

2015

Staged Swissness: ideologies of nationhood in Switzerland's Streichmusik

<https://hdl.handle.net/2144/16361>

Boston University

BOSTON UNIVERSITY
GRADUATE SCHOOL OF ARTS AND SCIENCES

Dissertation

**STAGED SWISSNESS:
IDEOLOGIES OF NATIONHOOD IN SWITZERLAND'S *STREICHMUSIK***

by

ANDREA LIEBERHERR DOUGLASS

B.A., Northeastern University, 2001
M.F.A., California Institute of the Arts, 2004

Submitted in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

2015

© 2015
ANDREA LIEBERHERR DOUGLASS
All rights reserved

Approved by

First Reader

Marié Abe, Ph.D.
Assistant Professor of Music
Boston University

Second Reader

Brita Heimarck, Ph.D.
Associate Professor of Music
Boston University

Third Reader

Andrew Shenton, Ph.D.
Associate Professor of Music
Boston University

DEDICATION

I dedicate this work to the pirates that live with me (Anthony, Tyler and Anna).

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

So many individuals were instrumental in the formation of this dissertation that it is impossible to acknowledge everyone that helped me in this process. Writing this dissertation was certainly a team effort. First of all, I want to thank my advisor, Dr. Marié Abe, for her guidance in shaping this dissertation and her attention to both detail and the larger scope. Her thorough questions and feedback helped me refine my arguments. I thank Drs. Brita Heimarck and Andrew Shenton, my second and third readers, for their contribution. Dr. Brita Heimarck helped me shape my initial research project and ultimately read my dissertation for every last editorial detail. I want to extend many thanks to Dr. Mariagnese Cattaneo, who went far beyond the role of an external reader. She promptly read each chapter upon its completion and was always available to discuss the work while providing me with feedback and historical data on Switzerland as a nation.

Matthias Weidmann and Joe Manser were gracious hosts at the Center for Appenzeller Folk Music (Zentrum für Appenzeller Volksmusik) during my fieldwork trips. They provided me with a desk to do my research, access to their archive, a wealth of knowledge of the *Streichmusik* community, as well as many hours of playing *Streichmusik* together. I am thankful to the *Streichmusik* community, who so graciously invited me into their homes for interviews and often coffee. I am grateful to the late ethnomusicologist Margaret Engeler who encouraged me to write about *Streichmusik* and gave me her contacts in the field. I serendipitously met Dr. Carola Conle during my fieldwork in 2012. She was very generous of her time and knowledge of the *Streichmusik*

community as well as introducing me to the intricacies of interviewing using narrative inquiry, a subject on which she has published widely.

I am grateful to my extended family of great editors. Thank you to my in-laws, Drs. Joy and Chester Douglass for editing and helping me shape my dissertation. My gratitude is extended to my mother, Dr. Ruth Lieberherr, for proof-checking the German interview transcripts, editing the translations as well as the text. Thank you to all those who agreed to read my dissertation out-loud to me in its final stages: my husband, my mother, my sister (Dr. Eva Lieberherr), Jessica Garrett and Susie Bonsey. Thank you to my parents for raising me in a Swiss-German speaking household outside Boston, Massachusetts. I would not have been able to conduct many of my interviews without the fluent knowledge of Swiss-German. I thank my children, Tyler and Anna, for keeping me in the moment and helping me keep my perspective on what is important in life during this long process. Most of all I thank my husband, Anthony, for his support during this dissertation. He moved courageously to a small town in Switzerland with me and took care of our baby and toddler while I conducted fieldwork. Generally, in the last years he has “picked up the slack” and was “on duty” while reminding me of his mantra for me: “there are two kinds of dissertations—the perfect ones and those that are actually written.” I could not have done it without his help and support.

**STAGED SWISSNESS:
IDEOLOGIES OF NATIONHOOD IN SWITZERLAND’S *STREICHMUSIK***

ANDREA LIEBERHERR DOUGLASS

Boston University Graduate School of Arts and Sciences, 2015

Major Professor: Marié Abe, Assistant Professor of Music, Musicology and
Ethnomusicology.

ABSTRACT

In 2014, Switzerland was ranked seventh among the most successful nations in exerting what political scientist Joseph Nye calls “soft power”: the ability to exercise power by attracting favor through economic and cultural influence rather than through coercion. This ability is partly due to the way Switzerland redefined its national identity following an economic decline in the 1970s and rapidly changing demographics, resulting in its repositioning on the international market. Indicative of this shift is the adoption of the pseudo-English word “Swissness” into the Swiss-German language in the late 1990s. The notion of Swissness, initially used in marketing Swiss products, has become instrumental in reframing and reshaping the cultural landscape of the nation.

This dissertation examines a particular case of cultural nation re-branding through an ethnographic analysis of the revival of *Streichmusik* (string music). *Streichmusik*, which was once a localized musical practice of the mountainous region of the Appenzell and the Toggenburg, has become identified as quintessentially Swiss. By considering the role of domestic cultural tourism, I ask how *Streichmusik*, a visual and sonic representation of Swissness, is promoted and at times commercialized, and how

commodification of the musical practice has affected its performance, reception, and cultural significance locally and nationally.

In my analyses, I focus particularly on two keywords, *Heimat* (homeland) and *Heile Welt* (ideal or idyllic world), as well as local terminology denoting authenticity to argue that *Streichmusik* and the region offer a restorative platform for Switzerland. The resultant notions of nostalgia and reclaiming a rural utopia, position Appenzell and Toggenburg as an embodiment of Swissness. Based on participant observation and interviews, this study focuses on the voices of performers, cultural institutions, and tourist organizations to demonstrate how the tensions between cultural preservation and marketing practices at a local and national level provide a reimagined heritage in their attempt to (re)brand both the region and the nation at large. I further argue that having found a new place in the cultural imaginary through Swissness, *Streichmusik* performers articulate differing relationships with domestic cultural tourism and globalizing market forces at a time of shifting discourses of Swiss national identity.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

DEDICATION.....	iv
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS	v
ABSTRACT.....	vii
TABLE OF CONTENTS.....	ix
LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS.....	xii
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS.....	xiv
GLOSSARY	xv
CHAPTER ONE: SETTING THE SCENE.....	1
1. Background Geopolitical History of Switzerland and its “Specialness”	5
2. The Regional Context: Appenzell and Toggenburg	11
3. Defining <i>Streichmusik</i>	15
4. Analytical Framework/Literature Review	22
A. Tourist Listening	22
B. Staged Authenticity	24
C. Purism and Syncretism.....	31
5. Scholarly Relevance.....	32
6. Research Methodology	34
7. Dissertation Organization	43
CHAPTER TWO: THE LINK BETWEEN NOSTALGIA AND “SWISSNESS”	47

1. Switzerland as a “special case” and “Swissness”	50
2. Older iterations of Swissness: <i>Heimat</i> , <i>Heimatort</i> , <i>Heimatschutz</i> , <i>Heimatideologie</i> , and <i>Heimatverbundenheit</i>	60
3. Nostalgia and the “salvage paradigm”	66
4. “Back to the roots,” revival and the “ <i>Hackbrett</i> boom”	73
Conclusion	80
CHAPTER THREE: THE APPENZELL AND THE TOGGENBURG: DISTINCT ARTICULATIONS OF <i>HEIMAT</i>	82
1. Localized Terms: Senses of Belonging to Place.....	84
2. Bodenständig.....	89
3. Regional differences: Appenzell Innerrhoden, Appenzell Ausserrhoden, and Toggenburg.....	99
4. Changes in Transmission	113
Conclusion	118
CHAPTER FOUR: SELF-CONSCIOUS HERITAGE: REBRANDING CULTURE ..	120
1. Rebranding Culture.....	121
2. Consumption of Place.....	131
3. Sounding, healing, idealizing: rebranding of the Toggenburg	137
4. <i>Heile Welt</i> (ideal or idyllic world) and Imagined Heritage.....	141
5. Economics and Culture in the Appenzell and the Toggenburg	148
6. Changes due to Cultural Tourism	161
Conclusion	162

CHAPTER FIVE: AURAL AND VISUAL EXAMPLES OF “STAGED AUTHENTICITY”: THE DIALOGUE BETWEEN PURISM AND SYNCRETISM..	165
1. “Tourist gaze” and “tourist listening”	166
2. “Staged Authenticity” in the context of Swiss Folk Music	168
3. Repertoire choice	172
4. The <i>Tracht</i> , authenticity, and Swissness	184
5. Max Peter Baumann’s purism and syncretism.....	198
Conclusion	211
CHAPTER SIX: CONCLUSION	213
1. Particularities of Place	214
2. Swissness: negotiating new meanings	217
3. Future Study Suggestions	219
4. Contributions to the literature	222
5. Folk music in “new” contexts.....	223
APPENDIX A: Sample interview questions.....	228
APPENDIX B: German Interview Questions.....	229
BIBLIOGRAPHY	231
CURRICULUM VITAE.....	248

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

Figure 1. Swiss People’s Party (SVP) advertising campaign for immigration reform.....	11
Figure 2. Map of Switzerland	12
Figure 3. The Toggenburg valley with the Churfirsten mountain range (Photograph by Eva Lieberherr).....	14
Figure 4. Painting of Emil Zimmerman playing <i>Hackbrett</i> located at the ZAV (Photograph by Andrea Douglass).....	16
Figure 5. “Stubete auf Alp Sol” (1865) by Emil Rittmeyer (reprinted with permission of the ZAV).....	17
Figure 6. <i>Alpfahrt</i> (alpine procession) passing through the town of Urnäsch, AR (Photograph by Anthony Douglass).....	35
Figure 7. Bligg and <i>Streichmusik Alder</i>	48
Figure 8. Nicolas Senn on the <i>Appenzeller Käse</i> website.....	58
Figure 9. Swiss People's Party (SVP) advertisement to ban Minarets.....	59
Figure 10. Postcard advertising the <i>Luftkurort</i> (health spa) in Walzenhausen, AR	66
Figure 11. <i>Quartett Laseyer</i> performing in a concert entitled “Back to the Roots”	73
Figure 12. Jakob Düsel holding <i>Volkmusik in der Schweiz</i> (Photograph by Andrea Douglass)	92
Figure 13. Map of the Toggenburg used with permission from Wikimedia Commons. .	101
Figure 14. Painting by an unknown artist located at the <i>Ackerhaus</i> in the Toggenburg	122
Figure 15. Students performing at the <i>Streichmusigtag</i> , Urnäsch, AR (Photograph by Andrea Douglass).....	128

Figure 16. <i>Schöwüeschte Silvesterchläuse</i> on January 13th, 2012, in Urnäsch, AR (Photograph by Andrea Douglass).....	133
Figure 17. <i>Schöne Silvesterchläuse</i> surrounded by tourists on the town center of Urnäsch, AR on January 13th, 2012 (Photograph by Andrea Douglass).....	136
Figure 18. Author's son playing one of the instruments on the <i>Klangweg</i> (Photograph by Andrea Douglass).....	138
Figure 19. The new slogan of <i>Toggenburger Tourismus</i> (Toggenburg Tourist Office). 142	
Figure 20. <i>Alpfahrt</i> (alpine procession) passing through the town of Urnäsch, AR (Photograph by Anthony Douglass).....	155
Figure 21. The new logo of <i>Toggenburger Tourismus</i> (The Toggenburg Tourist Office) (Photograph by Andrea Douglass)	157
Figure 22. The old logo of <i>Toggenburger Tourismus</i> (The Toggenburg Tourist Office)	158
Figure 23. Bethly Giezendanner performing in an ensemble with Ueli Alder	172
Figure 24. Children wearing the <i>Tracht</i> at the <i>Vihschau</i> in Bühler on September 27, 2014 (Photograph by Nicolas Senn)	185
Figure 25. <i>Quartett Laseyer</i> on an advertising billboard for the <i>Appenzeller Kantonalbank</i> (Photograph by Andrea Douglass).....	193
Figure 26. <i>Appenzeller Käse</i> advertisement.....	194
Figure 27. Moderator Nicolas Senn's <i>Potzmusig</i> show is labeled as “tradition meets the modern”	198
Figure 28. <i>Geschwister Küng's “Nüdallgraaduss”</i> cover	204

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AI	Appenzell Innerrhoden
AR.....	Appenzell Auserrhoden
ZAV	Zentrum für Appenzeller Volksmusik

GLOSSARY

Alpfahrt—festive procession of bringing the cattle to and from the alp in spring and fall

Bodenständig—rooted, used to describe someone who is connected to the land

Concertante—“concert-style” performance in which the audience is seated

Hackbrett—dulcimer played with two small wooden hammers

Heile Welt—ideal or idyllic world

Heimat—roughly translated as homeland, fatherland, motherland; no English equivalent

Hierig—traditional dance that depicts a narrative between a man and woman

Landsgemeinde—annual meeting to vote on the town square. Until 1991 only men attended. A family knife or sword is often used as voter identification.

Silvesterchlausen—a celebration of the New Year in Appenzell Ausserrhoden. On December 31st and January 13th the *Silvesterchläuse* travel door to door in their costumes, singing two to three slow, improvised vocal pieces called *zäuerli* at each household before receiving money and wine and then traveling onwards. Divided into *Schöne* (beautiful), *Wüeschte* (ugly), and *Schöwüeschte* or *Naturchläuse* (natural), the *Silvesterchläuse* are all men but some of them are cross-dressing as women. The “male” *Schöne Silvesterchläuse* wear four large bells (two in front and two behind) that they swing back and forth as they yodel and the “female” *Schöne Silvesterchläuse* or *rolli* generally have thirteen small bells.

Stobete—informal musical gathering

Talerschwingen—traditional rolling of a coin in an earthenware bowl

Tracht—traditional costume, varies from region to region

Vienschau—a large cow prize show event in the fall where the cows are decorated and exhibited

CHAPTER ONE: SETTING THE SCENE

Der Dreizehnte Ort (the Thirteenth Territory), performed in 2013, marked the five-hundred-year celebration of canton Appenzell joining the Swiss Confederacy.¹ The name of the theatrical spectacle, *Der Dreizehnte Ort*, refers to the fact that Appenzell was the thirteenth canton to join Switzerland in 1513. Performed by several hundred community members, it offered a musical and theatrical history of the two half cantons Appenzell Innerrhoden and Appenzell Ausserrhoden, staged outdoors in the small town of Hundwil Appenzell Ausserrhoden. In the opening scene, we heard a *Hackbrett* (hammered dulcimer) player, the iconic instrument of the local musical practice *Streichmusik* (string music) who stopped playing to tell everyone to be quiet. When the others asked him for whom he is practicing, he responds: “the tourists, of course!”

Many Swiss tourists travel to this region that is popularly called *Heile Welt* (ideal or idyllic world) and a “true Switzerland.”² The music centrally featured in the theatrical piece, *Streichmusik*, has become a musical emblem of this idyllic world that allegedly captures the essence of their nation. Why is this region labeled in this way? How has *Streichmusik* come to occupy such a prominent place in the national imagination? In this dissertation, through ethnographic analysis of *Streichmusik*, I explore the relationship between cultural tourism and the notion of “Swissness,” a term devised in the 1990s as marketing tactics for Swiss products. I suggest that the notion of Swissness has been used

¹ Switzerland is currently divided into twenty-six cantons or states.

² The Swiss tourists called this region a “true Switzerland” in English when my husband was present, as he does not speak Swiss-German or German. In one instance, I overheard “true Switzerland” used as a rough translation for *Heile Welt*.

by performers, tourist organizations and advertising, among others, in reframing and reshaping the cultural landscape of the region, and *Streichmusik* provides a productive lens through which to investigate the intersection of cultural tourism, shifting discourses of Swiss national identity, and the specific localized cultural histories of the region in contemporary Switzerland.

Switzerland's national geopolitical context provides the backdrop to investigate the evolving role of *Streichmusik*, a localized genre found in the Appenzell and the Toggenburg in northeast Switzerland, and how it has come to represent Swissness. Borders between countries of the European Union and Switzerland have become more permeable due to the Schengen Agreement that Switzerland joined in 2009 (allowing free movement of people across borders) as well as other bilateral agreements. Increased openness to the outside has created greater demographic diversity in this small nation, which is centrally located in Europe. Interestingly, the recent effort to rebrand the global reception of the country with the term Swissness comes at a time of increasing anxiety around the issues of immigration in the nation. In my ethnographic analysis of *Streichmusik* and Swissness within the complex dynamics of contemporary geopolitical forces, I suggest that the rebranding of *Streichmusik* using Swissness not only solidifies the regional cultural identity, but also takes on a xenophobic register.

Streichmusik originates and is almost exclusively practiced in the Appenzell and the neighboring valley, the Toggenburg. Cultural tourism in the Appenzell, which is divided into the two half cantons of Appenzell Innerrhoden and Appenzell Ausserrhoden, began around the same time as the development of *Streichmusik* in the early nineteenth

century. *Streichmusik* has been a central form for local and nationwide tourism ever since, and despite some period of time when its popularity waned, *Streichmusik* has undergone a revival starting in the 1980s. There has been a huge increase in *Jungformationen* (young formations), ensembles of young people playing the traditional music of the region, as well as a “*Hackbrett boom*” (the hammered dulcimer played in *Streichmusik*).

What are the factors motivating the *Streichmusik* revival and the increased tourism to the area? How has the resurgence of this musical practice affected the performance practice? What is the complicated relationship between Swissness and the revival of Appenzeller music? In this revival movement of *Streichmusik*, how do the performers negotiate the expectations and aesthetic as well as ethical questions around the notion of authenticity in relation to their audiences? What are the musical and cultural nuances and differences between the Appenzell and the Toggenburg? How has the friction between marketing and ideas of cultural preservation informed the particularities of the *Streichmusik* community in the region?

Taking these questions as a point of entry, in this dissertation, I examine Swiss ideologies of nationhood through a musical lens, probing into how *Streichmusik* has come to represent Swissness in the cultural imagination of Switzerland. As commercialization of local cultural practices has always been entangled with questions of political economy and cultural identity (both local and national) in the Appenzell area, tourism is a useful site to examine the relationships between the rise of the new national consciousness in the name of Swissness and the resurgence of *Streichmusik* in the recent

two decades. Particularly, in my analysis of the intersection between cultural tourism, national and local identity politics, and *Streichmusik*, a few concepts play an important role: nostalgia, *Heimat* (homeland), staged authenticity, and tourist gaze. Expanding these further later in this chapter, I briefly outline how these key terms inform each other throughout my dissertation.

Closely associated with conceptions of *Swissness* and *Heile Welt* is the notion of nostalgia. Even though *Streichmusik* has historically been a platform for tourism, I will show that the rebranding of the region also exemplifies an escapist nostalgia and a new articulation of place. I posit that the way *Streichmusik* performers interact with the past, present and future is a political statement, whether conscious or unconscious (Baumann 1996) in the choices that performers make in terms of repertoire, attire, and performance style. Ascribing to certain relationships with traditional practices is associated with particular political tendencies. The increased bifurcation in national politics is accentuated on a local level, and I wish to tease out the ways in which these dynamics have played out through ethnographic analysis.

Equally central to my investigation is the notion of *Heimat*, which can roughly be translated as “homeland.” The trope of *Heimat* is interjected in identifications of place, politics, and tradition. *Heimat* is a complicated notion that has many subjective definitions but it plays a significant role in identifications with place in Switzerland. Music and sound are often inextricably linked to the production of *Heimat* within cultural tourism; for example, on the underground bus in the Zurich Airport, *Heimat* is signified by the sounds of cowbells, yodeling, and the image of Heidi passing quickly in the

darkened corridor. I suggest that the senses and projections of *Heimat* and belonging in the Appenzell and the Toggenburg are catalysts for the *Streichmusik* revival.

