture Studies. The Journal* Special Issue, 1.
- Rolshoven, Johanna. 2011. "Mobilitätskulturen im Parcours. Überlegungen zu einer kulturwissenschaftlichen Mobilitätsforschung." In *Mobilitäten. Europa in Bewegung als Herausforderung kulturanalytischer Forschung*, edited by Reinhard Johler, Max Matter, and Sabine Zinn-Thomas, 52–60. Münster: Waxmann.
- Schemmer, Janine. 2019. "Un incitamento alla rivolta – Plätze des Protests in Venedig. Kontroversen um den Ausverkauf der Stadt." *Moderne Stadtgeschichte* 1: 77–88.
- Scheppe, Wolfgang, and IUAV Class on Politics of Representation. 2009. *Migropolis: Venice/ Atlas of a Global Situation*. Ostfildern: Hatje Cantz.

- Schmid, Christian. 2005. *Stadt, Raum und Gesellschaft: Henri Lefebvre und die Theorie der Produktion des Raumes*. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner.
- Schönberger, Klaus. 2018. "Zur Spezifik des Politischen in der Empirischen Kulturwissenschaft." In *Dimensionen des Politischen. Ansprüche und Herausforderungen der Empirischen Kulturwissenschaft*, edited by Johanna Rolshoven and Ingo Schneider, 35–50. Berlin: Neofelis.
- Sekula, Allan. 2002. Seemannsgarn. Düsseldorf: Richter & Fey.
- Sheller, Mimi. 2009. "The New Caribbean Complexity: Mobility Systems, Tourism and Spatial Rescaling." *Singapore Journal of Tropical Geography* 30: 189–203.
- Siegert, Bernhard. 2015. *Cultural Techniques. Grids, Filters, Doors, and Other Articulations of the Real*. Translated by Geoffrey Winthrop-Young. New York: Fordham University Press.
- Tattara, Giuseppe. 2018. *Non Uccidete la Gallina dalle Uova D'Oro*. Venedig.
- Testa, Silvio. 2011. *E le chiamano navi. Il crocierismo fa boom in Laguna*. Venice: Corte del Fontego.
- Varela, Raquel, Hugh Murphy, and Marcel van der Linden, eds. 2017. *Shipbuilding and Ship Repair Workers around the World. Case Studies 1950–2010*. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press.
- Vaya, Esther, José R. Garcia, Joaquín Murillo, Javier Romani, and Jordi Suriñach. 2018. "Economic Impact of Cruise Activity: The Case of Barcelona." *Journal of Travel & Tourism Marketing* 35: 479–492.
- Vonderau, Asta. 2015. "Globale Daten in lokalen Speichern: Ethnographische infrastrukturelle Zugänge zum World Wide Web." In *Alltag – Kultur – Wissenschaft. Beiträge zur Europäischen Ethnologie*, edited by Burkhard Lauterbach, 149–162. Würzburg: Königshausen & Neumann.
- Watts, Richard. 2014. "Floating Signifiers: Cruise Ships and the Memory of Other Voyages." *Journal of Romance Studies* 2 (14): 78–90.
- Weaver, Adam. 2019. "Selling Bubbles at Sea. Pleasurable Enclosures or Unwanted Confinement?" *Tourism Geographies* 21 (5): 785–800.
- Wikipedia. N.d. "Monfalcone. La città delle navi da crociera." Accessed October 1, 2020. Available at: <https://it.wikipedia.org/wiki/Monfalcone>.
- Wöhler, Karlheinz. 2011. *Touristifizierung von Räumen. Kulturwissenschaftliche und soziologische Studien zur Konstruktion von Räumen*. Wiesbaden: Springer VS.
- Wood, Robert E. 2004. "Cruise Ships: Deterritorialized Destinations." In *Tourism and Transport. Issues and Agenda for the New Millennium*, edited by Les Lumsdon and Stephen J. Page, 133–146. Oxford: Routledge.
- Zanardi, Clara. 2017. "Il turismo crocieristico in Laguna tra sostegno e conflitto." In *La città, il viaggio, il turismo. Percezione, produzione e trasformazione*, edited by Gemma Belli, Francesca Capano, and Maria Ines Pascariello, 1719–1723. Napoli: FedOA – Federico II University Press.
- Zazzara, Gilda. 2017. "I cento anni di Porto Marghera (1917–2017)." *Italia Contemporanea* 284, 2017. Accessed February 17, 2021. Available at: https://ojs.francoangeli.it/_ojs/index.php/icoa/article/view/5185.
- Zukin, Sharon. 2009. "Changing Landscapes of Power: Opulence and the Urge for Authenticity." *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 33: 543–553.

Aila Özvegyi

From heroic staging to sober representation?*

Photographs by Ernst Brunner from his military service with anti-aircraft battery 311

Abstract: The Lucerne photographer and farmhouse researcher Ernst Brunner served in an anti-aircraft unit of the Swiss Army during the Second World War. At this time, he took about 700 photographs that do not fit into the picture of a rural Switzerland that Brunner so often showed and produced in other photographs. Brunner, as a photojournalist, was dependent on selling his pictures to the media. The censorship mechanisms and the visual language of the magazines of the time influenced the photographic practice of the photojournalists. During his military service, Brunner took photographs several times on individual occasions, varied the perspective, image detail and visible objects, waited for certain lighting conditions and ‘sought’ the perfect moment. Frequent visualizations and changes in his military images can be made visible with the help of comparative photographic analysis. While he often staged ‘stout-hearted’ soldiers in his first three terms of service, his visual messages changed towards the end of the war to a rather sober visual language in which the coexistence of the military and civilian population is in focus. He also wrote two military diaries which permit the contextualization of the photographs and provide an insight into Brunner’s period of service.

Keywords: historical photography, Second World War, Swiss military, diary, photojournalist, Ernst Brunner

Rural, peasant and ‘disappearing’ worlds versus industry, military and readiness to defend

Lucerne in 1943: A soldier takes a run-up on the *Inseli* not far from the train station, leans on a garbage can and jumps over it in a high arch. At this moment, Ernst Brunner presses the shutter release of his camera (Fig. 1). The jumping soldier is in the center of the picture; another soldier is visible between the outstretched legs and hands and a garbage can. Brunner photographed from a low angle; the jump appears high because of this. The next soldiers are already waiting in the background; shortly beforehand, they had swung over a bench. They are soldiers of the anti-aircraft battery 311, the unit of the Swiss Army to which Brunner belonged. The Lucerne

* This paper was first published in German in *Schweizerisches Archiv für Volkskunde/Archives Suisses des Traditions Populaires* 2020, 116 (2): 25–45. Translation by Stefanie Everke Buchanan.



Fig. 1: Soldiers of the anti-aircraft battery 311 jump over a garbage can. Photograph: Ernst Brunner, SGV_12N_05439 © Schweizerische Gesellschaft für Volkskunde.

photographer did several periods of military service between 1942 and 1945 and produced numerous photographs during these times. The photographs are now held in the photo archive of the Schweizerische Gesellschaft für Volkskunde (SGV) and were relocated, recorded in a database and digitized in the course of its photo project from 2014–2018.¹ Brunner's photographic estate comprises about 47,800 negatives and 20,000 prints on index cards, in addition to several thousand prints and publication records, which are kept in the archives of the Canton of Lucerne's archive of historic monuments. Since the entire stock of negatives was digitized as part of the

1 In 2014, the SGV initiated a photo project and, in the course of it, processed about half of the thirty photo collections. Since the fall of 2018, approximately 105,000 photographs from seventeen collections have been available online, <https://archiv.sgv-sstp.ch>, July 19, 2019.

photo project and made available online, Brunner's photographic work can now be viewed anew: Thousands of photographs, of which Brunner did not make any prints and which were previously only visible on the light box, are now digitally available and can be analyzed. Taking into account the fact that a photographic object and its digitized version are never the same and information is always lost or added in the process of digitization (cf. Kunsthistorisches Institut in Florenz 2009), this approach means that it is now also possible to evaluate photographs in a thematic analysis that Brunner initially excluded, did not select or which were unsuccessful. On the one hand, this expands the field of investigation in an almost unmanageable way, but, on the other hand, it allows the examination of entire series and, thus, provides a deeper insight into Brunner's photographic practice.

Today, Brunner is best known for his photographs of rural areas of Switzerland, his documentation of buildings and crafts and his work as head of the Luzerner Bauernhausforschung (Lucerne Farmhouse Research Group). In 1995, Peter Pfrunder was the first to study Ernst Brunner's complete photographic oeuvre and published an illustrated book, which, as can be argued, had a significant influence on the way in which his photographic collection was viewed. In Pfrunder's words, Brunner, as a photographer of the 'longue durée,' sought what was enduring and would soon be washed away: The rural world, which was as much bound to tradition as to poverty (Pfrunder 1998: cover). Pfrunder focused on Brunner's photo series of work processes, such as watering in Ferden, wild haymaking in the Bisi valley or threshing in the Leventina. In the course of recording the photo collection, around 700 photographs of soldiers appeared in 2016: Marching, during exercises, eating or doing sports. Photographs of weapons, positions, shelters, refugees and the war economy also did not fit into the picture of rural Switzerland that Brunner often produced otherwise. In 1995, Pfrunder addressed topics related to the Second World War but focused on the rural 'disappearing' worlds. The few subsequent publications on Brunner focused on other aspects, such as his proximity to the documentary photography of the Farm Security Administration in the United States or his artistic imagery, but again, based their argumentation on photographs that paint the picture of a peasant, rural Switzerland (cf. Steiger 1998). This leads to the question: To what extent was there a desire to see a 'peasant,' 'rural' or 'disappearing' world in Brunner's pictures? And what do his numerous other photographs, for example, in cities, of industry, of large construction projects or even of military service tell us? The focus on photographs of the anti-aircraft battery 311 is relevant in several ways: Firstly, little has been known about Brunner's military service up to now, for example, when and where he spent his time, or which restrictions affected his photography. Secondly, the photographs of the anti-aircraft battery 311 show Brunner's temporary living environment and, thus, have a direct biographical reference – in contrast to numerous other photo reportages in his collection. Thirdly, an analysis of the military images

deviates from the previous canon and focuses neither on artisanship nor on rural living environments. One difficulty regarding the examination of Brunner's photographs is that he often recorded little contextual information about the images. The place and year that the pictures were taken remain unknown for many images, including the military pictures. Among the numerous negatives, however, there are eleven photographs from diaries that Brunner wrote during his military service.² They correspond to other diaries that are held in the Federal Archives.³ Fourthly, the written sources, thus, allow a chronological classification and contextualization of the military pictures, as is possible with few of Brunner's picture series. What do the photographs from the six periods of military service tell us about Ernst Brunner? In the following, I will highlight his role as a photojournalist during the Second World War, focus on his photographic practice during military services, contextualize the photographs of the anti-aircraft battery 311 with the help of the diaries and show the changes in the messages conveyed by the images. A particular focus will be on the fourth service period in 1944 in Morens (Canton Fribourg).