Also at play is the recurrent question about the notion of authenticity. Performers of *Streichmusik* constantly make performance choices to indicate adherence to or the purposeful departure from what is assumed to be tradition. In a commercially oriented context, “authenticity” is used as a label and an enactment of power. The contested notion of “staged authenticity” (MacCannell 1996) is relevant particularly when there are varying audiences—as tourism has a way of framing and reshaping culture (MacCannell 1992). At times, staging choices by performers show an awareness of the “tourist gaze” (Urry 2011)—catering to the perceived audience desire for originality. Some performers propagate a Herderian folk stereotype, whereas others attempt to move beyond such categorization. There are some performers who seem genuinely ambivalent about marketing their music (the in-depth analysis of Noldi Alder in chapter 5 is an example). My ethnographically-driven research investigates the complicated relationship between these varying and shifting approaches to uncover nuanced interrelationships amongst performers and audiences, highlighting the means by which friction between these approaches produces vibrant musical communities as well as particularities within the Appenzell and the Toggenburg traditions.

1. Background Geopolitical History of Switzerland and its “Specialness”

The trope of Switzerland as a “Sonderfall” (a special case) is prevalent and has its roots in Switzerland’s unique beginnings but became a scholarly topic in the 1960s and

1970s.³ Recently, the Swiss “special case” has gained momentum as seen in the titles of recent books published in Switzerland: Thomas Eberle’s *Sonderfall Schweiz* (2006) (Special case Switzerland) and Paul Widmer’s *Die Schweiz als Sonderfall* (2007) (Switzerland as a special case). Steinberg also devotes a part of his book *Why Switzerland?* (1996) to Switzerland’s “specialness.” According to those works, there are many reasons why Switzerland can be considered a special case. For instance, its geopolitical positioning is unique; it is in the middle of Europe, yet not part of the European Union (the country voted two times against joining). This reluctance to join the EU stems from the country’s long-standing neutral status.⁴ Due to its historically grounded policy of neutrality, along with suspicion of geopolitical negotiations, Switzerland did not join the United Nations until recently, in 2002.⁵

³ In the 1930s Switzerland maintained its neutrality in response to German Nazism and Italian Fascism. By the 1960s the nation had emerged from the devastation of World War II and there was general optimism about the future. This marked the beginning of the writings on the “Schweizer Sonderfall.”

⁴ The beginnings of Swiss neutrality can be found in the sixteenth century. At the battle against the French in Marignano in 1515 the Swiss Confederacy would have had to turn itself into an autocratic state to prevail. Creating a situation where one person ruled over the rest, went against the principles on which the Confederation was founded. Rather than go against their values, the Swiss kept their political structure and so lost ground in this battle against the French.

During the Thirty Years War 1618-1648 in Germany (in which Catholics fought against Protestants) it was difficult for Switzerland to be uninvolved since they had the same tensions over religion in their own country. Towards the end of this war the Swiss realized that in order to stay neutral in such a central location in Europe they should always have an army prepared. So the Swiss organized an army of 12,000 and this “marked the beginning of the armed neutrality of Switzerland” (Thürer 1971, 65). Switzerland has maintained an armed and neutral state since 1815, after the invasion of Switzerland by France under Napoleon, the longest neutrality of any country. The Act on the Neutrality of Switzerland was signed by Austria, Britain, France, Prussia and Russia in November, 1815, declaring Switzerland a neutral state.

⁵ What characterizes the Swiss to this day is that they are neutral but armed. According to Machiavelli: “the Swiss are the most armed and the most free” (N. Machiavelli quoted in Steinberg 1996, 236). Except for the few conscientious objectors, every man in Switzerland under the age of fifty is part of the Swiss army. There is basic training around age 18-20 and as the men get older they have to report for less and less military service. Between the ages of 20-32 the men are part of active service, from age 33-42 they are part of *Landwehr* (first reserve similar to National Guard), and from age 43-50 they make up the *Landsturm* (second reserve) (Ibid., 238).

Economically, Switzerland can also be considered exceptional; it has been ranked as the fifth freest economy in the world, and for the fifth year in a row it is the most competitive economy in the world.⁶ Switzerland has few natural resources, yet is economically quite successful, in particular due to the success of banks and industry. Culturally speaking, Switzerland is quite distinct in that even though it is a very small country it has four national languages: German, French, Italian, and Romansh (spoken by only about 1% of the population, Romansh is a language that stems directly from Latin).⁷ The German that is spoken consists of many dialects that fall under the umbrella of *Schwyzerdütsch* (Swiss-German), the vocabulary and accent varies greatly from region to region. Even though a much smaller percentage of the population speaks French and Italian than German, all three languages are treated equally for official government business (Bonjour 1952, 18). Because of the variety of languages, the Swiss often have more in common linguistically and culturally with the neighboring countries than each other. Despite such linguistic and cultural plurality, Switzerland maintains remarkable political cohesion (Steinberg 1996, 258).

Geographically minute, Switzerland is divided into many smaller cantons. Switzerland consists of twenty-three cantons or states, with three of them divided into half-cantons. The last canton added was Jura in 1978 when it split off from canton Berne.

⁶ See The Wall Street Journal and The Heritage Foundation's 2013 Index of Economic Freedom (<http://www.heritage.org/index/country/switzerland>) (accessed October 1-December 4, 2013)

⁷ In 1960, 69% of the population was German speaking, 19% French, 9.5% Italian and 1% Romansh (Thürer 1971, 12).

In 2010, 74% of the population used German for public use, 21% French, 4% Italian, and 1% Romansh (Switzerland's Four National Languages website).

As of 2012 the population is approximately 8.02 million.⁸ However, the area of the country is only 41.288 square kilometers (Rice 2000, 1). According to Eric Kaufmann, the Swiss “express their sense of imagined kinship through communal, cantonal or linguistic identities rather than via ethno-nationalism” (Kaufmann 2011, 816), particularly since Switzerland did not obtain nation status until 1848.⁹ As a result, there is strong solidarity at a local level rather than a national level. Allegiances to cantons and regions account for the political and cultural diversity of the nation.

Multiculturalism in Switzerland has greatly increased in the last fifty years, which has been accompanied by worries of *Überfremdung* (presence of too many foreigners). 1965 marked the first time a popular initiative was proposed (but not passed) to limit immigration of foreign nationals by reducing the number by ten percent.¹⁰ Despite such efforts, Switzerland has once again experienced a large increase in immigration since the 1980s. The Foreign Nationals Act, a federal law as of December 16, 2005, replaced the Federal Act on the Residence of Foreigners of 1931 to increase the regulation and limits of foreign nationals residing in the country. On February 9, 2014 the vote passed on a proposal to introduce immigration quotas, also limiting the rights of EU citizens.¹¹ This new law affects EU and non-EU citizens, cross border workers and those seeking

⁸ “Google Public Data.”

http://www.google.com/publicdata/explore?ds=d5bncppjof8f9_&met_y=sp_pop_totl&idim=country:CHE:AUT:SWE&hl=en&dl=en (accessed October 10th, 2014)

⁹ Eric Kaufmann is Professor of Politics at Birbeck College, University of London.

¹⁰ Ricciardi. “Switzerland: a historical milestone with potentially devastating repercussions.”

<http://www.europamagazine.eu/en/toni-ricciardi/issue/switzerland-historical-milestone-potentially-devastating-repercussions> (accessed October 15, 2014)

¹¹ Repercussions of this proposal have already been felt—research funds for joint projects with the EU have been frozen. In the long term this will have many negative consequences on Swiss academia and research in particular, as the small nation often works together with its neighboring countries.

asylum.¹² Asylum seekers tend to come from southern and eastern Europe (in particular the Balkans), Asia and Africa. Applications for asylum have increased since the 1980s as well and 38.4% of foreigners applying for asylum are from countries of former Yugoslavia—Serbia, Bosnia, Herzegovina, Macedonia and Croatia— according to the Migration Information Source Web site. The other influx of foreign nationals are citizens of the European Union (EU) and the European Free Trade Association (EFTA) who have come to work and live in Switzerland under a bilateral agreement in 2002.¹³ The website of the Swiss Federal Office for Immigration (*Bundesamt für Migration*) has detailed statistics of immigration from 1986-2013, which shows that the increase in immigration has resulted in a change in the ratio of Swiss citizens to foreign permanent residents. Because of the increased immigration, the demographics of Switzerland have shifted dramatically in the last forty years. As of 2009, 22% of the permanent residents are not Swiss citizens in contrast to only 14% in 1979 (*The Population of Switzerland 2009*). Increased immigration has also resulted in changes in the religious statistics. Four decades ago 98% of the population in Switzerland was Christian, whereas currently just over 75% is Christian, 5.7% is Muslim, and 11% have other or no religion (Bewes 2012, 75-76).

Shifting demographics and religious affiliations have created national tension influencing how various political parties vote on the issue of immigration. Switzerland's

¹² Stefania Summermatter and Armando Mombelli. February 20, 2014. "Immigration: One Vote, Many Questions." http://www.swissinfo.ch/eng/swiss_news/Immigration:_one_vote,_many_questions.html?cid=38007016 (accessed February 26, 2014).

¹³ "Switzerland's Non-EU Immigrants: Their Integration and Swiss Attitudes." <http://www.migrationpolicy.org/article/switzerlands-non-eu-immigrants-their-integration-and-swiss-attitudes> (accessed October 10, 2014).

political cohesion stems from the fact that most of the issues that are voted on come from public referendums and initiatives that can be proposed by any citizen with a certain number of signatures required to get the initiative or referendum on the ballot. Since 2000 there has been an unprecedented shift to the right in Switzerland's politics with the upswing in power of the right-wing populist *Schweizer Volkspartei* (Swiss People's Party, abbreviated as SVP). The SVP now controls 29% of the seats in the *Nationalrat* (National Council). In all of Switzerland's history no party has had this much control influencing national policy; there are many political parties all of which typically receive small percentages of the vote. Along with this domination on a parliamentary level, SVP member Christopher Blocher was on the Federal Council from 2004 to 2007. During that time he encouraged increasing xenophobic tendencies through advertising campaigns against immigration.

Historically, Switzerland is a liberal nation and Blocher's controversial politics marked a time when Switzerland was divided politically with simultaneous shifts to the left and to the right. In the last four years, polls show that politics are tending to return to the center from both the left and right as Switzerland is attempting to redefine itself politically. A special report was commissioned by the Human Rights Council of the United Nations in 2006 "on contemporary forms of racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance," which found that Switzerland exhibited xenophobic tendencies, even on a national level, that needed to be rectified (Diène, 1). Some of the social tension in Switzerland is due to the SVP's reactions to increased immigration in Switzerland that are exhibited in its advertising campaigns that involved racist and

xenophobic images. In the advertisement below the SVP uses a play on word—the phrase “Sicherheit schaffen” can mean both “work for security” and “security sheep.”



Figure 1. Swiss People’s Party (SVP) advertising campaign for immigration reform

Part of the conservative reaction to outsiders is a result of the nation guarding its specialness. As mentioned above, even though there has been pressure, Switzerland has not joined the European Union. Switzerland certainly has a special role in its insularity in the midst of Europe.

2. The Regional Context: Appenzell and Toggenburg

The region where *Streichmusik* is practiced, the Appenzell and the Toggenburg, is proximate to the *Bodensee* (Lake Constance) and the closest urban center is the city of St.

Gall. Originally, when Appenzell joined the Swiss Confederacy in 1513 it was one canton. However, in 1597, during the Reformation, Appenzell divided into two half cantons, Appenzell Innerrhoden (Catholic) and Appenzell Ausserrhoden (Protestant).¹⁴ Even though the Appenzell is two separate half cantons, the touristic marketing often promotes it as one area. The Appenzell, sometimes called the Appenzellerland, is isolated geographically and through its own independent transportation system. The half canton or state of Appenzell Innerrhoden has approximately 15,000 inhabitants and Appenzell Ausserrhoden has about 53,000 inhabitants.

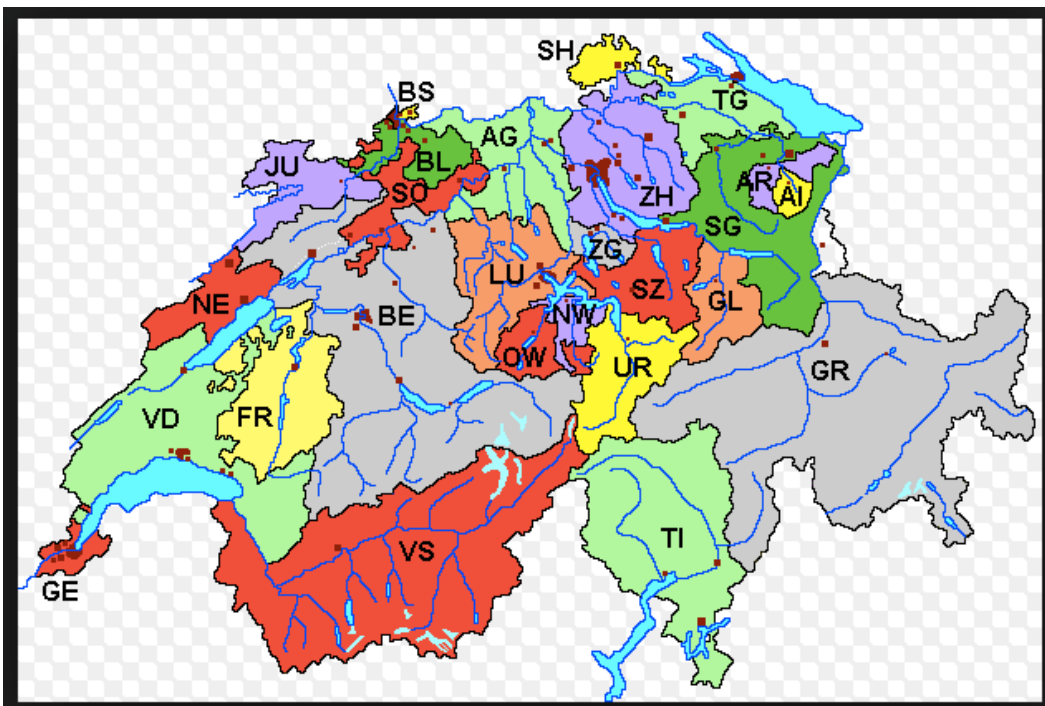


Figure 2. Map of Switzerland

¹⁴ The Reformation in Switzerland began with Ulrich Zwingli, born in Wildhaus, Toggenburg, January 1, 1484. He attended university in Vienna and Basel and became a priest at age twenty-two in Glarus. He then worked in Einsiedeln, a place of pilgrimage for two years, and after that he moved to the Grossmünster in Zürich, the main church of the city where he did most of his life's work. Zwingli's Zurich translation of the Bible in 1530 preceded Martin Luther's by four years and was the first Protestant Bible.

Religious differences within the region of Appenzell Innerrhoden and Appenzell Ausserrhoden might partially account for the unique musical practices. One example is that of the *Alpsegen* (alp blessing) in Appenzell Innerrhoden where the farmers who live high up in the mountains for the summer with the cows and sheep perform a religious vocal call on Sunday evenings. In terms of instrumental music there has also been a difference historically between Appenzell Innerrhoden and Appenzell Ausserrhoden. During the Reformation, instrumental music was banned from the church in Protestant Appenzell Ausserrhoden, and because of this, the technical musical level and knowledge of harmony suffered. In Catholic Appenzell Innerrhoden, music continued to be performed and the church music influenced the secular instrumental music of the region. As a result, early *Streichmusik* pieces from Appenzell Innerrhoden are more harmonically complex than those of Appenzell Ausserrhoden.

The Toggenburg, the narrow, adjacent valley to the Appenzell with a population of 45,084 as of 2012, is the other location where *Streichmusik* has historically been played.¹⁵ The Toggenburg valley is part of the canton St. Gallen, is about 45 kilometers long (28 miles), and is enclosed by the *Säntis* mountain, the *Speer* mountain, and the mountain range, called the *Churfiristen*. The Toggenburg was even more isolated geographically than the Appenzell in the nineteenth century, which subsequently has improved since the mid-twentieth century with better transportation systems and roads. Still, because of the mountainous landscape, it can take from one and a half to two hours to get to the city of

¹⁵ “Gemeindekennzahlen” page of the canton St. Gall webpage.
<http://www.statistik.sg.ch/home/portraet/Regionen-Gemeinden/reggem-quer.html> (accessed August 23, 2014).

St. Gall—the closest city—from the upper part of the Toggenburg valley.



Figure 3. The Toggenburg valley with the Churfirsten mountain range (Photograph by Eva Lieberherr)

Since it is farther than the Appenzell from St. Gall, the closest urban center, the Toggenburg has historically been at an economic disadvantage relative to its neighbor Appenzell. For instance, particularly during the height of the weaving industry in the nineteenth century for which the region is known, the Appenzell received many more commissions because of geographic proximity. Still, to this day, the economic disparity persists and the Toggenburg is less economically successful than the Appenzell, even though the Toggenburg became the winter sport destination for inhabitants from Zurich in the 1960s and 70s.

The rural and set-apart Appenzell and the Toggenburg have historically been a destination for domestic tourists. Domestic tourism to the region began with the *Molkenkuren* (whey cures) and *Luftkuren* (air cures) in the nineteenth century.¹⁶ International tourists tend to visit metropolitan areas such as Zurich, Bern, and Geneva as well as the mountain destinations of the Matterhorn or the Jungfrau.

3. Defining *Streichmusik*¹⁷

The beginnings of *Streichmusik*, or in Swiss-German dialect *striichmusig* (string music), coincided with the start of tourism in the region; it developed in the Appenzell during the nineteenth century. To this date, *Streichmusik* is primarily practiced in the Appenzell (Innerrhoden and Ausserrhoden) and the neighboring valley, the Toggenburg.¹⁸ The instrumentation of the ensemble typically consists of violin (one or two), *Hackbrett* (hammered dulcimer), cello, double bass, and accordion or piano. In 1892, *Quintett Appenzell* performed for the first time in what they called the *Original Streichmusik* formation of two violins, cello, bass, and *Hackbrett*. The *Original Streichmusik* became the standardized and desired instrumentation for the ensemble.¹⁹

¹⁶ See chapter 2 for more about the *Kurorte* (healing spas).

¹⁷ Early works on Swiss folk music that include the music of the Appenzell and the Toggenburg are by Alfred Tobler (1845-1923), such as *Kuhreihen* (1890), *Das Volkslied* (1903), and *Sang und Klang in Appenzell* (1892).

¹⁸ *Streichmusik* is often referred to as *Appenzeller Streichmusik*. I purposefully omit the word “Appenzeller” in the identification of the genre because I believe using “Appenzeller” excludes the Toggenburg in the history of *Streichmusik*.

¹⁹ The accordion was added to the *Streichmusik* instrumentation in the twentieth century. The accordion is able to play both the second violin and cello part, making it necessary to have only four people for a performance.



Figure 4. Painting of Emil Zimmerman playing *Hackbrett* located at the ZAV (Photograph by Andrea Douglass)

This grouping of instruments evolved out of smaller ensembles, sometimes just a violin and *Hackbrett*—as evidenced by the famous painting, “Stubete auf Alp Sol” (1865) by Emil Rittmeyer—which incidentally hangs on the wall of the Center for Appenzeller folk music (*Zentrum für Appenzeller Volksmusik* or ZAV). Groupings such as the *Altfrentsch-Besetzung* (*Altfrentsch* instrumentation) of violin, bass, and *Hackbrett* preceded larger formations.