Photography in the interplay between professional practice, national defense and censorship

Ernst Brunner worked mainly for the Regina publishing house until the mid-1940s; his pictures were published primarily in the magazines *Schweizer Heim* and *Schweizer Familie* (cf. Pfrunder 1998: 39). Peter Pfrunder sees a connection between Brunner's success as a photojournalist and the tense political situation in Europe. He writes that the new awareness of home had awakened the need for images that emphasize 'one's own', the view inwards, and that instead of reports from faraway countries, newspapers and magazines were publishing proud articles about the allegedly unspoiled, freedom-loving people – the 'original Swiss' – in their own mountain valleys (Pfrunder 1998: 44). Ernst Brunner had no difficulty in supplying such pictures and motifs. As Pfrunder states, he had preserved his close relationship with the rural world, referring to Brunner's childhood in Mettmenstetten (Pfrunder 1998: 45–48). Brunner was indeed mainly active in Switzerland as a photojournalist, but his photographs were used in a wide variety of contexts, mostly in the course of reportages but occasionally also to illustrate recipes or as advertising images for vacations in ski resorts.⁴ Photographs from a gas plant, from the construction of the road over the Susten Pass or pictures of a drying plant, for example, were also published (*Schweizer*

2 Cf. Fotoarchiv Schweizerische Gesellschaft für Volkskunde, Sammlung Ernst Brunner, shelf marks: SGV_12N_22273 to SGV_12N_22283.

3 Cf. Schweizerisches Bundesarchiv, E5790#1000/948#3179*, Flab Bttr 311, Vol. 1–4, 1942–1945.

4 Brunner collected publication records of his photographs; they are held in the Canton of Lucerne's archive of historic monuments.



Fig. 2: Ernst Brunner's ID card for photo reporters. Photograph: Ernst Brunner, SGV_12N_03401 (detail) © Schweizerische Gesellschaft für Volkskunde.

Familie 1944, *Das Schweizer Heim* 1945a, 1945b).⁵ Brunner obviously understood how to cover the diverse needs of the magazines and not just how to sell ideologically charged pictures.

Brunner's early years as a photo reporter fall into the period of the Second World War. The sociopolitical situation in Switzerland at that time also affected the work of the photojournalists. In order to sell photographs to magazines or periodicals, the content had to be compatible with both the appropriate visual language and censorship regulations. Photojournalists were dependent on selling their photographs to earn a living (cf. Steiger 1998: 33). However, photojournalists were not only influenced at the level of pictures by the situation at the time; the mobilization of the army in 1939 and the subsequent active service had an impact on the professional life of the entire population for six years. Ernst Brunner was drafted in a second round and served six times from 1942 onwards, for a total of about five and a half months. A service assignment in Brunner's unit lasted an average of one month. He continued his reportages between assignments, but he also took opportunities to take photographs during his time with the anti-aircraft battery 311.⁶ In contrast

5 All three articles are held as publication records as part of the collection on Ernst Brunner in the Canton of Lucerne's archive of historic monuments.

6 This resulted in about 700 pictures, which were the focus of the author's master's thesis (Özvegyi 2018).

to other Swiss photographers, such as Theo Frey, Hans Staub, Georges Tièche or Paul Senn, Ernst Brunner was not recruited as an 'official' photo reporter for the Press and Radio Communications Division of the Swiss army – it remains unclear why.⁷ This department was tasked with recording military service in photographs and building up an archive.⁸ Ernst Brunner, on the other hand, like Hans Baumgartner, for example, was one of the 'civilian' photo reporters in military service; they were part of a normal army unit and were only allowed to take photographs while on duty with an official ID as a photo reporter (Fig. 2).⁹ In contrast to the photographers of the Press and Radio Communications Division, Brunner received no official photo assignments from the army, was bound to the service missions of the anti-aircraft battery 311 and allowed to keep his film negatives. Since Brunner worked as a photojournalist in civilian life and, thus, had the corresponding technical and perspective skills, his photographs from military service cannot be classified as private occasional photography.¹⁰

All photojournalists were affected by press policy and censorship regulations during the Second World War. The mechanisms of general press censorship can only be touched upon at this point.¹¹ Nevertheless, the question arises as to the extent to which press policy influenced the practice of photography and what effects the governmental guidelines had on the photographic practice of reportage, respectively, professional photographers. The apparatus of press control was based on the Federal Council Decree of September 8, 1939, on the protection of the country's security in the field of the intelligence service.¹² As a result, the Press and Radio Division issued several bans, which were summarized under the so-called *Grunderlass* (Basic Decree). These prohibitions concerned, for example, publications about the military (e.g. troop composition and deployment sites, equipment, military installations) but also information about authorities or the import and export of goods. According to this decree, pictorial representations that corresponded to the prohibited information were to be treated in the same way as written texts. In accordance with these regulations, pictorial material with military content had to be submitted to the ter-

7 The Press and Radio Communications Division of the Swiss Army was the authority responsible for press censorship during the Second World War. In 1939, it was commissioned by the Federal Council to monitor and control the press (cf. Photoforum Pasquart 1989: 7, 14).

8 The resulting photo collection is now held in the Swiss Federal Archives, Bern, and was the basis for the publication *Bilder aus der Schweiz 1939–1945*, also see Burri and Maissen (1997).

9 Cf. interview Georges Luks with Hans Baumgartner (Photoforum Pasquart 1989: 28–31).

10 Nora Mathys, in her dissertation on photographic friendships, analyzed albums that contained private photographs from military service. She found that the soldiers mainly photographed themselves, their comrades or relatives during visits (Mathys 2013: 121).

11 For further literature on press censorship in Switzerland during the Second World War, see Kreis (1973) or Keller (2009).

12 Cf. Federal Council protocol of September 8, 1939 (Eidg. Gesetzessammlung 55), Art. 1, published in Photoforum Pasquart (1989: 25).

ritorial commanders responsible prior to publication (cf. Monnier 1989). Many positive prints in Ernst Brunner's collection bear the stamps "released for publication" and "Ter. Kdo. 8," indicating that Brunner sent these prints to Territorial Command 8 in order to be able to publish them. However, Brunner did so with only a fraction of his photographs with military content; all the others remained unnoticed in his collection of negatives. Regarding the 'civilian' photographers, therefore, the censorship mechanisms only concerned the photographs that they intended to publish and which they sent to the Territorial Commands. Thus, when photographing during military service, the only thing to bear in mind was the possibility of later censorship. Brunner regularly published photographs during the war, including ones taken during service with the anti-aircraft battery 311 (e.g. *Das Schweizer Heim* 1943a, 1943b). This influenced the photographic situation in military service: On the one hand, from the perspective of the photographer, who had both the possible censorship and the pictorial language of the magazines in his mind, and, on the other hand, from the perspective of the people in the photographs, who behaved according to the corresponding pictorial traditions or perhaps asked Brunner to capture certain situations. In Brunner's case, the thought of the later use of the pictures played a role: Which motifs, contents and ways of presentation are suitable for an illustrated magazine, and with which visual language can money be made? During the war years, both the 'official' and the 'civilian' photographers in military service moved in a field of tension between the duty to defend the country, censorship practices, magazine assignments and the desire to do favors for comrades in service.¹³

Visualizations in the military images: Gestures, poses and staging

Brunner's propensity for the exact documentation of procedures and processes is also reflected in his way of recording military service. On several occasions, for example, he photographed the assembly and alignment of 20 mm anti-aircraft guns or the setting up of posts. In doing so, he proceeded in a similar way to reportages with civilian content. Brunner's picture series are characterized by a meticulousness that runs through the entire photo collection; he often photographed every step and every activity from beginning to end. Since the 1990s, visual anthropology has increasingly devoted itself to entire series of pictures in order to examine their cultural significance and social impact over a longer period (cf. Leimgruber, Andris, and Bischoff 2013: 252).¹⁴ This approach is also suitable for examining Brunner's photographs, as he rarely took only a single photograph on a topic or a field of

13 To the best of the author's knowledge, there were no female photojournalists who photographed army units for the press and radio division or as 'civilian' photojournalists in Switzerland. Images from or about the military during the Second World War are, thus, the argument, subject to a male perspective on events.

14 The dissertations by Ulrich Hägele (1998) and Nora Mathys (2013) can serve as examples here.

interest. Nora Mathys' approach was used for the analysis of the military images; she examined visualizations of love relationships in photo albums by means of a serial comparative photo analysis (cf. Mathys 2014). According to Mathys, visualizations as a way of realization are used mainly for abstract ideas or conceptions, but they are also subject to social and technical conditions. In her words, perception and visualization are dependent on the images already known as well as the technical possibilities, such as flashlight, exposure times and zoom, the forms of presentation, such as slide shows, photo albums and framed pictures, and our habits of showing and looking at things. She concludes that perception and visualization are, thus, subject to the conditions of showing, seeing and being seen, and they are determined by time, space and social factors (Mathys 2014: 225).¹⁵ Mathys illustrates this with the example of the representation of love relationships: When two people stand next to each other, the nature of their relationship is not discernible. According to Mathys, in order to make love relationships perceptible as such, they must be made visible by means of appropriate visualizations. This can, for instance, be an intimate embrace that gives the viewer a hint of a romantic relationship (Mathys 2014: 224 f.). When viewing the photographs of the anti-aircraft battery 311, it is striking that Brunner often experimented with the staging and depiction of soldiers. During his military service, he took photographs several times on individual occasions, varying the perspective, frame and visible objects, waiting for certain lighting conditions and 'searching' for the perfect moment. Figure 1, for example, is preceded by numerous experiments that show the same photo opportunity but do not capture the soldier's jump at the highest point and show the remaining battery in the background. Therefore, the central question is which abstract ideas or conceptions did he try to visualize, and which pictorial messages are associated with them at which time?

Roland Barthes' semiotic image analysis (cf. Barthes 1990) can be used to examine visualizations and processes of connotation. Barthes distinguishes between denotative and connotative messages: For him, denotative messages are those that contain an analogy to the world. By contrast, connotative messages provide information about social understanding (Barthes 1990: 13); they contain what Nora Mathys calls accompanying, additional (emotional, expressive, stylistic) ideas (Mathys 2014: 227). When analyzing photographs, therefore, the rhetoric of the era must be taken into account. Which stereotypes, schemes, colors, gestures or lettering are used at which time? Barthes understands connotation to mean what he terms the introduction of an additional meaning into the actual photographic message (Barthes 1990: 16) and distinguishes between different methods of application. Connotations are formed, for example, by a photomontage; depending on the era, the poses of those photographed refer to fixed meanings, as does the placement of

15 Nora Mathys here refers to Holert (2005: 233).



Fig. 3: Soldiers posing with rifles at the ready.
 Photograph: Ernst Brunner, SGV_12N_05331
 ©Schweizerische Gesellschaft für Volkskunde.



Fig. 4: Soldiers staging standing guard on the roof of the main post office in Lucerne.
 Photograph: Ernst Brunner, SGV_12N_05335
 ©Schweizerische Gesellschaft für Volkskunde.

objects or symbols. However, creative techniques, such as focus/blurriness or lighting conditions, can also be applications of connotation. Finally, the pictorial series also creates a syntax, as it were: Looking at a photograph within a series leads to connotations that arise through the arrangement as well as through the links between them (cf. Barthes 1990: 17–22; Mathys 2014: 227 f.). This kind of attribution of meaning must be taken into account especially in Brunner's case, who produced entire series of pictures on individual themes. On the other hand, his comrades also had an influence on the pictorial message: With their behavior in front of the camera, with possible wishes or requests for pictorial composition, they had already helped shape the images in the photographic situation.