Figure 5. “Stubete auf Alp Sol” (1865) by Emil Rittmeyer (reprinted with permission of the ZAV)

Each instrument in a *Streichmusik* ensemble has a specific function. The first violinist most often plays the melody and must know a broad repertoire to be able to create a varied performance. Typically standing next to the *Hackbrett* player, the first violinist either begins to play the first few notes or calls out the next piece. The second violinist accompanies the melody part, most often in thirds and sixths, which is called *sekundieren* (playing second) (Manser 2010, 26). This second violin part is often notated, however, the traditional violin player is able to improvise a second violin part. According to Matthias Weidmann, co-director of the Center for Appenzeller Folk Music, there are

currently only two violinists who possess this skill. One is Arnold “Noldi” Alder of the Alder Dynasty and the other is Stefan Düsel, who performs with his father, uncle, and cousins in *Streichmusik Edelweiss*—one of the most traditional ensembles alongside *Streichmusik Alder*. Clearly, this improvisatory practice is a dying art.

The *Hackbrett* provides a rhythmic basis while fitting in accompanying melody lines. Occasionally, the *Hackbrett* will play the melody part, while the first violin plays an accompaniment. The upright bass, a three stringed bass until 1990, provides the harmonic foundation, playing a *Wechselbass* (articulating the downbeat); there is a tendency to play downward moving lines, what some performers call “most Bode gee” (providing the ground) (Manser 2010, 26). The cello plays the off-beats as double stops, filling in the harmony outlined by the bass. In the past, a five-stringed cello was used, sometimes called a *Basetli*.²⁰ Increasingly, there are solo parts and pieces for *Hackbrett*, cello, and bass.

The *Hackbrett*, precursor to the dulcimer, needs to receive special mention since it is the instrument that sets *Streichmusik* apart from other Swiss folk musics. It is played with two little wooden hammers with the tips covered in wool to dampen the sound. Distinct tunings have been developed by various families and individuals such as the Alder-tuning (*Alder-Stimmung*) and the Rechsteiner-tuning (*Rechsteiner-Stimmung*, named for the famous *Hackbrett* player, Hans Rechsteiner (1893-1986)).

There are all manner of theories as to how the *Hackbrett* came to the Appenzell region. Many interviewees and some authors theorize that the *Hackbrett* was brought to

²⁰ While I was working at the Center for Appenzeller Folk Music in 2012, the five-stringed cello of Jakob Alder was donated to the Center by musician and historian Hans Hürlemann.

the Appenzell by gypsies (Plantenga 2004, 308). However, according to former ZAV director Joe Manser, it is most likely that the *Hackbrett* came through North Africa to Andalusia, Spain, then to southern France and finally to Switzerland (Manser 2010, 29). The first written record of the *Hackbrett* in Switzerland dates from 1447, when there was a riot in Zürich, because of the nightly playing of the *Hackbrett* (Rice 2000, 7). According to the research by Achilles Weishaupt, there is written evidence of the *Hackbrett's* presence in the Appenzell in 1567 (Manser 2010, 29). The first mention of a violin and *Hackbrett* performing for a dance was in 1804 (Ibid., 11).

As I mentioned in the previous section, religious practices were closely related to the formation of the *Streichmusik* repertoire. Violinist Noldi Alder describes how the Catholic church in Appenzell Innerrhoden (AI) fostered musicianship (instrumental music was not permitted in the reformed church of Appenzell Ausserrhoden):

Many of the musicians in the Catholic half canton of Appenzell [Innerrhoden] played in the church. The individuals who performed in church were very good musicians and as a result there were more exceptional musicians in Innerrhoden. The conservative people have had more opportunity, they had more time to perform. Through choir and organ music they learned to compose using harmony. The best Innerrhoder musicians until about the 1930s wrote harmonically complex music in contrast to the composers from Ausserrhoden. The Ausserrhoder composers wrote dance music, simple music. It did change later on [and the Ausserrhoder composers wrote more complex music. (Alder, A. 2012)]²¹

²¹ Original German: “Viele Musiker im katholischen Appenzell Innerrhoden haben in der Kirche gespielt. Und das machte einen Unterschied, dass die in der Kirche gespielt haben und zudem noch sehr gute Musikanten waren, dass es viel mehr aussergewöhnliche Musikanten in Innerrhoden gab. Weil die Konservativen hier einfach mehr Möglichkeiten hatten und mehr Zeit zum Spielen hatten. Durch die Chormusik, durch die Orgelmusik, die sie gehört haben, haben sie auch harmonische Musik komponiert. Und die besten appenzellinnerrhodischen Musikanten bis etwa 1930, die haben zum Teil schon sehr harmonische Musik komponiert, während die Ausserrhoder nicht harmonisch komplexe Musik komponiert haben. Die Ausserrhoder haben Tanzmusik geschrieben und einfache Musik. Nachher hat es sich geändert” (Alder, A. 2012).

There are records showing that during the nineteenth century there were many *Landmessen* (country masses) performed in the church service, which were accompanied by two violins, bass, and organ (Manser 2010, 25). The Broger family of Gonten, Appenzell Innerrhoden, often surfaced in the church logbook as the musicians. They also performed music that was the precursor to *Streichmusik* from c. 1760-1860 in various formations (Manser 2010, 42).²²

The oldest available recording of *Streichmusik* is a record by *Quintett Appenzell* in 1904 and includes four pieces: “Appenzellerweisen,” “Fantasie,” “Marienpolka,” “Meglisalpstobete.” Copies of the records are kept in the Center for Appenzeller Folk Music (ZAV). There are also old field recordings at the Ackerhaus in Ebnet-Kappel in the Toggenburg, however, they have been temporarily misplaced.²³

The two early iconic *Streichmusik* ensembles were *Streichquartett Appenzell* and *Quintett Appenzell*. *Streichquartett Appenzell* (string quartet Appenzell) was active from approximately 1865 until the 1890s and included Anton Maria Klarer, “Schneeteremarei” (1835-1915) on cello, Ignaz Dorig, “Ackergnazi” (1832-1898) and Josef Anton Inauen, “Badistesebetoni” (1821-1894) on violin, and Jakob Anton Knill, “Fleck” (1821-1892) on *Hackbrett*.²⁴ *Quintett Appenzell*, the first self-proclaimed *Original Streichmusik*, indicating some of the “inventedness” of the tradition, included Anton Moser, “de rot Bohli” (1853-1921) and Jakob Neff, “Dävisjock” (1873-1957) on violin, Josef Peterer “Gehrseff” (1872-1945) on *Hackbrett*, Josef Moser, “de schwaz Bohli” (1852-1915) on

²² The songbook of Maria Josepha Barbara Brogerin, Appenzell, 1730, containing dances from around the world, religious songs, and *Kuhreihen*, was recently discovered and is now in the archive of the Center for Appenzeller Folk Music (*Zentrum für Appenzeller Volksmusik* or ZAV).

²³ I discuss the search for these misplaced recordings in more detail in chapter 3.

²⁴ Jakob Anton Knill’s *Hackbrett* that he built in 1840 was donated to the ZAV in 2013.

cello, and August Inauen, “Badistesebedonisaugust” (1846-1914) on bass. The first recording of *Streichmusik* is of this ensemble, in 1904. It was members of the Moser family, particularly beginning with Anton Moser of *Quintett Appenzell*, who were the first *Streichmusik* composers to write more harmonically complex music in the late nineteenth century. The *Quintett Appenzell* marks what Johann Manser (1917-1985) calls the *Blütezeit der Streichmusik* (the zenith of *Streichmusik*), a time when *Streichmusik* composition and performance flourished in the early 1900s (Manser 1979).

Streichmusik has been notated since its inception in the nineteenth century. Transcriptions were carefully guarded by families and ensembles in order to maintain the specialness of each ensemble for economic reasons.²⁵ The practice of protecting the repertoire began to lessen in the 1990s when the Mülirad Publishing Company began to publish *Streichmusik* notation under the guidance of Arnold “Noldi” Alder. However, there is still some repertoire, such as the compositions of cellist Arthur Alder (1931-2005) that are kept private by his son, Werner Alder. Many collections of transcriptions, for example the collections of Josef Peterer-Wild, “Gehrseff” (1872-1945), and Carl Emil Fürstenauer-Mazenauer (1891-1975) can now be found in the archive of the Center for Appenzeller Folk Music (ZAV).

As the region has historically had conservative political leanings, *Streichmusik* and Appenzeller folk music in general, have been associated with conservative politics. As I will discuss further in chapters 2 and 5, the assumed alignment of *Streichmusik* with conservative politics is omnipresent in the Swiss nation. Performers have begun

²⁵ See chapter 3 for a detailed analysis of *Streichmusik* transmission.

untangling these assumptions in the last few decades (see chapter 5) but the belief is pervasive.

4. Analytical Framework/Literature Review

Following the scholars in tourism such as Dean MacCannell, John Urry, Barbara Hirschenblatt-Gimblett and Jane Desmond, I take a qualitative, ethnographic approach to cultural tourism grounded in critical theory. I investigate the cultural politics of tourism and local dialectics between tradition and authenticity in order to ask how this region has become a paragon of Swissness. Why and how have the localized musical practices of the Appenzell and the Toggenburg become identified as quintessentially Swiss, rooted in the notion of *Heimat* (homeland). How do the frictions and tensions between cultural preservation and marketing practices play out on a local and national level? In the section below I will delve into the subjects that are part of my analytical framework to answer my research questions. First, I discuss sociologist John Urry's "tourist gaze" (2011) and my analogous term, "tourist listening." Second, I introduce sociologist Dean MacCannell's "staged authenticity" (1996) and other conceptions of authenticity in tourism studies. Lastly, I consider and expand Swiss ethnomusicologist Max Peter Baumann's conceptions of *purism* and *syncretism*.

A. Tourist Listening

Since the 1970s, the focus of tourism studies has tended towards the visual as expressed by sociologist John Urry's "tourist gaze," which is one of the most prevalent theoretical lenses in tourism studies (Johnson 2010; McGregor 2000; Volkman 1990). The "tourist gaze" refers to the phenomenon that tourists are searching for visual clichés

and concurrently the local community is performing stereotypes expected by the tourists. According to Urry, the tourist gaze is not fixed, it varies by social group throughout history and refers to the assumptions that tourists have as they gaze upon a culture (2011). Therefore, the “tourist gaze” is a culturally learned phenomenon and is the visual fetishization of a local culture by tourists. Urry finds that: “When we gaze as tourists what we see are various signs or tourist clichés” (2011, 17). These clichés are propagated by tour guides, tourism offices and advertising to tourists.

The “tourist gaze” can also include corporeal experience, which Urry explores in the newest edition of *The Tourist Gaze 3.0* (2011). As Urry mentions in *The Tourist Gaze 3.0*, many scholars criticized his concept of the “tourist gaze” in the first publication for overemphasizing the visual component of tourism. After all, traveling as a tourist involves the whole body; all of our senses are stimulated as a tourist. When visiting the Eiffel Tower, for example, a tourist can have sensory expectations other than visual—such as getting vertigo or having a romantic moment on the Pont Neuf at night.

Sociologist Jane Desmond expands on the corporeal/kinesthetic experience of a tourist in *Staging Tourism* (Desmond 1999), in which she writes about the commodification of hula dancing in Hawaiian tourism as well as animal tourism in zoos and at Sea World. Tourism is an embodied experience, Desmond argues, and so the “tourist gaze” should also include sound, movement, and touch, etc., especially when discussing performances (xxi). Tourists have expectations of how hula dancers’ bodies

should move which in turn affects the dance, in Desmond's study.²⁶ Desmond notes that tourist presence ultimately alters the local culture—as tourists expect certain types of performance, these types become more frequently incorporated and eventually preferred among the local audiences.

Urry's formulation emphasizes the visual and Desmond's research accentuates the kinesthetic while I underscore the aural. I introduce the term "tourist listening" into my work to discuss the tourist listening expectations. I augment the notion of "tourist gaze" to emphasize the aural by coining the new term "tourist listening," which is inclusive of more than just the visual and specifically focuses on the listening expectations of tourists. In this ethnographic study of the music of the Appenzell and the Toggenburg, I wish to emphasize the aural aspect of this practice. Not only do Swiss tourists have an imagined idea of how *Streichmusik* should sound, but the performers have assumptions of what the tourists are expecting to hear. These presumed listening expectations are then integrated into the performance practice and become part of the "standard" repertoire (see chapter 5 for more discussion on "tourist listening" as well as ethnographic examples). The "tourist gaze" and "tourist listening" are formed around conceptions of authenticity, the contested and yet prevailing term that undergirds tourist discourses and analyses thereof.

B. Staged Authenticity

Sociologist Dean MacCannell introduced the concept of authenticity to tourism studies (1973, 1976). Conducting his research in the 1960s, MacCannell writes about

²⁶ Balinese *kecak* is another example of tourist intervention in cultural practices. *Kecak* was originally a trance dance that was transformed into a drama recounting the Hindu *Ramayana* (Clifford 1988, 223).

British postindustrial modernity from a sociological perspective. Authenticity has since then been the subject of many scholarly writings on tourism (Cohen 1979; Culler 1981; Desmond 1999; MacCannell 1973, 1976; Moscardo and Pearce 1986). Authenticity is a concern of both tourists and performers on whom the gaze is focused. The notion of authenticity shapes the “tourist gaze” for the tourist, whereas for the performers it affects how they present themselves, informing the context they are constructing (Stokes 1997, 15). The term “authenticity” is complex and problematic as it is used widely and ambiguously. However, authenticity is relevant in historical or cultural tourism in which the past or “the Other” is represented and commodified (Wang 1999, 350). In the following paragraphs I will discuss various ways in which the term “authenticity” has been treated more recently in tourism studies in order to elucidate a definition that is useful for this study.

MacCannell’s analysis of tourist experience provides a mechanism for examining the dialectic relationship of *Streichmusik* to the notion of “Swiss specialness” and originality. MacCannell developed the term “staged authenticity” to describe the relationship between tourists and localities. MacCannell argues that tourists are motivated by a desire to find an authentic experience (1996, 101) and that tourists have an illusion that the “real” and “authentic” are found elsewhere, in other times and places (3). For example: tourists coming to Boston pay for guided tours by people in period costume, presumably to have a more authentic experience. It could be argued that the period costumes transport the tourists conceptually back to “a simpler, more authentic life” (Desmond 1999, xvi). The sense is created that one is experiencing the “real thing,”

however there may be many layers and levels to what is “real” and what is “staged.” *Streichmusik* performers often present a “staged authenticity,” sometimes with awareness, sometimes not.

To further expand “staged authenticity,” MacCannell uses Erving Goffman’s dichotomy of front and back regions (MacCannell 1999, 92), adapting it as a continuum from front to back, and in doing so “reproducing the natural trajectory of an individual’s initial entry into a social situation” (MacCannell 1973, 597). Front regions are generally “the meeting place of hosts and guests or customers and service people” (MacCannell 1999, 92). MacCannell gives examples of reception offices and parlors as “front regions” (MacCannell 1973, 590). Back regions are “where members of the home team retire between performances to relax and prepare” (MacCannell 1999, 92), for example, social spaces such as kitchens and boiler rooms (MacCannell 1973, 590). Having this separation of regions creates “mystification,” according to MacCannell, and creates a “weakened sense of reality” (MacCannell 1999, 93). This “weakened sense of reality” (93) and differentiation between regions results in a need to find authenticity. When there is no distinction between regions, there is nothing with which to compare authenticity. Between the front and back regions MacCannell writes of six stages (1973, 598) but really, I posit, there could be infinite gradations between these stages. Front and back regions are then symbolically used to represent aspects of a culture being toured that are public (front) and private (back). However, he notes that it “is always possible that what is taken to be entry into a back region is really entry into a region that has been totally set up in advance for touristic visitation” (Ibid., 597). It can be difficult to distinguish which

layers are real and which are invented. There is blurring of the lines between the real (purportedly back regions) and the invented (front regions) in *Streichmusik*. The narratives surrounding the practice are varied and complex. Sometimes the performers are aware of the inventedness of their practice but in some instances the fabricated elements of performance have been present for so long that they have become part of the “real.” Discussions of cultural preservation then put into question the various layers of originality or front and back regions.

According to sociologist Ning Wang (1999) and anthropologist Yujie Zhu (2012), authenticity is approached in three different ways in tourism studies: *objective*, *constructive* and *existential* (Zhu 2012, 1496). The *objective* approach suggests a binary distinction between authenticity and inauthenticity. It also suggests that there is such a thing as the “genuine” and the “real” against which other things can be measured, a usage typical in museums. The *objective* approach emerged out of the industrial revolution when mass production of goods elicited discussions of authenticity. The *constructive* approach suggests that the “genuine” and the “real” do not exist but that they are constructed—an “invention of tradition” (Hobsbawm and Ranger 1983), or an agreement based on a particular world view. “Constructive authenticity” is “relative, negotiable...contextually determined...and even ideological” (Wang 1999, 351). Zhu finds that in the *constructive* approach, “authenticity is a projection of tourists’ beliefs, expectation, preferences, and stereo-typed images onto toured objects” (Zhu 2012, 1497). Since “toured objects” in the constructive case at times signify something else, this approach is alternatively called symbolic (Wang 1999; Culler 1981). The third

approach—*existential*—is a self-reflected activity of the individual tourist that takes into account intrapersonal experience (a person’s history or previous experience with a toured object) and interpersonal experience (the sense of *communitas*, to use the term by Victor Turner, felt by individuals when they are taken out of their quotidian lives). In the case of *Streichmusik*, both the *constructive* and *existential* approaches apply—the “tourist gaze” is initially shaped by a person’s world view and their perception of the music, but the intrapersonal and interpersonal can then shape the *experience*. In my analysis of the staged quality of *Streichmusik* performances in chapter 5, I mobilize the *constructive* and *existential* approaches. Both the performers and Swiss tourists have previously formed conceptions about the visual and aural qualities of *Streichmusik*.

Issues of authenticity in tourism pertain to both the *experience* and the *toured object* (Wang 1999, 351). A distinction must be made in discussions regarding authenticity in tourism between the tourist *experience* and the *toured object*, which involves ways of thinking about authenticity. The tourist *experience* is liminal, using Victor Turner’s terminology, the individual is outside of his or her ordinary reality and different rules apply—this is the application of the *existential* approach, where each person has the capacity to have an “authentic” *experience* because it is in the realm of the individual’s perception. Wang states that in a

liminal experience, people feel they themselves are much more authentic and more freely self-expressed than in everyday life, not because they find the toured objects are authentic but simply because they are engaging in non-ordinary activities, free from the constraints of the daily. (1999, 351-352)

The tourist *experience* encompasses what Wang and Zhu call existential authenticity in that it involves the perspective or world view of the tourist. The *experience* is liminal—

outside daily encounters. Out of this desire for liminality, the tourist *experience* is existential and results in the exoticization and cultural stereotyping of the other and conversely the self-exoticization of the performers. *Streichmusik* performers choose to wear the *Tracht* (traditional costume) and use the local dialect in describing the performance practice in order to create self-exoticization, as I will show in chapter 3. The *toured object* (the *toured object* can refer to places, buildings, souvenirs, and even musical performances, as is the case in this dissertation) is either authentic or not and so falls in the category of the objective approach.

In ethnomusicology, the term authenticity has similarly been contested and debated. I wish to clarify further how I am addressing authenticity in this dissertation. As ethnomusicologist Martin Stokes says:

authenticity is definitely not a property of music, musicians and their relations to an audience... “authenticity” is a discursive trope of great persuasive power. It focuses a way of talking about music, a way of saying to outsiders and insiders alike “this is what is really significant about this music,” “this is the music that makes us different from other people.” (Stokes 1997, 6-7)

Often the discussions about authenticity in music are those that emerge from the early music movement (Kerman et al. 1992; Taruskin 1992; Shelemay 2001). The early music debate centers on recreating the performance practice on original instruments. The early music conversation about authenticity in terms of performance practice partially applies to the *Streichmusik* case—the concept of recreating a performance as it was in the past is applicable to both the early music movement and *Streichmusik*. In contrast to the early music movement, the *Streichmusik* community is not particularly concerned with performing on historical instruments, however, there is an interest in performing in an

historically informed style. In particular, the authentic performance of violinists is a focus in the Appenzell and there is vocabulary formulated in their local dialect to describe the style, which I will examine in chapter 3.

The notion of authenticity is a prevalent discursive trope in the Appenzeller and the Toggenburger musical communities. Repeatedly I heard musicians using the word “authenticity” (*Echt*), as well as specialized terminology in Appenzeller dialect to describe their or another person’s playing. Authenticity is a marker that is used to signify difference. For some Appenzeller musicians, “authenticity” is the quest for finding the original, the unadulterated and traditional that has been unchanged throughout time. One writer describes “authentic” as “a genuine encounter with a mode of being in the world that is, unlike modern life, unmediated, unselfconscious, transparent” (Trollinger 2012, 35). This was a preoccupation of anthropologist Claude Lévi Strauss in 1969 when he wrote that he was “hastening in search of a vanished reality” (Strauss quoted in Frow 1991, 132). The preservationist search for authenticity in ethnomusicology as well as the early music movement in musicological circles is a futile attempt to create the past. Richard Handler and Jocelyn Linnekin’s important article “Tradition, Genuine or Spurious” (1984), states that if traditions are defined as unchanging, then all traditions are spurious. However, Handler and Linnekin find that if tradition is defined in the present, then it can be genuine (Handler and Linnekin 1984).

I would argue, especially from the point of view of tourism studies, that to some extent, parts of all cultures are “staged.” I am interested in the “staged” aspects of *Streichmusik* performance—the varying choices of performance practice as well as

repertoire choice that are made, depending on the audience, to indicate authenticity. The choices made in creating a “staged authenticity” (MacCannell 1996) show awareness among the performers of the “tourist gaze” (Urry 2011). There are layers of “front” and “back” regions—Erving Goffman’s terms that Dean MacCannell applies—in every culture. What might at one time appear “staged,” can be reintegrated into a cultural practice and can be redefined as “authentic.” Ensembles interweave genres and styles in certain situations, reinvesting both so-called traditional, or allegedly authentic practices and innovative practices, with new meanings as they create new hybridized performance styles.

C. Purism and Syncretism

As I was searching for a way to describe the differing choices made by *Streichmusik* ensembles, I came across an article by Swiss ethnomusicologist Max Peter Baumann, entitled “Folk Music Revival: Concepts Between Regression and Emancipation” (1996). Baumann divides folklore revivals into two different models: there are the groups concerned with maintaining the repertoire and tradition (purism) and groups who are adding new repertoire and performance style (syncretism). The purism model has “a tendency towards stabilizing or even regressive preservation” (Baumann 1996, 80). The purism model is concerned with cultivating the music in the way it has theoretically always been performed. The syncretism model has “a tendency towards reinventing the past by emancipatory creation to the point of breaking the local and regional frontiers” (Ibid., 80). The syncretism model fuses the old and new—experimenting with hybridity—and aligns most closely to the “new folk music”

associated with “New Europeanness” that ethnomusicologist Philip Bohlman discusses: “the ‘new folk music’ must be both old and new, traditional and avant-garde, national and international” (Bohlman 2011, 229). Bohlman finds that in

the new folk music, unlike historically earlier canons of folk music, say, national folk music in the nineteenth century, authenticity is not an end but a beginning. New folk music consciously encourages its practitioners to create a pastiche, in which the authentic is only one part. (Ibid., 230)

As seen in the quote above, the two different models, purism and syncretism, have varying concerns and approaches to authenticity. The purism model strives to fulfill the requirements of authenticity in terms of performing the past, whereas the syncretic model uses authenticity as one of its starting points (in terms of performing in the old style or the old repertoire) but also integrates the new.

The relationship between *purism* and *syncretism* is more complex in the *Streichmusik* case. As I will show in chapter 5, some ensembles stay fixed in their tendencies, but most are in flux, varying their performance according to their perception of seeming audience preferences. Therefore, I propose that the binary of *purism* and *syncretism*, is actually a continuum.

5. Scholarly Relevance

The results of my investigation will contribute to the literature in ethnomusicology on expanding repertoire choices and hybridized performance styles. These choices of hybridity are in a dialectical relationship with local discourses of authenticity. The contested notion of authenticity remains part of ethnomusicological debate and my study contributes through its examination of localized musical terms that describe “authentic” performance practices. Authenticity is also significant in tourism studies in tourist

experiences and imaginations of place. My dissertation thus contributes to the findings on authenticity by investigating local authenticity discourses (chapter 3), choices in repertoire and attire (chapter 5), and the process of defining identity in ethnomusicology and tourism studies.

Crossover between tourism studies and ethnomusicology is a recent phenomenon. While monographs on tourism have been written in sociology (MacCannell 1976; Urry and Larson 2011), mainly shorter works have been written in ethnomusicology (Picard 1990; Atkinson 1997; Carson 2004; Cohen 1997; Forsyth 2012; Stokes 1999). Michel Picard has worked on cultural tourism and touristic culture in Bali, Indonesia (1998), and there is a book on music and tourism written by tourism specialists (Gibson and Connell 2005). My project spans tourism studies and ethnomusicology, providing future researchers theoretical frameworks to address their own investigations. The subtleties of identifications and processes that occur in conjunction with tourism that I examine ethnographically in this dissertation are useful for conceptions concerning identity (individual, regional, or national), authenticity, the role of musical performances, and ways in which these aspects intersect with cultural tourism.

Over the last century both performers and music aficionados transcribed *Streichmusik*. Many of these transcriptions have been preserved, but to date many of them have been stored without examination. The late Swiss ethnomusicologist, Margaret Engeler was the last person to do extensive research on *Streichmusik* from an ethnomusicological perspective, published in 1984 in her dissertation, *Das Beziehungsfeld zwischen Volksmusik, Volksmusiker und Volksmusikpflege, am Beispiel*

der Appenzeller Streichmusik (The Relationship Between Folk Music, Folk Musicians and the Practice of Folk Music, Using the Example of *Appenzeller Streichmusik*). The majority of the literature on *Appenzeller Streichmusik* is written in German. By writing my dissertation in English at an institution in the United States I intend to create greater awareness of and accessibility to this music, within a contemporary social and political context.

6. Research Methodology

I use an ethnographic methodology based on participant-observation and personal interviews. Living and participating in the *Streichmusik* community for 11 months provided numerous insights into its complex socio-cultural dynamics. My longest fieldwork trip was from January-August of 2012 in Urnäsch, Switzerland. There were also several shorter fieldwork trips in the summers of 2008, 2010 and 2013. During some of the shorter trips, I spent time in the Appenzell and the Toggenburg and also at the Ethnomusicology Archive at the University of Zurich. For my longest period of fieldwork I chose to stay in Urnäsch, Appenzell Ausserrhoden, because I wanted to be close to the *Zentrum für Appenzellische Volksmusik* (ZAV—The Center for Appenzeller Folk Music), also known as the *Roothuus* (or red house, because of the color of the paint), in Gonten, Appenzell Innerrhoden. The inhabitants of Urnäsch include several members of the Alder family, the most iconic *Streichmusik* dynasty. During my fieldwork, Ueli Alder lived with two of his sons, Walter and Hansueli, on the family farm, and another one of Ueli's sons, Arnold "Noldi" Alder had his home/studio closer to the center of town. Werner Alder, one of the two *Hackbrett* (hammered dulcimer)

builders currently active, as well as Hans Hürlemann, a *Streichmusik* performer and historian, are also inhabitants of Urnäsch. Moreover, the annual *Streichmusigttag* (day of *Streichmusik*) takes place in the restaurants in Urnäsch every spring. Urnäsch prides itself on all its calendrical customs, ranging from the *Silvesterchlausen* (New Year's celebration) to the *Alpfahrt* (alpine procession), to the *Bloch* (a biannual loggers celebration practiced on the Monday before Ash Wednesday in Urnäsch and nearby Herisau).



Figure 6. *Alpfahrt* (alpine procession) passing through the town of Urnäsch, AR (Photograph by Anthony Douglass)

I approached learning about *Streichmusik* from a participant-observation approach. The directors of the ZAV were kind to provide me with a desk at the Center to conduct my research. They even offered me a job, organizing materials in the archive. After some

consideration I declined, as I only had a limited amount of time to conduct my research. However, the ZAV was a site of much data acquisition, of both an ethnographic and archival nature. I spent several days a week at the ZAV. Part of every day included playing *Streichmusik*. Often the ensemble consisted of Matthias Weidmann on *Hackbrett*, Joe Manser on bass, and me on violin. At times, other musicians came to play music or to take lessons with Weidmann, and at the end we would all play together. Weidmann most often chose the repertoire we played. The pieces ranged from hand written manuscripts from the archive that had remained untouched for years to parts of the newest edition of pieces that Weidmann was in the process of collecting, called *Schlääzig ond Löpfig*. Often, other *Streichmusik* musicians would stop by the ZAV and we would all play together. Every other week I attended the group lesson of two of Weidmann's students, a violinist and a *Hackbrett* player at the "Musikschule Matthias Weidmann," *Volksmusikwerkstatt* in Herisau. In this instance Weidmann played bass. Through rehearsing in this ensemble and performing with this group at several *Stobete* (informal musical performances that often occur in restaurants) I was able to learn more of the intricacies of phrasing, dynamics, and bow technique. This participation also seemed to legitimize my efforts to conduct research and probably improved my response rate.

In my comparative case study of the Appenzell and the Toggenburg, I interviewed performers or audience members who participate in this genre of music, as well as cultural historians, researchers, and other individuals who have a response to this practice. In order to conduct interviews I traveled in both half cantons of Appenzell—Innerrhoden and Ausserrhoden—as well as to the Toggenburg (the next valley over from

the Appenzell in the Canton of St. Gall). I received an initial list of contacts for *Streichmusik* performers living in the Appenzell from the ZAV. I was not given contacts for the Toggenburg and this delayed my interview process in the Toggenburg. I set up interviews using this list at first and then used a snowball sampling method (Goodman 1961). Using the snowball sampling method, at the end of each interview, I asked the interviewee if they could recommend any further contacts who knew about this music. At times they would give me the phone numbers or I would get them from the ZAV and I would contact this next set of people for interviews. By the end of my first stay in 2012, I had recorded thirty-one in-depth personal interviews as well as conducted many shorter, less formal interviews. In 2013, I returned and interviewed seven more individuals for a total of thirty-eight in-depth personal interviews.

The majority of these interviews were with *Streichmusik* performers. The snowball sampling method led me to talk with a wide range of performers, ages 18-90, men (27) and women (11), who were Appenzeller and Toggenburger performers. The majority of my interviewees were from the Appenzell and less than a third were from the Toggenburg (as there are many more performers in the Appenzell). The total sample size of thirty-eight included two non-performers (Roland Inauen and Roger Meier) and one conductor/composer/visual artist (Dölf Mettler) who were recommended by one or more of my performer interviewees. Of the many people recommended by interviewees, there were two individuals that I was unable to get to commit to an interview time. Although they were willing to have coffee with me, talk and play music, they were opposed to having their voices recorded or any kind of official interview on record.

The two directors of the ZAV, Matthias Weidmann and Joe Manser, who I saw several times per week, would confirm and supplement information I received during interviews and guide me in terms of which people it would be useful to ask certain questions. However, I was cautious to avoid personal interests.²⁷

I used a list of basic questions as a starting point for my interviews.²⁸ However, I let the interviewees speak on whatever subjects they felt it was important for me to know about. As a result, in several interviews I asked few of my questions and in some not any. As I conducted interviews I became aware of clarifications and in-depth explorations that needed to be asked. Thus, my list of questions evolved through time. I was informed by interviewees as well as other members of the community as to what questions could be most thoroughly answered by which individual, as a sign that this was a fairly close-knit community. I also gained some information from a retired professor from Toronto, Carola Conle, who had moved to the Appenzell because she had become interested in Appenzeller folk music during a visit to the area. She had befriended the Appenzeller musical community and attended most performances. I spoke to her often at performances and on the phone, as well as visited her at her apartment. She provided me with insight into which individuals in the musical community would have answers to specific questions. Toward the end of my interviews I started to get many repeats or similar answers to my questions, indicating that I was reaching the upper levels of obtaining new or original data and therefore had sufficient data to start my analysis.

²⁷ See Stokes 1997, 11, for his discussion on authority.

²⁸ See the Appendix for a list of my research questions.

Recording the interviews in duplicate, on an H2 Zoom audio digital recorder and an Olympus Digital Voice Recorder WS-311M, I could ensure that I would have recordings of all the interviews in case one of the devices malfunctioned or was out of batteries, a situation which did arise on two occasions. Immediately (either on the train ride home or when I returned home in the evening) I would write field notes on at least the three most important points of the interview. Referring to these notes while transcribing the recorded interviews was useful.

For transcription, I used the German version of the software “Dragon Dictate.” Since Swiss-German is not a written language, I first need to translate the interviews into German. Using headphones to listen to the interviews, I would translate the Swiss-German into German in my head, sentence-by-sentence, and then speak it into the microphone. I put terms in quotation marks that could not be translated from Appenzeller or Toggenburger dialect to German. While the transcriptions were written in German, they were idiomatic for Swiss-German, not German. In the final stages of this dissertation, Dr. Ruth Lieberherr, who has a PhD in German Literature (who also happens to be my mother), translated the transcriptions so they are idiomatically German.

In this dissertation, I have included mostly the voices of the performers with whom I performed in-depth interviews. I did not record interviews with general audience members, in part because these conversations were short and informal, and also because I did not have Institutional Review Board (IRB) approval to do so. Therefore, the information I provide about audience response is paraphrased and summarized as I have few direct quotes.

The manuscripts in the archive at the ZAV provide a view into how *Streichmusik* differed in Appenzell Innerrhoden and Ausserrhoden, and how the music differed from one performing group to the next. The documents at the archives provide insight into the history of *Streichmusik* that until now has remained unexamined. There are interviews with notable figures in *Streichmusik* history such as Jakob Alder (1915-2004) and Hans Rechsteiner (1893-1986) on reel-to-reel tapes that the late ethnomusicologist Margaret Engeler (1933-2010) conducted in the 1970s. These had remained untouched in a box for years until I listened to them while conducting fieldwork in 2012. Examining the history of *Streichmusik* through archival documents helps uncover the identity formations that have been created diachronically in this music. Other data in my research process were anthologies, live and recorded performances, and discussions of performance aesthetics. Until now, much of the materials of the Toggenburg are kept in private collections or at the *Ackerhaus* in Ebnat-Kappel, which is currently closed to the public. Hopefully in the future the ZAV and the Toggenburg will be able to work together to archive materials from the Toggenburg.

On a personal level, the subject of *Streichmusik* has interest to me because I can trace my genealogy for nine generations in the Toggenburg. My *Heimatort* (place of origin), Nesslau, which is traced patrilineally, is in the upper Toggenburg. My maiden name, Lieberherr, is one of the most common last names in the Toggenburg, and most people in the Appenzell and the Toggenburg immediately identified me as a “Toggenburger.” Being labeled as a “Toggenburger” helped me gain access to the community by being seen as a “partial insider,” a term devised by Kirin Narayan in her

experience (Narayan 1993). Having neither grown up in the region nor played *Streichmusik* since childhood, precludes me from being a “full” insider. However, because of my family ties to the region and because I speak a Swiss-German dialect (a mixture of my father’s Toggenburger and my mother’s Zurich dialects), I could be viewed as a “partial insider.” For instance, one interviewee picked me up in town and as we drove about four miles up through the hills to his house and farm he asked me where in Switzerland my family was from. I told him my father came from the Toggenburg and his last name is Lieberherr. My interviewee nodded with recognition—we had just passed one of the neighboring houses on the hillside that belonged to a family called Lieberherr, he pointed out to me as we drove past. This interviewee was very open. Once the interview started I asked one or two questions and then he talked for two and a half hours. When I later mentioned to other performers that he had spoken so much about his experiences they were very surprised as he is a senior member of the *Streichmusik* community and is usually more reserved. I believe it was my familial connection to the region that inspired him to communicate so openly. Because my extended family has lived in this area for so many generations, I have a history that many people share. As one writer puts it, “People look to specific musics as symbolic anchors in regions, as signs of community, belonging, and a shared past” (Lewis quoted in Whiteley 2004, 3). Being a “partial insider,” I have a sense of belonging and longing for this region. Still, I felt I was constantly code-switching between being the American outsider and the Swiss insider. Especially since I was conducting fieldwork with my young family in tow and

because my husband does not speak Swiss-German or German, I was invariably translating conversations into two languages.

As a native speaker of Swiss-German I was uniquely positioned to study *Streichmusik*. Because it is only a spoken language (not written), Swiss-German has many variations. The Appenzell and the Toggenburg have unique dialects that I am familiar with through my father's side of the family. All my interviews were conducted in the Appenzeller and Toggenburger Swiss-German dialects. Conducting the interviews in dialect is important because of the nuanced vocabulary used to describe the musical performance style in this geographic area.

The scope of my study was limited in that I could not speak to every *Streichmusik* performer. However, as I mentioned, I did use the snowball sampling method (Goodman 1961). Therefore, I was satisfied with the amount of information I was able to attain in my interviews. My project was limited in that I was not able to attend every musical event in the Appenzell and the Toggenburg, or, at times was unable to attend the whole event due to family and public transportation constraints. For the first three months of my fieldwork trip in 2012 my daughter was still breastfeeding five to six times a day. This made scheduling interviews difficult because I had to make sure to arrange that I would return in time to feed my daughter. During my fieldwork trips I traveled almost exclusively by public transportation. Unfortunately, during my fieldwork trip from January-August 2012, the train tracks between the Appenzell and the Toggenburg were under construction. It was time-consuming to travel to the Toggenburg for interviews.

This is why when I returned with my young family in the summer of 2013, I organized accommodations in both the Appenzell and the Toggenburg.

There are contentions about the history and ownership of *Streichmusik* in the Appenzell and the Toggenburg. All of the publications to date on *Streichmusik* have been written about the Appenzell with an occasional aside about the Toggenburg. Some interviewees raised questions about why I was living in the Appenzell and not in the Toggenburg during my field research in 2012. In 2013, I made sure to spend my time equally in both places, first living three weeks in Urnäsch, Appenzell Ausserrhoden, and then three weeks in Wildhaus, Toggenburg. There is an aspect of personal responsibility I feel about including the story of the Toggenburg. These two places where *Streichmusik* is predominantly practiced present themselves so differently to outsiders. As one interviewee in the Toggenburg said, it seems as if the Toggenburgers practice their folk culture for themselves and are not interested in letting outsiders see or hear what they are doing. The ensembles from the Appenzell have numerous recordings and up-to-date websites, yet the Toggenburger groups made only one recording in the 1970s, and neither of the two *Streichmusik* groups from the Toggenburg maintains a website. Even though some people discouraged me, I feel it is important to include the Toggenburg in the *Streichmusik* narrative.

7. Dissertation Organization

In this chapter, I contextualized the research problematic by discussing the keywords “Swissness” and *Heimat* (homeland), and providing the national and regional context for *Streichmusik*. Musically, I provided a brief historic introduction to

Streichmusik, explained the roles of the instruments in the ensemble, and introduced notable *Streichmusik* performers and composers. I have introduced the analytical framework and important literature I am expanding on in this dissertation, the scholarly relevance of my work, and finally my research methodology.