According to Mathys, visualizations by means of gestures, poses and staging usually result from personal or collective symbolizations in order to clarify certain messages. Facial expressions, glances and gestures or even objects are used, for example, to depict romantic connections (cf. Mathys 2014: 235). In Brunner's photographs of the anti-aircraft battery 311, visualizations of stout-hearted men ready to defend are particularly evident: Soldiers posing in a row with their rifles at the ready (Fig. 3), standing guard on the roof of the main post office in Lucerne (Fig. 4), or apparently ready to fire next to a 20 mm anti-aircraft gun (Fig. 5). Photographs of this kind convey to viewers the image of soldiers who are ready to fulfil their military duties. Both the people photographed and Brunner as the photographer play with gestures, poses and staging in order to construct and convey these messages. All the individuals involved in the photographic situation, therefore, have an influence on the connotative messages of a photograph. The choice of perspective



Fig. 5: Soldiers of the anti-aircraft battery 311 with a 20 mm anti-aircraft gun. Photograph: Ernst Brunner, SGV_12N_05317 ©Schweizerische Gesellschaft für Volkskunde.



Fig. 6: Portrait of a seated soldier in Ernst Brunner's apartment. Photograph: Ernst Brunner, SGV_12N_07358 ©Schweizerische Gesellschaft für Volkskunde.



Fig. 7:
Portrait of a soldier standing with a rifle in Ernst Brunner's apartment. Photograph: Ernst Brunner, SGV_12N_07362 ©Schweizerische Gesellschaft für Volkskunde.

is particularly striking in a large portion of Ernst Brunner's military photographs; he often photographed upwards, thus, making the soldiers depicted appear heroic. Figure 4 also shows Brunner's play with the lighting conditions: The backlighting on the roof anonymizes the individual soldiers, highlights the contours of the uniforms and rifles, and simultaneously creates a shadow on the ground that is reflected in the glass plates. The military photographs can be analyzed for various connotations, and the placement of objects or symbols in the picture are also frequently used as design techniques. The two portraits (Fig. 6 and 7) show the same soldier twice, once sitting and once standing facing forward. In the second image, the cap has been

replaced by the helmet, and the rifle, which was previously in the background, is now in the soldier's hands, centrally positioned in the picture. Brunner's visualizations can, therefore, in reference to Mathys, be described as being dependent on the pictorial traditions of the time. At this point, it is particularly important to keep in mind the role of the illustrated magazines, since their selection of images, the choice of details and the perspectives formed a pictorial tradition of their own.¹⁶ Showing the citizens the national characteristics of Switzerland by means of carefully assembled photographs and idealizing the common homeland was part of the magazines' program and must be seen in the context of the "intellectual national defense" (cf. Pfrunder 1998: 45). This also includes all publications about the Swiss military, for example, stout-hearted soldiers portrayed as heroes who placed themselves in the service of the 'fatherland'. Guido Magnaguagno also recognized that a tendency towards nationalism was evident in Swiss photography from 1935 onwards: Homeland themes as well as a tendency towards pathos and monumentality were recognizable in many photographs (cf. Magnaguagno 1981; Pfrunder 1998: 44 f.).

Two different diaries and the photographs: Traces of the anti-aircraft battery 311

Eleven negatives from Ernst Brunner's photo collection show the pages of a diary entitled "Aktivdienst Juli – August 1944 Morens (FR)" (Active service July – August 1944 Morens, Canton of Fribourg).¹⁷ It was written by Brunner and the entries correspond in part to his photographs. The term 'active service' in both military and everyday language was synonymous with the period between 1939 and 1945, but it was and is understood almost exclusively as the military service experiences of the men (cf. Dejung 2006: 13). Women were often convinced that they could not tell anything extraordinary about the Second World War, whereas men reported exactly who had done what, when and where as soon as, as Simone Chiquet puts it, they were convinced of the importance of their experiences (Chiquet 1992: 11). Christof Dejung speaks of the polarization of gender characters to refer to the juxtapositions of soldierly, stout-hearted men and of devoted women who are to be protected. Because of this polarization, according to Dejung, women's achievements faded in the collective memory (cf. Dejung 2006: 14 f.). Historical sources, especially those from active service, therefore, often depict men's perspectives on current events. This also applies to Ernst Brunner's military pictures and his diary entries. The photographed diary makes it possible to match some of the pictures to the summer of 1944. The Federal Archives hold all the 'official' military diaries of the anti-aircraft battery 311.

16 Peter Pfrunder, for example, refers to illustrated magazines as a source genre; cf. Pfrunder (1998: 40–43).

17 Schweizerische Gesellschaft für Volkskunde, SGV_12N_22274, <https://archiv.sgv-sstp.ch/resource/444509>, July 17, 2019.

These consist of four volumes describing a total of six periods of service from 1942–1945.¹⁸ They provide information on the service assignments, team compositions, activities and special incidents during the service. The diaries are in A5 format, have a black cover and preprinted pages.¹⁹ The A5 booklets in the Federal Archives have the same preprinted structure as the photographed diary and also contain entries for the summer of 1944. Both documents are clearly the work of Brunner, but they do not have the same content. Brunner, therefore, kept two diaries in the summer of 1944. However, some pages are missing from the photographed version. It is not clear whether Brunner did not photograph the pages or whether the negatives have been lost. The text in the photographed ‘unofficial’ diary is illustrated with numerous drawings, some of which correspond to photographs taken during military service. Figure 8, for example, shows a situation similar to the photographed drawing of the journey from Lucerne to Morens near Payerne on July 14, 1944 (Fig. 9). The soldiers sit on an open train car between cars and anti-aircraft guns. Otherwise, the drawings illustrate situations about which Ernst Brunner writes in part but in which he does not take photographs (or is not allowed to take any). More cynical drawings, such as those about the army postal service, can also be found in his ‘unofficial’ diary.²⁰ There are, therefore, two versions of diary entries for the fourth period of service of the anti-aircraft battery 311 (July 14 – August 15, 1944): On the one hand, those that Ernst Brunner wrote ‘officially’ in the military diary and which are now held in the Federal Archives, and, on the other hand, his ‘unofficial’ notes, of which only a few are still available in the photo collection at the SGV. So, what changed in the summer of 1944? If one compares the entries, it quickly becomes clear that Brunner’s ‘official’ diary was very brief during this period of service. Thus, he writes under August 7, 1944: “Activity: Field service exercise in Bussy. Attack of two squads on the village, which is defended by c. squad against ground troops and air raids.”²¹ In the photographed diary, the first part of the entry of August 7 is missing, but clear differences can be identified: “Defended bttr. against air raids by ground troops. In the course of this exercise, combat in this area is shown with all its difficulties. If the tactical skills of our people were equal to their goodwill, our squad would be able