In the second chapter I illustrate the concept of Swissness through a collaboration of Swiss rapper “Bligg” and the most iconic *Streichmusik* ensemble, *Streichmusik Alder*. Then, I discuss the terms that precede Swissness such as *Heimatverbundenheit* (connection to homeland) and *Heimatideologie* (ideology of the homeland), and discuss the cyclical nature of redefinition of the Swiss nation. I elucidate the history and etymology of Swissness and then examine the role of nostalgia in the *Streichmusik* revival and “*Hackbrett* (hammered dulcimer) boom.” I look at the underlying causes and circumstances of the *Streichmusik* revival and “*Hackbrett* boom” and how *Streichmusik* came to represent Swissness in the national cultural imagination. I investigate how *Streichmusik* has been valorized by cultural tourism both locally and nationally in Switzerland.

Chapter 3 and 4 form a diptych in which I unravel the complex issues of performing a culture, both for oneself and others, as a way of transacting identity. These two chapters are intricately linked and there are some aspects, such as *Heimat* (homeland) and articulation of place, which surface in both chapters. In these chapters I compare the differences between the Appenzell and the Toggenburg. Grounded in historical and ethnographic evidence, Chapter 3 provides historically based insight into the region where *Streichmusik* is practiced. Examining the “specialness” of this place and how it

represents Swissness, I delineate certain connections and contrasts between the Appenzeller and the Toggenburger *Streichmusik*. I examine self-exoticization as a means of protecting the tradition and maintaining authenticity, whether it is staged or not, and the unique and individual practices of place. Since the 1980s, there have been developments in *Streichmusik* transmission with the founding of *Musikschulen* (music schools) in the Appenzell and the Toggenburg, where students learn folk music and folk music instruments, alongside the classical. In the 1990s *Streichmusik* repertoire that had been kept secret was published. By examining these shifts, I will argue that changes have happened to *Streichmusik* due to increased cultural tourism.

My focus in chapter 4 is on the traditions surrounding *Streichmusik* that are valorized by cultural tourism. I examine the (re)branding of the region as a means to provide an imagined heritage. The products and culture in the Appenzell, in contrast to the Toggenburg, are heavily marketed. I investigate how marketing affects the Swiss tourists' perception of local culture. Catering to the "tourist gaze" (Urry 2011), products are sold using the notion of *Heile Welt* (ideal or idyllic world) as a way to create a sense of longing and belonging to an imagined heritage. This chapter contrasts the Appenzell and the Toggenburg in their differing projections of place.

In chapter 5, I look in detail at how the *Streichmusik* community projects their image and sound, depending on their audience. The *Tracht* (traditional costume) and repertoire choice exemplify the "tourist gaze" (Urry 2011) and "staged authenticity" (MacCannell 1996). I expand Swiss ethnomusicologist Max Peter Baumann's (1996) conception of purism and syncretism, and place the terms along a continuum of responses

to diverse audiences. I elucidate this continuum through specific examples from my fieldwork.

CHAPTER TWO: THE LINK BETWEEN NOSTALGIA AND “SWISSNESS”

The video of Swiss rapper Bligg’s (a.k.a. Marco Bliggensdorfer’s) hit single from 2007, “Volksmusigg,” was produced in collaboration with the ensemble, *Streichmusik Alder*. The official music video for the song begins with a news clip reporting the increased youth violence and its seeming connection with rap. Bligg responds to the media’s blaming, which turns into the chorus, in Swiss-German: “Das isch Musig, Volksmusigg, mir sind Stolzmusig” (“This is music, folk music, we are proud music”).²⁹ Then *Streichmusik Alder* plays “Birre, Birre Wegge, Chäs ond Brot,” (“Pear, pear pastry, cheese and bread”) arguably the most famous and often played *Streichmusik* piece, sometimes described as a national anthem of the Appenzell, the region where *Streichmusik* originates. The soundscape of the video changes drastically at this moment, due to the fact that Bligg and his band stop as the “Birre Wegge” is momentarily inserted in the piece. The age difference between Bligg and the *Streichmusik* ensemble is highlighted, in particular the focus is on bassist Ueli Alder, a recognizable figure in *Streichmusik*.³⁰ Then the *Streichmusik* group is interrupted by Bligg and his

²⁹ It is difficult to directly translate the Swiss-German word “Volksmusigg,” written “Volksmusik” in German, into English. The most literal translation is “folk music,” but it could just as easily be translated as “music of the people” or maybe even “traditional music.” See Christian Seiler’s *Verkaufte Volksmusik* (1994, p. 82) for more discussion of this subject.

³⁰ The Alder family has continually performed this music since 1884, the oldest *Streichmusik* ensemble. *Streichmusik Alder*, sometimes also referred to as the Alder Dynasty, is regarded as the most famous example of *Streichmusik* performers. The Alder family is seen by many as the primary keeper of the tradition of *Streichmusik*. Ueli Alder (1922–2014) was the last remaining member of the third generation of *Streichmusik Alder* who was still alive while I was conducting my fieldwork. I was fortunate to be able to interview Ueli Alder in 2012 at the family farmhouse called *Strüssler* above the town of Urnäsch, Appenzell Ausserrhoden. At present the fourth and fifth generations of this family perform together locally and internationally.

accompaniment. Bligg raps that all music comes from the people and that rap is folk music. He seems proud to be sharing the stage with *Streichmusik Alder*, the most iconic *Streichmusik* group in Switzerland—but interestingly enough, the two groups never play at the same time, leading some critics to denounce the collaborative aspects of their performance. Even though the rap and folk music are happening concurrently, there is a cut-and-paste aspect of the video and a lack of integration of folkloric and transnational styles. Indeed, it was a chance happening because of the suggestion of a television producer.³¹



Figure 7. Bligg and *Streichmusik Alder*

³¹ As was related to me in an interview with *Hackbrett* (hammered dulcimer) player Nicolas Senn, coincidentally *Streichmusik Alder* and Bligg were scheduled on the same television show, called *Die Grössten Schweizer Hits* (*The Biggest Swiss Hits*). The producer of the show suggested the two groups perform together. The piece they played, “Volksmusigg,” was composed by Bligg. The text originally referred to rap as the new folk music of Switzerland. Inserting the *Streichmusik* group in the piece created ambiguity in the meaning of the piece—it is not clear which music is the folk music that Bligg is referring to; it could be rap, folk music, or both.

The performance of *Streichmusik Alder* and Bligg was extremely successful. “Volksmusigg” stayed on the “Hitparade-Schweizer Charts” (Swiss pop radio charts) for twenty weeks, Bligg’s greatest success to date. Subsequently, Bligg began to incorporate folk music and attained incredible popularity; his album titled “0816” was in the Swiss charts almost continuously for two years. This led to Bligg being described by some as a “Heimat-Rapper” (“homeland-rapper”) because of the frequent inclusion of Swiss folk elements in his music (Hürlemann 2009) and he went on tour with *Hackbrett* (hammered dulcimer) virtuoso Nicolas Senn for two years. According to the opening of an article by Swiss journalist Patrick Sigrist, “Bligg, the name stands symbolically for the modern Swissness. With his popular fusion of typical Swiss folklore and urban rap the rapper has struck the nerve of the time” (2010).³²

The incidental success of “Volksmusigg,” I contend, comes from an ideological shift of consciousness that has occurred in Switzerland in the last few decades, often described by the term “Swissness.” The combination of Bligg and *Streichmusik Alder* seems to have tuned into a popular sentiment that embraces the past and the folkloric while employing the transnational form of hip-hop. In the televised performance and subsequent video, the only women present are the dancers hired by Bligg, wearing a *Tracht*, the traditional costume. Their constrained choreography is robotic and awkward. These women are expressionless, in contrast to the smiling faces of the *Streichmusik* musicians. If Bligg represents Swissness, what is the place of women in this nostalgic

³² Original German: “Bligg, der Name steht sinnbildlich für die moderne Swissness. Mit seiner eingängigen Verschmelzung von typisch schweizerischer Folklore und urbanem Rap hat der Rapper den Nerv der Zeit getroffen” (Sigrist 2010).

cultural imaginary of Switzerland? What does the appropriation of *Streichmusik* into a hip hop performance signify? Bligg's inclusion of *Streichmusik* highlights contemporary Swiss national anxiety around its positionality in the shifting global, political, and economic dynamics. Furthermore, *Streichmusik* has been a central form for nationwide tourism, and Bligg is not the only person to tap into *Streichmusik* for cultural tourism in private and public sectors. Why has *Streichmusik* come to represent Swissness in the cultural imagination of Switzerland? Why did a *Streichmusik* revival happen after decades of relative inactivity? In order to answer these questions, in this chapter I will examine the *Streichmusik* revival in relation to the history and etymology of the notion of Swissness; more specifically, I will investigate how *Streichmusik* has been valorized by cultural tourism both locally and nationally in Switzerland.

1. Switzerland as a “special case” and “Swissness”

As exemplified in the 2013 film *Schweizer Geist: Mythen, Klischees, Wahre Werte* (*The Swiss Consciousness: Myths, Cliches, Truths*), the Swiss still currently think of themselves as a “Sonderfall,” a “special case.”³³ The documentary filmmaker Severin Frei travels throughout Switzerland, interviewing Swiss inhabitants of all four linguistic and cultural areas about the nation. He travels to the points farthest east, west, north and south and climbs the highest peak in Switzerland in order to gauge the pulse of his fellow inhabitants and their sentiments about their *Heimat* (homeland). There is a strong sense of patriotism in the film, as shown by such sound clips as “Being born in Switzerland is all

³³ As I mentioned in chapter 1, Switzerland as a “special case” has been the subject of several recent books, including Thomas Eberle's *Sonderfall Schweiz* (2006) (Special case Switzerland) and Paul Widmer's *Die Schweiz als Sonderfall* (2007) (Switzerland as a special case).

the luck” and “I’m just lucky I was born in this place,” as the filmmakers travel and interview individuals from the German, French, Italian, and Romansh parts of Switzerland. This film emphasizes the idea of Switzerland as a special case and reminds its inhabitants to be grateful to live in such a privileged nation. Swissness highlights and capitalizes on this “specialness” and clichés.

The Swiss nation seems to be currently undergoing a phase of redefining its cultural identity and exerting its international presence. After experiencing economic setbacks in the 1970s (Blankart 1990) with an economic downturn in 1973 (Schelbert 2007) that caused the loss of 300,000 jobs in the economy, Switzerland’s government created policies and laws to strengthen its international economic presence. The Swiss private sector began an initiative to reestablish the nation’s economy in the international market. As Switzerland lacks many natural resources, it must attract favor from other nations in other ways. American political scientist, Joseph Nye coined the term, “soft power” in 1990 to describe the ability to co-opt by attracting favor through economic and cultural influence rather than coerce in national politics (Nye 2004). There are many examples of the use of this tactic, notably China’s relationship to Africa and South Korea’s *Hallyu* diplomacy, which has increased the popularity of Korean culture worldwide (Faiola, 2006). According to the 2014/2015 Monocle Soft Power Survey, Switzerland is ranked seventh in the top ten nations that are successful in exerting “soft power.”³⁴ These processes of redefining the national identity—as a means to “soft power” —have precipitated the adoption of the pseudo-English word “Swissness” into

³⁴ 2014/2015 Monocle Soft Power Survey. <http://monocle.com/film/affairs/soft-power-survey-2014-15/> (accessed March 2, 2015).

the Swiss-German language in the late 1990s. An editorial in *The Economist* states that Swissness “stands for democracy, fairness, stability, quality, meticulousness, punctuality, thrift, efficiency, openness and all sorts of other desirable things” (“A Special Case” 2004). According to the website Swissinfo.ch, Swissness means “a healthy, well-ordered, efficient world” and has connotations of “precision, meticulousness, reliability and thoroughness” (Vogel-Misicka 2010). This old image of Switzerland has been newly formulated in the last few decades to reestablish Switzerland’s presence on the international market.

One of the first physical manifestations of Swissness was the “Swiss Law on the Protection of Trademarks and Indications of Source,” which went into effect in 1992 and detailed the conditions under which the denotations “Switzerland,” “Swiss,” “Swiss quality,” “Swiss Made,” and “Made in Switzerland” can be used.³⁵ This law states the legal aspects of Swissness and indicates what percentage of a product needs to be produced in Switzerland. A study conducted by the Institute for Marketing at the University of St. Gall (Institut für Marketing an der Universität St. Gallen) last spring points to the success of Swissness in marketing. Using an online survey with over 13,000 participants and more than four thousand interviews in fourteen countries, the institute investigated the marketability of Swissness. Even though the study found that Swiss people estimated that their country was less marketable than in previous years, the rest of the world felt that Switzerland and its products were very competitive. In India, for

³⁵ See “Use of the ‘Swiss Made’ Indication of Source (Origin): General Information,” published by the Swiss Federal Institute of Intellectual Property (2006), for detailed information regarding this law. For instance, at least 50% of a product must be of Swiss origin and the most important parts must be manufactured in Switzerland.

example, consumers are willing to pay 65% percent more for a bar of Swiss chocolate over an unknown brand name.³⁶ The marketing power of Swissness has enabled commodification of its national products, including everything from cheese and chocolate to water bottles and watches, and maintained Switzerland's economic standing in a globalized world.

I assert that the choice to address the national essence in English stems from the country's desire to reposition itself as a cosmopolitan nation in the global market. In other words, "[a]s societies position themselves within the transnational fabric of globalization they find themselves locked within an agenda of apparent competitiveness as newly established social categories such as countries, cities, or communities jostle to establish/re-establish profile and power" (Picard and Robinson 2006, 9). Swissness was first used for economic repositioning in the global market but has also come to signify a cultural presence and unification in a country with customs that vary greatly by region and language.

It was through conducting interviews in 2012 that I first encountered the term "Swissness." After listening to the recordings of interviews I had conducted in 2012, I realized I wanted to return to Switzerland in 2013 to ask more questions about Swissness, since it was a topic many interviewees referenced. One of the individuals I spoke with was Jakob "Köbi" Freund, *Hackbrett* (hammered dulcimer) player for *Streichmusik Alder*, who has also been involved with local politics. As a member of the *Nationalrat* (Switzerland's National Council; see chapter 1) from 1995 through 2003, he initiated

³⁶ See "Marke 'Schweiz' genießt grosse Sympathie," from the Institute for Marketing at the University of St. Gall, or Institut für Marketing an der Universität St. Gallen (2013).

programs that support folk music, such as revising the *Kultur Gesetz*, which I describe in more detail later in this chapter. Freund was also president of the *Verband Schweizer Volksmusik* (Swiss folk music society) from 2001 to 2011. Freund is perhaps more tuned in to the reception of *Volkskultur* than many other musicians because of his leadership roles in national politics and music organizations.

Freund indicated that he associates Swissness with an increase in the popularity of *Volkskultur* (folk culture):³⁷ “The whole *Volkskultur* scene is experiencing a huge upturn. First of all, there is the so-called Swissness. One stands by Switzerland again, wanting to be Swiss, and somehow one expresses this again” (2013).³⁸ Barbara Giger, bass player for *Quartet Laseyer*, found that there is currently a “*Volksmusik* boom”: “Folk music is experiencing a ‘boom’—the instruments used in folk music are also experiencing a ‘boom’—that makes it easier and creates an understanding and awakens an interest in the population ... not everywhere, but ... yes, I do believe it is changing” (2012).³⁹ Because of the boom, people of all ages, socioeconomic backgrounds, and political affiliations are playing and listening to folk music, and the boom is depoliticizing folk music (Giger 2012). Giger told me this:

At the moment there is a greater acceptance of folk music in the [Swiss] population, much more so than twenty or thirty years ago, when as a folk musician one was considered exotic and labeled as politically conservative, as a

³⁷ *Volkskultur* is a term that does not translate directly into English. Roughly translated as “folk culture,” it encompasses everything from customs associated with calendrical rituals to traditional music and attire.

³⁸ Original German: “Einfach die ganz Volkskulturszene erlebt einen grossen Aufschwung. Erstens einmal ist es das sogenannte Swissness. Man steht wieder zu der Schweiz, man will Schweizer sein und irgendwie drückt man das aus” (Freund 2013).

³⁹ Original German: “Die Volksmusik erlebt einen ‘Boom’—auch die Instrumente aus der Volksmusik erleben einen ‘Boom.’ Das macht es natürlich einfacher und weckt auch in der Bevölkerung ein gewisses Verständnis und ein Interesse ... nicht überall aber ... Ja, ich denke es ist schon ein Wandel” (Giger 2012).

member of the SVP [Swiss People's Party]. Folk musicians were automatically connected to a political attitude ... Now I find that this is less the case. (2012)⁴⁰

Giger went on to talk about the bachelor's program in folk music at the University of Lucerne (Hochschule Luzern) and how the creation of this program shows a change in attitude toward folk music in Switzerland: "Things are changing so that, for example, the newest thing is that you can now study folk music at the University in Lucerne. I find it great that these steps are happening that have been possible for a long time in other countries. Folk music has been stereotyped and pushed to the side in Switzerland in the past" (2012).⁴¹

Currently, there is more widespread acceptance by the general population of folk music as a valued art form. That the University of Lucerne created a bachelor's degree in folk music was important to many interviewees. The program was started in 2006 and has just had its first graduates. Countries surrounding Switzerland, such as Germany and Austria, have long offered degrees in folk music. In fact, Roland Küng, the *Hackbrett* player for the Appenzeller ensemble *Geschwister Küng*, went to Munich to receive his degree in *Hackbrett*—at the time there was no folk music degree in Switzerland. Köbi Freund also stated that the fact that Switzerland created a bachelor's degree in folk music "shows the value attributed to folk music, even when the musicians play in an innovative style and less traditionally, but the music needs that, it is also good—the good tradition is

⁴⁰ Original German: "Im Moment herrscht in der Bevölkerung eine grosse Akzeptanz, viel mehr als noch vor zwanzig, dreißig Jahren als man als Volksmusikant ein Exot gewesen ist und man ist auch politisch in eine Ecke gedrängt worden ... alle sind konservativ und das sind alles SVP. Automatisch hat man das mit einer politischen Gesinnung verbunden ... Ich finde, das ist jetzt viel weniger der Fall" (Giger 2012).

⁴¹ Original German: "Es ist auch im Wandel, dass man zum Beispiel an der Hochschule Luzern ... Volksmusik studieren kann. Das ist natürlich neu. Das finde ich toll, dass Schritte passieren, die in anderen Ländern schon immer gang und gäbe gewesen sind, was schon immer möglich gewesen ist. Das war halt in der Schweiz ganz stiefmütterlich, das war völlig an den Rand gedrängt worden" (Giger 2012).

preserved” (2013).⁴² Freund clearly considers it valuable that folk music is played traditionally—meaning that the performers are not formally taught, or they play in a traditional style—but he is nevertheless happy that there is the folk music degree at the University of Lucerne, even if the students are modernizing the tradition. The introduction of the folk music degree at the university level shows evidence of recognition of the value of folk music by higher education; this establishment is thus likely to lead to folk music’s longevity.

Even though Swissness initially was an economic concept used to promote the marketing of Swiss products, it has become associated with Swiss folk culture more recently. With the increased popularity of folk culture, as Freund stated, there has also been more commercialization of folk music. When I interviewed Nicolas Senn, *Hackbrett* player and host of the folk music television show *Potzmusig*, he cautioned against the over-commercialization of traditional music that could happen as a result of the Swissness movement. Senn noted that in the last ten years he has been asked to play for corporations because they see Swissness as a trend. He is delighted that they are interested in hiring “traditional” musicians, as he puts it, but is worried that the motivation for hiring traditional musicians is just because it is trendy and that traditional music could become too commercialized (Senn 2013). Senn is wary of the increase in corporate gigs he has experienced in the last few years:

Parallel to the *Hackbrett* boom, I would say for about ten years and especially in the last few years, is the extreme focus on Swissness. I notice at the moment that at company events and corporate shows they say: “This year we have the motto

⁴² Original German: “Das ist eine Wertschätzung, wenn vielleicht auch die Musik eher ... innovativ, nicht traditionell ist, aber das braucht es, das ist auch gut. Die gute Tradition bleibt erhalten” (Freund 2013).

Switzerland or Swissness and that is why we need to hire a traditional musician.” It is nice that people are looking back on their own values, on their traditional values, but we do need to watch out that it is not "too much"... only commercialism. (2013)⁴³

As a musician who is frequently asked to perform at corporate events, Senn has a unique perspective on the commercialization of *Streichmusik*. What I believe Senn means when he says “too much” shows his concern with the fact that he is being hired to “perform the tradition,” not because the corporations are interested in listening to traditional music, but because Swissness is the trend right now. In other words, he wants people to be interested in the music itself, not what it represents.

The marketing power of Swissness products such as water bottles and watches has been transferred to Swiss culture, which has positive and negative outcomes for traditional music. However, he is comfortable with his sponsorship from *Appenzeller Käse* (Appenzeller Cheese), since they are a local company connected with the regional customs, even though he acknowledges that it is a “delicate matter”:

I advertise and play for [*Appenzeller Käse*] at certain events. Sponsoring and advertising is a very delicate matter. It is actually rare that someone advertises in folk music. Endorsements are practically standard in pop and rock music, with a huge sponsoring platform in the background. It is a bit less in the folk music. (Senn 2013)⁴⁴

⁴³ Original German: “Parallel zu dem ‘Hackbrett Boom’, ich würde sagen seit etwa zehn Jahren und in den letzten paar Jahren extrem, ist schon die Swissness. Oder, im Moment merke ich bei vielen Auftritten bei Firmenanlässen, Corporate Shows, wo sie dann einfach sagen: ‘Wir haben dieses Jahr das Motto Schweiz oder Swissness und darum müssen wir auch einen traditionellen Musiker engagieren.’ Es ist einerseits schön, dass man sich wieder ein bisschen zurück besinnt auf die eigenen Werte, auf die traditionellen Werte, aber wir müssen auch aufpassen, dass es nicht ‘too much’ wird ... nur Kommerzialisierung” (Senn 2013).

⁴⁴ Original German: “Mach ich Werbung für sie und spiele an gewissen Anlässen für sie ... Sponsoring und Werbung machen ist ja sehr heikel. In der Volksmusik kommt das eigentlich wenig vor, dass irgendwer Werbung macht. In Pop oder Rock Musik ist das ja fast Standard mit ‘endorsement’, mit einer Riesensponsoringplattform im Hintergrund. In der Volksmusik ist das schon ein bisschen weniger der Fall” (Senn 2013).

Senn argues that cheese making is integral to the culture of the Appenzell, and so it makes sense to accept the *Appenzeller Käse* sponsorship:

I find that it fits with the cheese because it is a product that is very close to the culture ... And that is why I do not have a problem being sponsored by the cheese company. But if I had advertisements for Apple or BMW or another company on my *Hackbrett*, that would not fit. (2013)⁴⁵



Figure 8. Nicolas Senn on the *Appenzeller Käse* website

Senn's argument is that the company *Appenzeller Käse* works within the purview of the regional culture. In a sense, being endorsed by *Appenzeller Käse* indicates an alignment with Swissness. Swissness inherently carries contradictory forces: while the Swiss-German speaking part of Switzerland tends to be in favor of rebranding the nation using the term, the French and Italian parts have resisted the homogenizing power and conservative leanings of Swissness. While Swissness is a strategic move to assert

⁴⁵ Original German: "Ich finde einfach beim Käse passt es, weil es ein Produkt ist, das sehr nahe an der Kultur ist ... Und darum habe ich kein Problem, das zu machen. Aber wenn ich jetzt am Hackbrett Apple Werbung hätte, oder BMW oder ich weiss nicht was, das würde nicht passen" (Senn 2013).

national economic power on the global market, there are also some closed tendencies in contemporary Switzerland. For instance, an increasing sense of exclusivity and xenophobia is evident in a ban of minarets in 2009 through a public referendum that was passed by 57% (Cumming 2009). Swiss author Hugo Loetscher notes there is a part of Swissness connected with a “reactionary conservatism” against increased immigration (2009).⁴⁶ On the one hand there is the Switzerland that wants to position itself as a global player that sells Swiss products locally and internationally, and on the other hand there are the increasing xenophobic tendencies within the country, associated with the revitalization and preservation of traditions. In other words, Swissness represents both a cosmopolitan outward projection of the nation and an inward, xenophobic and traditional Switzerland.



Figure 9. Swiss People's Party (SVP) advertisement to ban Minarets

⁴⁶ See chapter 1 for more information.

2. Older iterations of Swissness: *Heimat*, *Heimatort*, *Heimatschutz*, *Heimatideologie*, and *Heimatverbundenheit*

In order to understand the term *Swissness*, its historical and cultural context must be understood. The sentiments that *Swissness* is based on have older roots in Switzerland's history, such as in *Heimat*, a German term that is used similarly in the German-speaking countries such as Germany, Austria, and Switzerland and does not have an English equivalent. In English, *Heimat* can be referred to as home, homestead, birthplace, hometown, home region, homeland, fatherland, motherland, or native country. The idea of *Heimat* is historically connected with regionalism, devotion to nation, and nationhood, and is “emotional, irrational, subjective, social, political, and communal” (Blickle 2002, 8). In politics, *Heimat* has “served sooner or later to further sharp exclusions of certain groups—usually ethnic minorities, less-propertied classes, or both” (ibid., x). The term *Heimat*, associated with belonging and identity (Applegate 1990, 4) has been used to exert national identity in a modernizing context:

In its premodern longings *Heimat* stands in (an often only implied) contrast to modern experiences such as alienating city life, the industrial workplace, the technologized mode of existence, the realm of politics, the nation-state (Blickle 2002, 17).

Heimat was originally a neutral noun: “*das Heimat*” and remains so in parts of the Alemannic and the Bavarian regions (Ibid., 20). The first instances of the feminine version, “*die Heimat*” surface in Middle High German (1050-1350), but became more pervasive during the eighteenth century when *Heimat* became feminized and innocent (Ibid.). The construction of *Heimat* did not occur in a vacuum but is based on “bourgeois ideals of

family, class, gender roles, history, and politics” (Ibid.). This gender association implies an underlying assumption that the home and homeland is a place of the feminine.

Heimat is aligned with the rural, the traditional, and an idealized past (Applegate 1990; Umbach and Hüppauf 2005). It is not an actual place, rather a “modern imagining and ... remaking of the hometown, not the hometown’s own deeply rooted historical reality” (Applegate 1990, 8). Historian Celia Applegate (1990, 9–10) writes of the appropriation of old customs as well as the invention of new traditions in the name of *Heimat*, making reference to Hobsbawm and Ranger’s *The Invention of Tradition* (1983). *Heimat* clichés were highlighted in the genre of *Heimat* films that began in the 1940s in Nazi Germany pre-World War II and lasted until the early 1970s. While it was temporarily co-opted by German Nazism, *Heimat* as a concept has for the most part become disentangled from such associations. Other terminology using the root *Heimat* includes *Heimatort*, *Heimatideologie* (ideology of the homeland), *Heimatverbundenheit* (rootedness in the homeland), and *Heimatschutz* (homeland protection).

There are many iterations of the term *Heimat*. For example, every Swiss person’s passport is marked with their *Heimatort* (place of origin), the place where their family is from, passed patrilineally from generation to generation. This is not the place they were born, but the place the family originated from for generations. For festive occasions and performances in Swiss folk traditions, people wear the *Tracht*, the traditional costume of either the *Heimatort* or the canton (state) they currently live in, which shows the importance of the *Heimatort*.

The word *Heimat* is also found in the context of *Heimatschutz*, literally translated as “homeland protection,” which applies most accurately to Germany and Austria.

Heimatschutz comes from a fear of *Überfremdung* (too many foreigners), that foreigners and foreign culture will overtake and obliterate so-called native culture and heritage.

After the end of the First World War, the *Heimatschutz* or *Heimatwehr* was created to aid the territory disputes along the Austrian border (Blickle 2002, 133). In Switzerland, however, the term *Heimatschutz* is mainly associated with the Swiss Heritage Society (heimatschutz.ch), which is concerned with preserving traditional architecture, as well as the *Heimatwerk* (homeland work), which promotes traditional arts and crafts.

One of the first conscious expressions of *Heimat* in Switzerland was the first *Unspunnenfest* in 1805. The *Unspunnenfest* was a “Festival of the Swiss Alp Herders” (“Fest der Schweizerischen Alphirten”) and involved physical contests such as jumping and rock throwing as well as a musical/cultural component with yodeling and alphorn playing. In fact, at the time alphorn playing was a dying art form and was revitalized by this festival. The *Unspunnenfest* was an invented tradition. As one author puts it, “[t]he festival was the outcome of a well-thought-out folkloristic revitalizing concept” (Seiler 1994, 88, my translation) and created a new tradition. First created to celebrate Swiss culture as a reaction to the invasion of the French army, the festival was discontinued in the nineteenth century because of politics between rural and urban areas. At the festival in 1968, Federal Councillor R. Gnägi remarked that the original festival in 1805 was “to remind themselves of their connection to their country and to feel again as a Swiss citizen after a long foreign domination (meaning the French revolution) by playing pastoral

games [referring to the physical contests at the *Unspunnen* Festival]” (Baumann 1976, 227).⁴⁷ The *Unspunnen* festivals were invented to reclaim and recreate cultural customs to foster an ideology of the homeland. After it was revived in 1905, the *Unspunnenfest* has been repeated approximately every twelve years for touristic purposes.

These cycles in which Switzerland examines its identity and looks “back to the roots” are recurring, as is seen in the sentiments exhibited at the Swiss National Exhibition (*Schweizer Landesausstellung*, or “Landi”) in 1939 and Expo .02 in 2002.⁴⁸ *Heimatverbundenheit* and *Heimatideologie* are terms that came out of the “Landi” of 1939.⁴⁹ The Exhibition of 1939 incidentally coincided with the beginning of the Second World War. Because of this, the Swiss felt it necessary to distinguish themselves from their German neighbors, and therefore the terms *Heimatverbundenheit* and *Heimatideologie* came into existence to set apart Swiss culture and identity from that of Germany.

One interviewee, violinist Arnold “Noldi” Alder, spoke of how Switzerland attained a more global presence around the 1930s, and how this resulted in an awareness of and preference for Swiss folk music (over folk music from other countries):

Our Switzerland became known in the world, because of the watchmakers, our originality, and even more importantly, our democracy. We are a worldwide example of a functional democracy. Our democracy does work, we can avoid war. Because of this we became known and we really had advantages as Swiss people

⁴⁷ Original German: “um sich bei den Hirtenspielen an ihre Bodenständigkeit und Verbundenheit zu erinnern und sich nach langer Überfremdung (gemeint ist die frz. Revolution, Verf.) wieder als Schweizer zu fühlen” (Baumann 1976, 227).

⁴⁸ “Stadt Zürich Präsidialdepartement: Die Schweizer Landesausstellung von 1939 in Zürich.” <https://www.stadt-zuerich.ch/prd/de/index/stadtarchiv/aktuell/landi1939.html> (accessed January 30, 2015).

⁴⁹ The National Exhibitions began in the nineteenth century as marketplaces that sold both artisanal and industrial products. The first official National Exhibition was in 1883, followed by 1896, 1914, 1939, 1964, and 2002.

in the whole world, in many places over other Europeans ... People wanted to join in with music, they wanted to say: “we are Swiss, we play our Swiss music and no other. All other music is no longer good in our eyes.” (2012)⁵⁰ Even though this is probably a bit exaggerated on Alder’s part, the 1930s did mark a time of national pride for Switzerland as the nation attempted to distance itself from the politics occurring in Germany.

Heimatideologie, which arose from this World War II-era patriotism, is an earlier version of Swissness. The Swiss ethnomusicologist Max Peter Baumann refers to the term *Heimatideologie* in his book *Musikfolklore und Musikfolklorismus* as “emphasizing the specialness of Switzerland, the love of the homeland, cultivation of undistorted musical customs and the faithful preservation of old practices, stoking emotional defense against foreign influences” (Baumann 1976, 228–229, my translation). *Heimatideologie* is associated with the culture of the rural way of life. It promotes the preservation of culture that is in danger of disappearing. Aspects of culture on the verge of extinction become more valuable because of their rareness. Baumann explains that the sentiment accompanying *Heimatideologie* reacts negatively to influences from the outside—such as jazz and contemporary music, from Baumann’s musical standpoint— which it regards as threats that must be guarded against.

The latest National Exhibition in 2002, called Expo .02, attempted to distance itself from clichés such as cows, chocolate and cheese, and marketed a new, modern,

⁵⁰ Original German: “Unsere Schweiz hat einen Weltamen bekommen, von der Uhrenindustrie, von der Originalität, und noch wichtiger ist die Demokratie. Wir sind ein weltweites Beispiel gewesen für eine Demokratie, wo man meint, sie funktioniert. Und sie funktioniert schon, weil wir Kriege vermeiden können ... Und das hat einen Namen gegeben und darum sind wir angesehene Leute gewesen und wir haben wirklich auf der ganzen Welt als Schweizer Vorteile gehabt, an vielen Orten im Vergleich zu anderen Europäern ... Und mit der Musik wollte man es nachmachen, man wollte sagen: ‘Wir sind Schweizer, wir machen unsere Schweizer Musik und keine andere mehr. Und alles andere ist nicht mehr gut’” (Alder, A. 2012).

young Switzerland in “a celebration of its [Switzerland’s] multicultural society,” as the Expo .02 official website states. Expo .02 focused on rebranding Switzerland with the term *Swissness*. The purpose of rebranding was not only to renew Switzerland’s image internationally; it was also directed toward the youth of Switzerland, to sell the idea of living in their home nation and not emigrating. There is a correlation between the Expo .02 rebranding with the term *Swissness* and an increase in patriotism as well as conservatism among some of Switzerland’s youth.

Heimat, *Heimatideologie*, *Heimatverbundenheit*, and *Heimatschutz* are associated with preserving regional culture and national heritage, with sometimes troubling political histories. And I assert that *Swissness* is the newest version of this type of nationalist impulse to preserve and protect. Reactions to outside influences indicated by the coining of terms such as *Heimatideologie*, *Heimatverbundenheit*, *Heimatschutz*, and *Swissness* mark cycles in which concerns of preservation and the creation of barriers, a demarcation against outside influences, become more important. *Swissness* is the newest iteration of *Heimat*, operating under the auspices of exerting an international presence. However, it is also inherently an inward looking politicized and aestheticized cultural trope with troubling implications of conservatism and exclusivity.

The desire to connect with the past at the root of the *Swissness* phenomenon comes from a sense of nostalgia. Some of this nostalgia is for the rural lifestyle which many Swiss citizens abandoned as a large percentage of the population moved from the country to the city, but part of it is for an imaginary, idealized Switzerland as is seen in the invented traditions of the Unspunnen Festivals mentioned above.

3. Nostalgia and the “salvage paradigm”

Until 1800 we were not influenced much from the outside, the valleys were isolated. Then the tourism came, and we were influenced. Innerrhoden in their way, Ausserrhoden a bit less, it was still a quiet valley. But the towns of Appenzell and Gais had quite a bit of tourism. The tourists came for the spas, you probably heard about the “Molkekuren” (whey cures). (Alder, A. 2012)⁵¹

As can be seen in old postcards, the Appenzell and the Toggenburg were known for their *Luftkurorte* (health spas). Doctors prescribed that their patients in urban areas spend time in these therapeutic towns that could restore health through the clean air and landscape up in the mountains, especially during winter months when many lower-lying cities were covered in fog and higher elevations had more sunshine.⁵² A hotel was built in the town of Weissbad, next to thermal springs, in the early nineteenth century.



Figure 10. Postcard advertising the *Luftkurort* (health spa) in Walzenhausen, AR

⁵¹ Original German: “Bis 1800 sind wir sehr wenig beeinflusst gewesen von aussen, sind die Täler wie verlassen gewesen. Und dann ist der Tourismus gekommen, und dann sind wir beeinflusst worden. Innerrhoden auf seine Art, Ausserrhoden weniger—das ist ein ruhiges Tal gewesen. Aber Appenzell und Gais haben schon viel Tourismus gehabt. Die Touristen kamen für die Kur. Du hast sehr wahrscheinlich gelesen über die ‘Molkekuren’”(Alder, A. 2012).

⁵² The mountainous landscape is an important characteristic of Switzerland. As one author puts it, mountains are “the psychological center of Swiss cultural identity” (Weiss, quoted in Rice, Porter, and Goertzen 2000, 2). In fact, three-fifths of Switzerland is an Alpine region and is sparsely inhabited.

Other towns such as Gais, Gontenbad, and Walzenhausen, as well as the towns in the upper Toggenburg, also attracted visitors from outside the region. Roger Meier, director of *Toggenburg Tourismus*, described it to me:

In the beginning of the twentieth century we were a destination to cure lung disease. We specialized in health tourism, specifically healing those with tuberculosis. That means that many destinations or hotels were originally sanatoriums, with big balconies and flat roofs, at a time when there was no other medication but fresh air and sun. (2013)⁵³

Urban inhabitants longed for time in the mountain towns. My mother, who grew up in Zurich in the 1950s, generally spent an extra week during the winter holiday up in the mountains with her family, since my uncle had asthma and was prescribed to spend more time away at higher elevation, above the level of the fog. The Appenzell and the Toggenburg were and still are known for their *Naturheiler* (nature healers) who used plants and herbs from the mountainsides to cure peoples' ills. Thermal baths were built in Jakobsbad, Gontenbad, Weissbad, and Unterrechstien, among other places. Because urban inhabitants were spending time in the Appenzell and the Toggenburg for health reasons in the early nineteenth century, this initiated the beginnings of cultural tourism to the region. Development of *Streichmusik* was promoted through the beginnings of cultural tourism in the Appenzell. *Streichmusik*, for instance, was played at the hotel in Weissbad on a weekly basis. Most of the tourism to the Appenzell was and still is domestic, not international, meaning an intra-Swiss tourism.

⁵³ Original German: "Im frühen Anfang des 20. Jahrhunderts waren wir ein Lungenkurort. Der Tourismus kam durch den Gesundheitsbereich, vor allem Tuberkulosekranke hat man geheilt. Das heisst viele Destinationen, oder die Hotels, sind ursprünglich Sanatorien gewesen, mit grossen Balkonen, mit Flachdächern, da man zu dem Zeitpunkt kein anderes Medikament gehabt hat als frische Luft und Sonne" (Meier 2013).

As this region has historically been known among the Swiss for its restorative and healing powers, it is represented as a restorative nostalgic trope. Nostalgia is part of the marketing power of Swissness; Swissness conjures up a reimagined, past Switzerland. In her book *Staging Tourism* (1999), sociologist Jane Desmond finds that “[t]he social, political, and economic histories which brought performers and spectators together in the same space are either entirely absent, re-presented as nostalgia, or recorded as cultural or natural conservation” (xvi). I posit that *Streichmusik*, and the region of the Appenzell and the Toggenburg, offer a restorative platform for Switzerland created by nostalgia.