18 Cf. Schweizerisches Bundesarchiv, E5790#1000/948#3179*, diary Flab Bttr 311, 4 volumes, 1942–1945.

19 The template is in three languages and provides space for the designation of the army unit and the period of service. It also contains a list of the “rules for keeping the diary,” according to which it has to be kept daily, describing the activities in a chronological and coherent manner, providing information on the composition of the unit and the sets of orders; cf. Schweizerisches Bundesarchiv, E5790#1000/948#3179*, diary Flab Bttr 311, 4 volumes, 1942–1945.

20 One soldier carries a large sack of field mail over his shoulder, his superior walks beside him smoking and reading the newspaper.

21 Cf. Schweizerisches Bundesarchiv, E5790#1000/948#3179*, diary Flab Bttr 311, vol. 3, entry August 7, 1944. Quotations from diary entries have been translated from German for better legibility.



Fig. 8: Soldiers of the anti-aircraft battery 311 on an open carriage. Photograph: Ernst Brunner, SGV_12N_20217 ©Schweizerische Gesellschaft für Volkskunde.

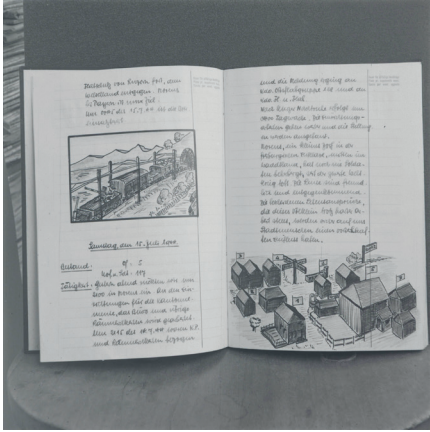


Fig. 9: Photographed 'unofficial' diary by Ernst Brunner, entries from July 14 and 15, 1944. Photograph: Ernst Brunner, SGV_12N_22283 ©Schweizerische Gesellschaft für Volkskunde.



Fig. 10: Photographed 'unofficial' diary by Ernst Brunner, entries from August 7 and 8, 1944. Photograph: Ernst Brunner, SGV_12N_22276 ©Schweizerische Gesellschaft für Volkskunde.

to form an elite force. Better that way! The skills can still be enriched and expanded. If good will were lacking, all hope would be lost.”²² Not only the scope of the entry, but also the way in which Brunner writes is different from the 'official' version. He reflects on the 'tactical skill' and, at the same time, underlines the determination of his unit. Brunner also sketches the field exercise in Bussy: Around the church, there are soldiers who seem to be shooting at each other, and an airplane flies over the village (Fig. 10). It is largely unclear where and when the pictures were taken

22 Schweizerische Gesellschaft für Volkskunde, SGV_12N_22276, <https://archiv.sgv-sstp.ch/resource/444511>, accessed July 17, 2019.

because little or no contextual information was recorded by Ernst Brunner in any of the military images. Supplementary sources such as the diaries of the anti-aircraft battery 311 help, on the one hand, to contextualize the photographs, but, on the other hand, they are also a means of attributing meaning retrospectively. In addition to the photographs, the two diaries form a basis for the analysis of Brunner's military service, especially from the summer of 1944. Together, they allow insights into the everyday life of the soldiers and the image of active service that Brunner wanted to convey. For the viewer, they also reveal the processes, activities and banalities of everyday military life in Switzerland during the Second World War. What looks like an unknown object when viewed on its own, for example, turns out, in the context of the photo series and the diaries, to be an individual part of a 20 mm anti-aircraft gun. These individual parts were used to align the cannons and to measure the air-speed of the aircraft. Reading the diary entries shapes the view of the photographs, as they allow (military) terms to be assigned to the activities depicted. Conversely, the photographs allow a visual impression of the everyday life described in the diary.

The fourth service mission in Morens in the summer of 1944

A look at the fourth service period reveals some changes: Firstly, Brunner's 'official' diary is extremely concise; compared to previous service missions, he did not include long explanations about the weather or the soldier's spirit and detailed tables and maps. Secondly, Brunner wrote a second diary in a parallel process, in which he included sketches and which he photographed. And thirdly, changes can be seen in the photographs from this service period: Brunner no longer photographed weapons, dispensed with visualizations of their readiness to defend and deliberately photographed civilians in exchanges with the soldiers. Extensive series are missing, and deliberately staged moments, such as in Figure 1, are rare. In contrast to previous periods of service, Brunner did not photograph accommodations, staged weapons or take pictures of inspections. There are also no photographs of the nearby Pay-erne airfield, anti-aircraft guns, positions or transports. These places and activities play a central role in the diaries: Individual combat exercises, training on the gun, aircraft recognition service or material checks are often described. Such activities and processes can often be recognized in the photographs taken before the active service in Morens. The series on the roof of the main post office in Lucerne, to which Figures 3–5 belong, for example, consists of around ninety photographs showing the transport of materials, the assembly and alignment of the anti-aircraft guns, but also portraits of soldiers. To what extent Brunner was not allowed or did not want to photograph such activities cannot be decided conclusively. Overall, there are no longer any heroic images of soldiers in the photographs from the fourth service period, compared to previous visualizations of the 'readiness to defend,' as shown in Figures 3–5. Brunner no longer experimented with the lighting conditions or differ-

ent perspectives. Low angle shots, shots with backlight or retouching are missing. Furthermore, Brunner no longer staged gestures and refrained from posing soldiers with a rifle at the ready or soldiers next to a 'ready to fire' anti-aircraft gun. The author used the sketches in the 'unofficial' diary partially as a (visual) supplement to the photographs: They offer new aspects of everyday life on duty. Photographs of sleeping soldiers during their lunch break, the construction of positions around Payerne or an exercise in Bussy (see Fig. 10) are not present in Brunner's collection of negatives – but these activities are mentioned in the diaries. The map sketch of Morens (see Fig. 9) proves to be equally central to the contextualization of numerous photographs from the town.²³

The provisions of the anti-aircraft battery 311 are documented quite extensively by comparison. Brunner photographed the preparation of food, the carrying of pots and the dining area several times. The 'unofficial' diary shows that the supply of the troops was not reliable, at least at the beginning of military service in Morens.²⁴ This is an aspect of everyday life that is not visible on the negatives. What is striking in comparison to the photographs from previous periods of service is Brunner's visual language; the photographs seem casual and are more reminiscent of the work of an amateur than that of a photojournalist. A sequence of events or a visual story that tells something from beginning to end is missing. Brunner also focused specifically on women and shows excerpts from the lives of civilian and military individuals in Morens. While there are hardly any women or civilians to be seen in the military pictures taken before Morens, they now occupy a central position: They appear in group pictures with soldiers (Fig. 11) and can be seen in the street scenes or while baking bread. In the diaries, contact with the civilian population occupies a marginal position compared to the military daily routine. Perhaps photographing in Morens was more restrictive than in other missions? The fact that Brunner did not photograph anti-aircraft guns in Morens would support this interpretation. While the cannons previously occupied a central position, they are now, at times, only visible at the edges. Brunner probably had less opportunity to take pictures than in other service periods because many pictures were taken within a radius of a few hundred meters and seem more random than carefully planned and staged.

As in previous assignments, Brunner photographed the same places and people several times in Morens, however, less persistently. Perhaps Brunner put aside his role as a photojournalist and the photographs were intended for personal recollection. In any case, there is no evidence that he tried to sell photographs from this

23 Although there is no legend to the figures in the sketch, some of the images could be localized with the aid of the map, such as numerous photographs of the campfire hearth and the dining area (cf. Fig. 11) of the anti-aircraft battery 311 and the well and the oven in Morens.

24 Schweizerische Gesellschaft für Volkskunde, SGV_12N_22281, <https://archiv.sgv-sstp.ch/resource/444516>, accessed July 26, 2019.



Fig. 11: Group picture of the anti-aircraft battery 311 with inhabitants of Morens. Photograph: Ernst Brunner, SGV_12N_20263 © Schweizerische Gesellschaft für Volkskunde.



Fig. 12: Group picture of the anti-aircraft battery 311 with plaque „Tag V“. Photograph: Ernst Brunner, SGV_12N_21276 © Schweizerische Gesellschaft für Volkskunde

period of service. None of the positive prints from Morens bears a stamp of the censorship authority of the Territorial Command 8. Whether Brunner wanted to publish the photographs, therefore, remains uncertain. In any case, the visual language has changed from heroic to rather sober. Maybe Brunner simply did not have any more time for extensive photography. Or he was restricted in his choice of motifs. The reasons behind his changed photographic practice cannot be reconstructed. In the case of military photographs, it must be assumed, as shown above, that there were always several factors involved.

The last photographs from the military

In the fifth and sixth service period of the anti-aircraft battery 311, Ernst Brunner no longer kept the 'official' military diary and did not file any photographs under the designation "Flab Bttr 311" either. The last official military diary shows that the troop was stationed at the Rekingen power plant on the border with Germany. Some of Brunner's photographs show the power plant with soldiers who can be identified as members of anti-aircraft battery 311. Particularly noteworthy is a group picture with eight soldiers (Fig. 12). They are standing in front of a building with a terrace and a striped parasol, with more soldiers sitting on the terrace. The soldier in the middle holds a small plaque with the inscription "Tag V" (Day V). The battery consisted of about 120 men, with these eight possibly forming Ernst Brunner's immediate environment. The fifth day in Rekingen was Tuesday, May 1, 1945. In the diary, Lieutenant Peyer notes under "Besonderes" (special events): "Order for positional abort starting tomorrow 0700 arrives. Radio report 2200: The Führer Adolf

Hitler dead. The French have shot a National Socialist across the Rhine.”²⁵ Therefore, “Day V” could refer to a special event. However, it remains unclear whether the fifth day of service or “Victory in Europe Day” (May 8, 1945) and, thus, the end of the Second World War is meant (cf. Brandenburgische Landeszentrale für politische Bildung 2015). The date of the photograph remains equally unclear; it is possible that Brunner staged the scene later. It is one of the few military photographs by Brunner with which a direct reference to the war events can be made. At the same time, it is the last picture in the negative collection which shows the anti-aircraft battery 311 in service. Brunner portrayed individual people from his unit at a later date. Only the processing of the photo collection by the SGV makes such findings possible: Digitization allows the viewing and analysis of entire images series, even previously unknown images. On the one hand, this makes Brunner’s photographic practice visible; on the other hand, visualizations used frequently (for instance, readiness to defend) and corresponding visual messages can be identified. In the case of the military pictures, Brunner’s play with perspectives, lighting conditions and staging can be discerned. Thus, at the beginning of his service, he aimed to serve the sought-after image canon of stout-hearted and heroic soldiers. The socio-political situation, censorship regulations and the demand for certain image content influenced the work of the photojournalists during the Second World War – not only that of Ernst Brunner. His role as an ‘unofficial’ photojournalist during his military service probably changed over the course of time; a change in the visual language became apparent in the summer of 1944, from a heroic to a rather sober portrayal of his comrades in service. Whether Brunner took photographs increasingly for personal recollection and whether his photographic practice also changed in reportages and photography after the Second World War must be examined on another occasion. The examination of the military pictures, meanwhile, has opened up new perspectives on Brunner’s photographic work as well as on a period in his life and should also be a stimulus to turn our gaze to themes in Brunner’s collection that have been given less attention so far.