Nostalgia, a longing for homeland (*Heimat*) and a perfect past was a pseudo-Greek term coined by Johannes Hofer (1669-1752), a Swiss medical student, in his dissertation to describe Swiss mercenaries living in France and Prussia in the seventeenth century (Boym 2001, 3). Describing the *Heimweh* (homesickness) of the Swiss mercenaries, nostalgia was called the “Swiss disease” (Ibid.15), or *maladie suisse*, in French (“Maladie Suisse” 2009). Harvard professor of comparative literature Svetlana Boym distinguishes between two kinds or tendencies of nostalgia—restorative and reflective. Reflective nostalgia emphasizes the *-algia* (Boym 2001, 41) and refers to a personal longing. Restorative nostalgia highlights the *nostos-* and is more public, referring to the collective lost home, and “characterizes national and nationalist revivals all over the world, which engage in the antimodern myth-making of history by means of a return to national symbols and myths” (Ibid. 41). Thus conceived, restorative nostalgia has the capability to create cultural change.

One recurring viewpoint on nostalgia in academic writing is what sociologist Jane Desmond calls a “salvage paradigm” (1999, 254), a restorative trope, where cultures and nature that are in danger of vanishing are in need of saving. The “salvage paradigm” “is a liberal attitude with potentially conservative outcomes” (Ibid. 254). Desmond finds that “[w]hile seeming to celebrate cultural difference or the natural world, this paradigm dehistoricizes certain people, practices, geographic regions, and their animal inhabitants, setting them up as avatars of unchanging innocence and authenticity, as original and ideal” (1999, 254). The Appenzell and the Toggenburg are regions of Switzerland that still practice many old agriculturally based customs, making these areas candidates to be avatars, as Desmond calls them.⁵⁴

Other scholars besides Desmond address the trope of “salvage paradigms” in other instances and cultures. Sociologist John Frow refers to “nostalgia for a lost authenticity” (1991, 135) in his semiotic approach. Anthropologist Marilyn Ivy uses the term “nostalgia for origins” (1995, 42) and invokes the idea of longing for the cultures living on the edge of vanishing in her book *Discourses of the Vanishing* about Japan: “Dominant ideologies in Japan still depend on a politics of nostalgia suitable for an advanced capitalist polity: a nostalgia for a Japan that is kept on the verge of vanishing, stable yet endangered and thus open for commodifiable desire” (Ibid. 65). Ivy argues that cultures that are in seeming danger of vanishing are seen as worth preserving and therefore marketable—the thought of losing a culture makes it more important to preserve, and

⁵⁴ Swissness involves embracing the customs of the area. There is subsidy and promotion of the local customs surrounding dairy farming by the government, even though the number of people employed in the agricultural sector is declining. However, the ideology of the rural, farming community is clearly marketable, as evidenced in the case of the Appenzell.

scarcity creates value. Eyal Ben-Ari, in a book review of *Discourses of the Vanishing*, finds that Ivy's "general thesis is that Japan's preoccupation with marginal cultural sites—narratives, places, and performances—is the result of the social dislocations and personal anxieties that its modernity has created" (1996, 273). Similarly, the Appenzell and the Toggenburg are "marginal cultural sites" that have been decontextualized on both a local and a national level. The cultural products of this region are marketed and sold as an imagined heritage, as I will show in chapter 4. Anthropologist Esra Özyürek focuses on the temporal aspects of nostalgia in *Nostalgia for the Modern: State Secularism and Everyday Politics in Turkey*, she argues that people are looking "for their utopias in the past rather than in the future" (2006, 9). Özyürek finds that looking back to the past propels revivals, with nostalgia as the agent.

Restorative nostalgia on a national level, I contend, contributes to the idea that the Appenzell is a miniature version of the Switzerland that once was. The Swiss imagine the people of the Appenzell to live a traditional way of life more connected to the land, as journalist Lisa Tralci writes in the September issue of the *Appenzeller Magazin*:

Country or the rural is "in." That is what the publishers of all the new magazines believe. They are over-flooding the market in the name of this trend. The magazines are reacting to a vague longing for the indigenous life, connected with nature. And even further, they are reacting to a seemingly lost security, perhaps a lack of confidence that society's development is moving in a positive direction. These articles are mostly targeting an urban public and summon an unusual nostalgia (2011, 7).⁵⁵

⁵⁵ Original German: "Das Land oder das Ländliche sind in. Daran scheinen mindestens die Herausgeber all jener neuen Zeitschriften zu glauben, die im Namen dieses Trends den Zeitschriftenmarkt überfluten. Die Hefte reagieren auf eine vage Sehnsucht nach bodenständigem, naturverbundenem Leben und darüber hinaus auf eine scheinbar verlorene Sicherheit, vielleicht auf ein mangelndes Vertrauen in einen positiven Vorgang der gesellschaftlichen Entwicklungen. Die Postillen richten sich mehrheitlich an ein landfernes Publikum und beschwören eine seltsame Nostalgie" (Tralci 2011, 7).

Swissness espouses nostalgia invoked by acclaiming a rural utopia. Social anthropologist Mark Johnson finds that there are “nostalgic longings for a future past where we might recapture something of the more embedded and less alienated lives of our pre-modern forbears” (2010, 199). The Appenzellerland, as the Appenzell is often called, is one of the symbols or signs of a simpler, pastoral past. As Tralci states, there is a trend in Switzerland to embrace the rural way of life and as an extension, the customs surrounding it.

The sense of restorative nostalgia may partially have to do with the fact that Appenzell Innerrhoden is one of two places in Switzerland that still practices direct democracy. The direct democracy practiced in Appenzell Innerrhoden whereby all the citizens meet in the town square and vote by raising hands (as was historically the practice throughout Switzerland) is symbolically appealing as Switzerland strives to keep its specialness in the midst of the European Union. In other words, the Appenzell and *Streichmusik* symbolize an earlier time of geopolitical sovereignty. For many Swiss, whose cantons (states) no longer engage in this type of direct democracy, the life represented by the Appenzell invokes an earlier time, and as I have shown above, the marketing strategies of the Appenzell capitalize on this specialness.

If the Appenzell and its culture represent an idealized, past Switzerland, then the reactions to outsiders and women need to be considered. Appenzell Innerrhoden was the last canton to give women the right to vote in 1991. Until then, the women were only allowed within a certain distance of the voting procedure in the town square. All the men gathered, many bringing their family daggers and swords, emblazoned with the family

coat of arms. The men would stand in the town square and raise their hands for or against voting measures in what is called the *Landsgemeinde*.⁵⁶ Women are now allowed to attend the *Landsgemeinde* and vote only after a federal court ruling forced the canton to do so. The fact that women are permitted to go to the *Landsgemeinde* to vote on the town square is still a controversial subject that surfaced in my interviews and speaks to a conservative attitude toward women strongly held by the older men. Restorative nostalgia creates a regressive ideology through the idea that older traditions are better, and while forming a national identity, it also creates an exclusionary attitude towards outsiders. As I discussed in chapter 1, the cultural and religious landscape of Switzerland has begun to change recently, and this is perhaps why there is such a strong desire to protect Swiss identity.

Swissness, the new image of Switzerland, represents the layers of complexity in this small nation, and *Streichmusik* is one of the visual and sonic representations of Swissness, or, what ethnomusicologist Daniel Sharp calls a “sonic postcard” (Sharp 2014, x). In this section, I have examined the restorative nostalgia at the root of the Appenzell and the Toggenburg’s geographic and cultural embodiment of Swissness. One example I have shown is the role of the traditional costume, the *Tracht*, as a visual representation of Swissness. It is evident that restorative nostalgia, characterized by the popular slogan

⁵⁶ The *Landsgemeinde* are the forums where the Swiss gather to make political decisions. The *Landsgemeinde* has two possible origins. One is the “Germanic public assembly,” which was “attended by free men carrying their swords” (Thürer 1971, 30). The other possible origin of the *Landsgemeinde* is the *Alemanni* (original Germanic tribe that inhabited Switzerland) way of settling economic matters, in which private farmers debate common and public property. Currently, the *Landsgemeinde* are still held in the cantons of Appenzell and Glarus. The people (originally just the men) gather once a year in a central location; they raise hands to take an oath, and then anyone from the community can submit a proposal. The community elects the *Landammann* as the person in charge who will facilitate the gathering.

“back to the roots” movement, is part of what propels the *Streichmusik* revival, since *Streichmusik* represents Swissness that is at the heart of this movement, sonically recalling this region and the Swissness of the nation as well.

4. “Back to the roots,” revival and the “*Hackbrett* boom”

In March 2011, *Quartett Laseyer*, a group known for playing traditionally but also for incorporating music and playing styles from all over the world, performed in a concert in the Engadin, Switzerland, entitled “Back to the Roots.” This was not the first concert of its kind but is part of a larger “back to the roots” movement. In fact, the phrase “back to the roots” is one that surfaced repeatedly in my interviews. I will now focus on this term of the “roots” to explore how this discourse of “back to the roots” in the revivalist movement of *Streichmusik* might be connected with a nostalgic desire to recreate or reinvent the past.



Figure 11. *Quartett Laseyer* performing in a concert entitled “Back to the Roots”

The *Hackbrett* (hammered dulcimer) is the instrument that typifies *Streichmusik* and sets it apart from other Swiss folk music. Currently the *Hackbrett* is by far the most popular *Streichmusik* instrument studied by children, and this has to do with what is called the “*Hackbrett* boom.” There are many motivations for the revival and the “*Hackbrett* boom” in the last few decades. Many interviewees associate the “*Hackbrett* boom” with the media and specifically with increased *Hackbrett* performances on television. This mediatized visibility began with *Hackbrett* performers such as Tobi Töbler, Walter Alder, and Ruedi Bischoff and continued with Roman Rutishauser (who was known for his theatrical performances involved dancers and light shows in the 1980s). Peter Roth, the individual responsible for reviving *Streichmusik* in the Toggenburg in the 1960s, talks of waves of interest that are sparked by individuals:

Assuredly it always has to do with individuals. When it started here [in the Toggenburg] it had to do with me that children saw and heard me play *Hackbrett* and thought that they wanted to try it too. Now I think it is Nicolas Senn. There are recurring “Booms” that are like waves. The traditional way of playing with your grandfather or with friends that one grew up with is like the basis. In addition there are fashionably regulated waves. (2012)⁵⁷

What is significant about Roth’s quote is that he mentions a basis for *Hackbrett* performance, and traditional music in general, that exists separately from what is popular at the moment. Many of my interviewees felt that Nicolas Senn brought visibility to the *Hackbrett* with his many television performances. Senn, a child prodigy, has often

⁵⁷ Original German: “Sicher sind es immer Personen, glaube ich. Wo es hier angefangen hat, hat es viel mit meiner Person zu tun gehabt, dass Kinder dachten, der spielt Hackbrett oder das gesehen haben oder das gehört haben und dann gefunden haben, das möchte ich auch. Jetzt glaube ich ist es Nicolas Senn. Es hat immer wieder so wie Booms ausgelöst. Das löst dann wie so Wellen aus. Also, das traditionell spielen, weil der Vater oder Grossvater [gespielt haben] oder vielleicht Zusammenhang mit Kollegen, mit denen man aufgewachsen ist, das ist so wie den Bodensatz. Darauf gibt es dann so Wellen, die so modisch bedingt sind” (Roth 2012).

performed on television in the last fifteen years. However, I believe that there are more identity-driven, deep-rooted reasons for the “*Hackbrett boom*,” fueled by restorative nostalgia. It is a nostalgia for a time when it was self-evident that there was a strong traditional basis of learning from relatives and friends.

Several interviewees referred to a “back to the roots” movement as the motivation for the *Streichmusik* revival. Barbara Giger, bassist for *Quartet Laseyer*, finds that “*Streichmusik* is really experiencing a ‘boom’ in many categories—in classical areas, but also with the children and the youth who really want to play and think it is cool” (2012).⁵⁸ One interviewee explained to me that going “back to the roots” was a reaction to the increased immigration of outsiders to the Appenzell and to globalization (Kölbener 2012). As this interviewee, violinist Albert Kölbener, described it: “I think many people are afraid of the outcome of globalization ... so you look back, what do we have, what is typical for us?” (2012).

This emphasis on locality, as Kölbener put it, also has political ramifications. For instance, many young people, especially in rural areas, are now voting for the Swiss People’s Party, the most right-wing of the Swiss political parties (see chapter 1 for more details on the Swiss People’s Party). Kölbener’s thoughts about globalization are echoed in ethnomusicologist Philip Bohlman’s ideas: “The removal of national borders in the New Europe, musical no less than political, has by no means erased nationalism. The absence of borders may instead heighten anxiety—about allowing those outside the

⁵⁸ Original German: “Die Streichmusik erlebt einen wirklichen Boom in verschiedensten Bereichen—auch im klassischen Bereich, aber eben auch bei den Kindern, bei den Jugendlichen, die wirklich das machen wollen, und das ist ‘lässig’” (Giger 2012).

nation unencumbered entrance into it, about sounding like the rest of Europe” (2011, xviii). Thus, the revival and “back to the roots” movement can be seen as a political move to preserve the culture and way of life as it has been historically.

Social anthropologist Sharon MacDonald articulates a similar viewpoint in *Inside European Identities* (1997): “it might seem that as borders become weaker—as people and goods traverse them more easily—there will be a consequent relaxing of the sense of allegiance to place and people, very often the reverse is actually the case. Notions of ‘us’ and ‘them’ become stronger still” (1). MacDonald indicates that the more the world around them changes, the more people hold on to their identities. Swiss ethnomusicologist Max Peter Baumann asserts that looking to the past for a national heritage can be a “vehicle for forming national identities by drawing the borderlines against the foreign” (1996, 77). Kölbener echoed this theory when I asked him about the recent surge in popularity of the *Hackbrett*. Kölbener hypothesized that in a world where everything is easily accessible because of globalization and increased immigration to the Appenzell, the local community is trying to exert its identity in what he called a “back to the roots” movement. Other authors have tied the concept of revivals with that of being “ethnic symbols” (John Edwards in MacDonald 1997, 8). In other words, revivals happen because ethnicity is being showcased in an effort to establish identity.

Looking at what happened with *Hackbrett* in the last forty years seems to offer some insight into the events that led to the “*Hackbrett* boom.” When Appenzeller historian Hans Hürlemann and photographer Amelia Margo’s book *Brummbass, Geige, Hackbrett* was published in 1984, the Appenzeller youth were distancing themselves from

the practice of *Streichmusik*. According to Hürlemann, the students he interviewed were only interested in the popular music of the “Hitparade,” the Swiss pop music charts. This has changed greatly over the last several decades. In the “Gastkommentar” column of the Swiss folk music journal *Alpenrosen* of July/August 2011, Nicolas Senn, *Hackbrett* virtuoso, writes about the “*Hackbrett* boom.”

Senn is arguably the most famous *Hackbrett* player in Switzerland as well as the moderator of the folk music TV show *Potzmusig*. He mentions that he often gets asked about the “boom” and the visibility of the *Hackbrett*. The *Hackbrett* gained visibility among many young people in Switzerland recently, first with the collaboration of *Alder Streichmusik*, and then when Nicolas Senn toured with the rapper Bligg from 2007 to 2009. However, Senn gives credit to an older generation of *Hackbrett* players such as Tobi Töbler, Walter Alder, and Ruedi Bischoff, who in the 1970s were laying the foundation for the instrument’s current surge in visibility and popularity. Their performances—particularly those on television—brought increased visibility to the *Hackbrett*. Tobi Töbler incorporated the *Hackbrett* in jazz, and Walter Alder played the traditional repertoire as well as music from other parts of the world with his brothers in the *Alderbuebe*. Senn states that these few pioneers increased the visibility of the *Hackbrett* in the 1970s and 1980s, when *Volksmusik* was off the radar of the general Swiss population. Albert Graf, *Hackbrett* player for *Quartett Laseyer*, was one of the individuals who saw a *Hackbrett* performance on television and so was inspired to learn to play (Graf 2012). Graf is now one of the main *Hackbrett* teachers, with over forty students, and is also director of the *Volksmusik* school in Appenzell Innerrhoden.

Streichmusik experienced a decline in popularity in the mid twentieth century with the introduction of jazz and pop music. By 1980 there were only two *Streichmusik* performers remaining in Appenzell Innerrhoden. One of these last two performers was “Hornsepp” (Josef Dobler), who created ensembles out of his family members (and a few others) to create the *Buebestriichmusik* (the boy *Streichmusik* ensemble) and the *Meedlestriichmusik* (the girl *Streichmusik* ensemble), in order to keep the *Streichmusik* tradition alive in Appenzell Innerrhoden. Through community efforts, and especially through the initiative of the entrepreneurial owner of restaurant *Loosmühle* in Weissbad, free instrument lessons on violin and *Hackbrett* were offered through an organization called *Pro Innerrhoden*. Among the teachers were Jakob, Noldi and Walter Alder—all performers from Appenzell Ausserrhoden. Noldi Alder (2012) told me how he immediately had thirty-five students from Innerrhoden in 1981. Because of the arrangement of free lessons in the early 1980s, many of the *Streichmusik* performers active today learned *Streichmusik*, including Albert Graf, Martin Dobler, and Joseph Rempfler among many others.

The free lessons also prompted the founding in the 1980s of music schools specializing in folk music (of which Noldi Alder was also part) in the Appenzell through the initiative of *Volksmusik* teachers and students. There are now several folk music schools in Ausserrhoden, Herisau, Altstätten, and the town of Appenzell, and one in the Rheintal. That so many young students are learning folk music has brought income to the area and pride to this community of musicians. These schools are thriving today, and among the principal *Hackbrett* teachers of the area, Walter Alder, Albert Graf, Roland

Küng, and Matthias Weidmann, there are at least one hundred and fifty *Hackbrett* students. Currently there are about fifty performing ensembles of Appenzeller *Volksmusik*, many of them with young musicians, because there is such a high demand for this music at restaurants and cultural events.

The preservationist efforts are done institutionally as well. There has been a move to promote traditional music projects through the newly amended *Kultur Gesetz* (Culture Law), a national law designed to preserve the national heritage. This law supports cultural heritage and a strengthening of regional customs through government funding. Köbi Freund, *Hackbrett* player for *Streichmusik Alder* and former National Council member as well as former president of the Verband Schweizer Volksmusik (Organization of Swiss Folk Music, or VSV), finds that “folk culture is very important in Switzerland, increasingly so” (2013). Freund advocated for the amendment to the *Kultur Gesetz* that requires organizations like Pro Helvetia (an organization that provides grant money for cultural events) to fund traditional music projects. Until four years ago, Pro Helvetia was funding contemporary/experimental projects but not the traditional ones. Freund also lobbied for a member of the folk music scene to be one of the members on the grant committee for Pro Helvetia. In my interview with Freund, he mentioned that it became clear that traditional music can also benefit from such funding, especially for bigger projects. Now Pro Helvetia is required to have a representative from the folk music field on its panel that chooses how the organization spends its money every year, validating folk music. Pro Helvetia’s new stance on folk music is another example of the effects of restorative nostalgia and Swissness.

Conclusion

Switzerland has historically been an insular nation. The fact that borders are increasingly more open across the European Union is putting pressure on Switzerland to confront its isolationism. Even though Switzerland has not joined the European Union, the bilateral agreements that Switzerland has made with the European Union have created more openness to the rest of the world. I argue that the term “Swissness” emerged in the 1990s as a reiteration of older sentiments such as *Heimatideologie* (ideology of the homeland), *Heimatverbundenheit* (rootedness in the homeland), which were formed at the opening of World War II. Swissness marks a new cycle of questions of nationhood in juxtaposition to the outside, in this case the global economy and politics.