Bibliography

- Barthes, Roland. 1990. *Der entgegenkommende und der stumpfe Sinn*. Kritische Essays III. Frankfurt on the Main: Suhrkamp.
- Brandenburgische Landeszentrale für politische Bildung. 2015. “Tag der Befreiung: 8. Mai 1945.” Accessed August 6, 2018. Available at: https://www.politische-bildung-brandenburg.de/lexikon/tag-der-befreiung-8-mai-1945?piwik_campaign=Newsletter.
- Burri, Katri, and Thomas Maissen, eds. 1997. *Bilder aus der Schweiz: 1939–1945*. Zurich: Verl. Neue Zürcher Zeitung.

25 Schweizerisches Bundesarchiv, E5790#1000/948#3179*, Diary Flab Bttr 311, Vol. 4, entry from May 1, 1945.

- Chiquet, Simone, ed. 1992. *“Es war halt Krieg“: Erinnerungen an den Alltag in der Schweiz; 1939–1945*. Zurich: Chronos.
- Das Schweizer Heim*. 1943a. “Zur Bundesfeier.” July 31, 40 (31).
- Das Schweizer Heim*. 1943b. “Ein Ablösungsdienst geht zu Ende.” August 28, 40 (35).
- Das Schweizer Heim*. 1945a. “Gas: Ein brennendes Problem.” March 3, 42 (9).
- Das Schweizer Heim*. 1945b. “Die Susten-Strasse geht der Vollendung entgegen.” June 16, 42 (24).
- Dejung, Christof. 2006. *Aktivdienst und Geschlechterordnung: Eine Kultur- und Alltagsgeschichte des Militärdienstes in der Schweiz 1939–1945*. Zurich: Chronos.
- Hägele, Ulrich. 1998. *Fotodeutsche: Zur Ikonographie einer Nation in französischen Illustrierten 1930–1940*. Untersuchungen des Ludwig-Uhland-Instituts der Universität Tübingen 88. Tübingen: Tübinger Vereinigung für Volkskunde.
- Holert, Tom. 2005. “Kulturwissenschaft/Visual Culture.” In *Bildwissenschaft: Disziplinen Themen Methoden*, edited by Klaus Sachs-Hombach, 226–235. Suhrkamp-Taschenbuch Wissenschaft 1751. Frankfurt on the Main: Suhrkamp.
- Keller, Stefan Andreas. 2009. *Im Gebiet des Unneutralen: Schweizerische Buchzensur im Zweiten Weltkrieg Zwischen Nationalsozialismus und Geistiger Landesverteidigung*. Zurich: Chronos.
- Kreis, Georg. 1973. *Zensur und Selbstzensur: Die schweizerische Pressepolitik im Zweiten Weltkrieg*. Frauenfeld, Stuttgart: Huber.
- Kunsthistorisches Institut in Florenz. 2009. “Florence Declaration: Empfehlungen zum Erhalt analoger Fotoarchive.” Accessed July 12, 2019. Available at: www.khi.fi.it/pdf/photothek/florence_declaration_DE.pdf.
- Leimgruber, Walter, Silke Andris, and Christine Bischoff. 2013. “Visuelle Anthropologie: Bilder machen, analysieren, deuten und präsentieren.” In *Europäisch-ethnologisches Forschen: Neue Methoden und Konzepte*, edited by Sabine Hess, Johannes Moser, and Maria Schwertl, 247–281. Reimer Kulturwissenschaften. Berlin: Reimer.
- Magnaguagno, Guido. 1981. “Das unverfälschte Dokument der zeitlichen Realität: Zur Geschichte der Schweizer Fotografie in den dreissiger Jahren.” In *Dreissiger Jahre Schweiz, ein Jahrzehnt im Widerspruch: Kunsthaus Zürich, 30. Oktober 1981 bis 10. Januar 1982*, edited by Guido Magnaguagno, Albert Lutz, and Kunsthaus Zürich, 384–405. Zurich: Kunsthaus Zürich.
- Mathys, Nora. 2013. *Fotofreundschaften: Visualisierungen von Nähe und Gemeinschaft in privaten Fotoalben aus der Schweiz 1900–1950*. Baden: hier + jetzt. Verl. für Kultur und Geschichte.
- Mathys, Nora. 2014. “Seriell-vergleichende Fotoanalyse.” In *Methoden Der Kulturanthropologie*, edited by Christine Bischoff, Karoline Oehme-Jüngling, and Walter Leimgruber, 223–240. UTB 3948. Kulturwissenschaft. Bern: Haupt.
- Monnier, André. 1989. “Schweizer Presse und Pressefotos im Zweiten Weltkrieg.” In *Die verbotenen Bilder 1939–1945*, edited by Photoforum Pasquart, 3–23. Muri bei Bern: Edition Francke.
- Özvegyi, Aila. 2018. “Sommer 1944: Ein Wendepunkt? Fotografien von Ernst Brunner aus seinem Militärdienst bei der Fliegerabwehr 311 neu beleuchtet.” Master thesis, University of Basel.

Pfrunder, Peter. 1998. *Ernst Brunner: Photographien 1937–1962*. 4th ed. Zurich: Offizin.

Photoforum Pasquart, ed. 1989. *Die verbotenen Bilder 1939–1945*. Muri bei Bern: Edition Francke.

Schweizer Familie. 1944. "Zur Dörranstalt." September 23, 51 (47).

Steiger, Ricabeth. 1998. "On the Uses of Documentary: The Photography of Ernst Brunner." *Visual Sociology* 13 (1): 25–47.