In part a reaction to the increasing mobility of people, Swissness aims to preserve what quintessentially represents the nation. The “*Hackbrett* boom” and the *Streichmusik* revival are a celebration of regional culture in a time when locality is a valued commodity. Baumann finds that “celebrating regionalism must be understood as compensation for the complexity of the modern world” (1996, 79). The Appenzell and the Toggenburg is a region where the local culture has always been cultivated, but recently its culture has been celebrated on a grander scale, with more sponsoring and a wider audience, as I will describe in greater detail in chapter 4. This increased visibility—through the collaboration with Swiss rapper Bligg, for instance—has created a tension between Svetlana Boym’s restorative nostalgia (*The Future of Nostalgia*, 2001) and openness to commodification.

Streichmusik has come to represent Swissness in the national cultural imagination. The *Hackbrett* boom speaks to trends that are happening on a national level. In the midst of increasing immigration, changing religious and cultural demographics, and pressure to join the European Union, local practices such as *Streichmusik* are employed to highlight Switzerland's "specialness." The restorative nostalgia at play in the *Streichmusik* revival marks a desire to return to the past in a place historically known to restore people's health. This restorative nostalgia is a desire to renew and revive Swissness. In *Die Schweiz als Sonderfall (Switzerland as a Special Case)*, ambassador Paul Widmer (2007) analyzes surveys on the idea of Switzerland as a "special case" that were conducted among Swiss citizens. One of Widmer's findings was that there were two trends: one a trend toward globalization and modernity, and the other a negative reaction to globalization by preserving traditional values (ibid., 36). Widmer also found that these trends augment each other and there is a symbiosis of the modern and the traditional (ibid., 32). The collaboration between rapper Bligg and *Streichmusik Alder*, which I discuss at the beginning of this chapter, exemplifies this new coupling of seemingly contradictory tendencies of embracing the old and the new simultaneously. It is in this search for a redefinition of Swiss nationhood that folk music such as *Streichmusik* has found a new place.

**CHAPTER THREE: THE APPENZELL AND THE TOGGENBURG: DISTINCT
ARTICULATIONS OF *HEIMAT***

On January 28, 2015, I received the first email newsletter from Barbara Betschart, the new director of the ZAV who is also a member of *Brandhölzler Streichmusik* from the Toggenburg. The newsletter provided information of an important change for the ZAV: as of January 1, 2015, it is now called the *Zentrum für Appenzeller and Toggenburger Volksmusik*. In the newsletter, Betschart described that the board of trustees had been discussing this change for some time, especially since historically the geographic area of the *Alpstein* is viewed as an “identical folk and cultural region” (“identischer (Volks-)Kulturraum”).⁵⁹ This marks a shift in perspective in a place where there is constant micro-regional differentiation between the performers of Appenzell Innerrhoden, Appenzell Ausserrhoden and the Toggenburg. This desire to work together is monumental news for this region and its history of tensions. The Appenzell and the Toggenburg are often referred to as the *Alpstein* (alp stone), a geographic term that identifies these particular mountains. Another familiar descriptive phrase for the region is “*Rond um den Säntis*” (all around the *Säntis* mountain). Titles of musical pieces and albums in the *Streichmusik* genre often refer to the mountainous geography of the region. The landscape of the Appenzell and the Toggenburg informs the sense of place. Rootedness (*bodenständig*) is a valued quality that describes the relationship to the land, highlighting rurality. The adjective, *bodenständig* describes the hard-working and citizens in a

⁵⁹ Roothuus-Gonten Newsletter, January, 2015, http://www.roothuus-gonten.ch/cms/index.php/en/?option=com_acymailing&ctrl=archive&task=view&mailid=22&key=203b15b84c11076108f63bd16d40144f&subid=68-e0f7657a6c87a466116f2fcd0d272&tmpl=component.

farming community who are close to the soil. How do the inhabitants of the region imagine this place, their *Heimat*? In this chapter I expand the concept of *Heimat* to examine the imagined sense of place in the Appenzell and the Toggenburg as well as its concrete manifestations. How has a sense of place developed over time in the Appenzell and the Toggenburg? Even though the Appenzell and the Toggenburg are geographically proximate, their contrasting histories and tensions inform their distinct senses of place in each locale and in this chapter I will argue that these different senses of place have an effect on the *Streichmusik*. I will track different strands of history in the Appenzell and the Toggenburg and demonstrate how the social construction of *Heimat* (see chapter 2) contributes to the sense of place and belonging in each area. Investigating the geographical, discursive, and imagined senses of place that are informed by the notion of *Heimat*, I uncover the historically constructed understandings of the Appenzell and the Toggenburg, and the concept of rootedness (*bodenständig*). Looking at the microregional differences between the Appenzell and the Toggenburg will elucidate the conceptualization of *Heimat*, *bodenständig* and Swissness on a national level.

As I have outlined in chapter 2, *Heimat* can be roughly translated as “homeland, home, native region” (Blickle 2002, ix) and is “a modern national myth that carries within itself the ancient myth of paradise” (ibid., 113). *Heimat* is omnipresent in the “mental spatialization in German language and thought—and, thus, of mentally created boundaries and exclusions” (ibid., 11).⁶⁰ *Heimat* is a way of defining place, both real and imagined. There has been a recent shift towards embracing the notion of *Heimat*, as a

⁶⁰ Blickle subsequently clarifies that when he is speaking of “German,” he is referring to all the countries that speak this language—Germany, Austria, and Switzerland.

means to define and redefine locality and the customs associated with it. Equated with an imaginary, idyllic nature (ibid., 125), *Heimat*'s constantly shifting definition takes on new meanings in an increasingly mobile and connected world. Implying a lost innocence, *Heimat* has recently been used in the regressive agenda of localized nationalism in Germany (ibid., ix), and as I have argued in chapter 2, in Switzerland as well. In this chapter I will show how the omnipresent vague notion of *Heimat* is enacted in the Appenzell and the Toggenburg, ultimately creating a new place for this region in the Swiss imagination.

In this chapter, I offer a telescopic view of articulations of place and the reaction to cultural tourism in order to examine how the region has become an avatar of Swissness. Through investigating the differing histories of *Streichmusik* in the Appenzell and the Toggenburg and the related economic pasts, I examine various articulations of place in this region. *Heimat* is redefined, not only to solidify regional cultural identity when organic solidarity has declined, but also to create contrast to the nonnative, the foreign, the outside. The contemporary conception of Swissness re-imagines nationhood while the redefinition of *Heimat* serves as a new interpretation for the specificities of place of the Appenzell and the Toggenburg.

1. Localized Terms: Senses of Belonging to Place

One of my interviewees, Barbara Giger, was expressive about her connection with the notion of *Heimat*. Giger, bassist for the ensemble, *Quartett Laseyer*, grew up outside of Zurich in a family that played Swiss folk music. She met her husband who is from the Appenzell in 1993 at the *Unspunnenfest*, a festival of (invented) folk cultures

that occurs at intervals in Switzerland.⁶¹ They now live on the family farm with their four children in Appenzell Ausserrhoden. Giger discusses the desire to (re)connect with

Heimat:

Being at home or coming home is an age-old necessity of mankind, and also to feel a sense of belonging to an ethnicity. There are few people who are really comfortable as citizens of the world. I believe that somehow everyone has the need to belong to a group, a people, to really feel at home in a country. (Giger 2012)⁶²

Giger's comments reveal an underlying sentiment that she feels is common not only to the Appenzellerland, but throughout Switzerland and on a global level, which is the need for a sense of belonging. She attributes the current importance of this need to processes of globalization:

Because of globalization many people have the need to find their roots and to find a deeper sense of belonging...this is why I feel that many people have become uprooted in our ultra-connected world where, in a short amount of time, you can be anywhere in the world. Everything is global, English is spoken everywhere, and we are all connected with each other. So then people need roots again. (Giger 2012)⁶³

As I described in the previous two chapters, Switzerland has undergone much demographic change in the last years with increased immigration and a changing religious profile. In addition, there has been a migration of population from rural to urban settings in Switzerland. This shift has contributed to a sense of uprootedness that is often

⁶¹ See chapter 2 for more details about the *Unspunnenfest*.

⁶² Original German: "Das daheim sein, das Heimkommen, das ist ein Ur-Bedürfnis des Menschen, und auch zu einer Ethnie zugehörig fühlen. Es gibt wenig Menschen, die Weltbürger sind, und sich dabei wohl fühlen. Ich glaube, irgendwo hat jeder das Bedürfnis sich zu irgendeiner Gruppe, zu einem Volk, zu einem Land wirklich eben zugehörig fühlen" (Giger 2012).

⁶³ Original German: "Die ganze weltpolitische Globalisierungswelle—dass die Leute viel mehr das Bedürfnis bekommen haben nach ein bisschen "Wurzelsuche" und auch tiefer innen eine Zugehörigkeit suchen...dass ich das Gefühl habe, dass die Leute zum Teil ein bisschen wurzellos geworden sind durch die ultravernetzte Welt, in der man in kurzer Zeit auf der ganzen Welt [ist] und alles ist so global und man spricht überall Englisch und alles ist vernetzt miteinander. Und da brauchen die Leute wie wieder einmal einen Boden" (Giger 2012).

attributed to globalization. From the above quote it is evident that identifying with *Heimat* operates in opposition to notions of the rootlessness of globalization and modernity; it is a “countermodern phenomenon” (Blickle 2002, 31). Yet, the concept of *Heimat* is more complex as it is itself part of the conception of modernity of an imagined past. As Peter Blickle states,

Heimat tends to be invoked when German-speaking cultures are expressing their difficulties in adjusting to modern life. . . . It is a longing for a return to a state in which anxieties about reason and the self, essence and appearance, thought and being did not yet exist (Blickle 2002, 27).

Blickle also finds that “*Heimat* is a post traditional reestablishment of an idealized traditional order” (ibid., 32). Alluding to the “specialness” of the Appenzell—that it is a place where folk culture has always been cultivated, Giger points out: “the Appenzellerland is naturally a special region and a special matter—because it [the culture] has always been cultivated and comes across well” (Giger 2012).⁶⁴ Giger refers to the fact that the Appenzell has always consciously practiced their folk culture, at least to some extent. She goes on to talk about emotional ties to a place:

There are people who feel an emotional connection to their *Bürgerort* (Place of Origin), even though they have been living in another place for forty years, and for them this feels right. For me the place here, where my family is, is emotionally more important for me. That is why I feel a stronger connection and desire to wear the [Appenzell] Auserroder *Tracht* (traditional costume) rather than any other *Tracht*. That is the kind of person I am. Yes, I grew up in Zurich, but now I am here, at home here, my family is here, I feel I belong here, this is my *Heimat*, even though I was not always here. I do think it is individual how one perceives it—where you place your roots. (Giger 2012)⁶⁵

⁶⁴ Original German: “Das Appenzellerland ist natürlich eine spezielle Region und eine spezielle Sache— weil mal man es immer gepflegt hat und das ist auch immer gut angekommen” (Giger 2012).

⁶⁵ Original German: “Es gibt Leute, die sich emotional ihrem Bürgerort sehr nahe fühlen, obwohl sie schon vierzig Jahre völlig an einem anderen Ort leben, und dann stimmt das für sie. Für mich ist irgendwie hier, wo meine Familie ist, ist das für mich emotional viel wichtiger. Darum ist es für mich viel naheliegender eine Auserroder Tracht zu tragen als eine andere. Das ist einfach mein Empfinden. Ich bin halt so ein

Giger has a strong emotional investment in her husband's canton—perhaps because of the many calendrical customs associated with this place in contrast to suburban Zurich. Giger is an anomaly as someone who grew up in a suburban area in the 1970s and 80s and became interested in folk music, which was unusual for that time.

There is currently a shift in which folk music is becoming popular in the mainstream, no longer relegated to the fringes. Giger does not attribute the renewed interest in folk culture at a national level in Switzerland to politics; she would prefer to separate *Streichmusik* and political orientation because of the historical connection between conservative politics and folk music. Instead, Giger says the renewed interest in folk culture is “connected with the music, with one's origin, and with emotion” (Giger 2012).⁶⁶ However, it is important to include Giger's liberal political orientation in this discussion. She is the bassist for *Quartett Laseyer*, who label themselves as “innovative yet original,” have liberal political tendencies and are interested in hybridity rather than purity in musical arrangements.⁶⁷

There is an emotional component to the revival of *Streichmusik* and the promotion of the local culture. While the revival can partially be explained by commodification of nostalgia (chapter 2), I posit that the performers (as well as listeners) practice traditions for a sense of belonging, as Giger has expressed. This is perhaps why violinist Noldi

Mensch. Ja, ich bin in Zürich aufgewachsen. Für mich ist es so, ich bin jetzt da und ich bin hier zuhause, und hier ist meine Familie, und hier fühle ich mich zugehörig. Das ist meine Heimat, auch wenn ich nicht immer hier gewesen bin. Ich glaube, es ist schon sehr individuell, wie man das empfindet—wo man seine Wurzeln hat” (Giger 2012).

⁶⁶ Original German: “es hat wirklich mit Musik zu tun, mit Herkunft zu tun, mit Gefühl etwas zu tun” (Giger 2012).

⁶⁷ See chapter 5 for more on the associations between folk music and conservative political orientation.

Alder criticizes the Appenzeller people for not letting go of old, past ideas of how the Appenzell should be: “the people do not know themselves well... They just do not live in the moment... They live in the past” (Alder, A. 2012).⁶⁸ This “living in the past” is a yearning for an imaginary existence—a disconnect from the present reality as a means of exerting cultural validity and belonging.

The subject of cultural validity and strength of a culture was a subject at a conference titled “*Musik und Globalisierung*” (music and globalization), organized by Norient (Swiss network for local and global sounds and media culture) from May 29-31, 2012 at the University of Bern, Switzerland. Swiss ethnomusicologist Dieter Ringli focused his paper on the finding that globalization is strengthening traditions, using examples from folk music but also microbreweries that have multiplied in recent years in Switzerland. As is also seen in the rest of the world, there is a polarization—as mass production increases so does the popularity of small-scale productions, with emphasis on the local. This emphasis on the local, I find, is also exhibited in the world music industry. Along with ethnomusicologist Jocelyne Guilbault, I argue that rather than creating what Alan Lomax calls a cultural grey-out, globalization results in celebration of the local (Guilbault 2006). While Guilbault writes of “industrially developing countries” (ibid., 139), in the developed nation of Switzerland, there is also an emphasis on the local. For example, as I described in chapter 2, the rapper Bligg integrated the music and the image of *Streichmusik Alder* with his rap with enormous popularity and economic success.

Whereas originally the local music was the only option, now, out of all the choices in the

⁶⁸ Original German: “Das Volk kennt sich selber schlecht... Die leben einfach nicht im Moment... Die meisten leben in der Vergangenheit” (Alder, A. 2012).

world, there is a concerted effort to promote the local music, indicating a desire to preserve and protect the local in the face of the global. In the *Streichmusik* case, past performance practice is underscored to reinforce what is considered the local culture.

2. Bodenständig

Bodenständig (rootedness) is a term to describe someone rooted in tradition that is often used by the Swiss to describe the Appenzell and the Toggenburg. Conceptions of rootedness form inward looking processes of identification, I found, as I investigated the term, *bodenständig*. It has achieved increased currency during a time of national anxiety in Switzerland in the last few decades and is used to create a boundary between the native and the foreign. Though difficult to define, *bodenständig* can mean “native, “long-established,” and “rooted in the soil.”⁶⁹ According to another source, *bodeständig* can also mean “down-home” and “down-to-earth.”⁷⁰

I was reminded of the value placed on rootedness when I was on a train trip with my son in the USA in the summer of 2014. We met some Swiss tourists who spoke of *bodenständig* and its association with the Appenzell and the Toggenburg:

Returning yesterday to Boston from NYC on the train, I overheard Swiss-German being spoken in the train compartment across the aisle. It turned out to be a mother, father, and five-year-old daughter from Zurich, Switzerland. My five-year-old son was immediately interested in the other child and so eventually we ended up sitting all together in the same compartment. Evidently, the ensemble *Streichmusik Kaloï* performed at this couple’s wedding, a family ensemble that plays in the “original” formation of two violins, cello, bass, and *Hackbrett*. The father of the family on the train is from the city of St. Gallen, and he spoke of how

⁶⁹ “Google: translate,” *Google*. <https://translate.google.com> accessed June 14, 2014,

⁷⁰ “Leo Wörterbuch.”

http://dict.leo.org/ende/index_de.html#/search=bodenständig&searchLoc=0&resultOrder=basic&multiwordShowSingle=on (accessed December 27, 2014).

he always enjoyed traveling to the Appenzell, because the people there are so real, so *bodenständig*. (Author's fieldwork journal July 29, 2014)

Individuals are highly esteemed who are referred to as being *bodenständig*. One demographic considered to be *bodenständig* are the men who practice *Schwingen*, also known as Swiss wrestling or colloquially as *Hoselupf* (lifting-by-the-pants), referring to the pants with belts worn over regular pants, which are held for throws and holds. *Schwingen* is a national sport of Switzerland, a tradition invented for the first *Unspunnenfest* in 1805. It is a requirement that the men training for *Schwingen* also hold a full-time job, in order for the sport to stay fair and not become professionalized, so “people say, wow, the *Schwinger* train so much and also go to work...he is thus viewed as a person of the people, *bodenständig*,” (Meier 2013).⁷¹ In *Streichmusik* there is also admiration of the *bodenständig* performers who have learned in the family tradition. Therefore, there is resistance to *Streichmusik* performers receiving formal training, because it might remove them from the traditional way of playing and being *bodenständig* that is rooted to local aesthetics. Ensembles such as *Streichmusik Edelweiss*, which consists of self-taught performers, are highly regarded.

While there are definitely parts of the locality of the Appenzellerland and the Toggenburg that are packaged for tourists (chapter 4), Noldi Alder argues that there is also a percentage of the population that “live[s] in the tradition” (Noldi Alder 2012), i.e. they practice their traditions for themselves and not for the “gaze of the tourist.”⁷² These

⁷¹ Original German: “Leute sagen, wow, die Schwinger, die trainieren viel und arbeiten auch noch... er wird als einer aus dem Volk angeschaut, bodenständig” (Meier 2013).

⁷² “Packaging a locality” is a phrase Abram uses in *Tourists and Tourism: Identifying with People and Places* (Abram et al 1997) and evokes ideas of branding or rebranding.

people have expectations of what the tradition consists of, Alder finds. They expect the music to be performed in certain ways and the performers to visually present themselves wearing the *Tracht*, the traditional costume. In a similar vein, to go back to sociologist Jane Desmond's phrase of "a simpler, more authentic life" (1999, xvi), Noldi Alder finds that there are people living in the Appenzell who are actually living this imagined simpler and authentic life conceived by Desmond. In other words, these are the people who are *bodenständig*. However, this "simpler, more authentic life" is also packaged, promoted, performed, and eventually reinvented. Certain individuals and practices become signs for the region when they are viewed as *bodenständig*, as examples of expression of *Heimat*.

Jakob Düsel is an example of an individual who is considered *bodenständig* by the Appenzeller community and more broadly at the national level. Violinist for *Streichmusik Edelweiss*, he is posed on the cover of the book, *Volksmusik in der Schweiz* (Folk Music in Switzerland). It is significant that of all different folk musicians and types of folk music, the author chose a musician from the Appenzell, and more specifically, Jakob Düsel as the representative of Swiss folk music and a sign of the region. Düsel comes from a long lineage of dairy farmers who farm in a traditional way, without machinery. When I called Düsel to set up an interview, he was out in the fields and his

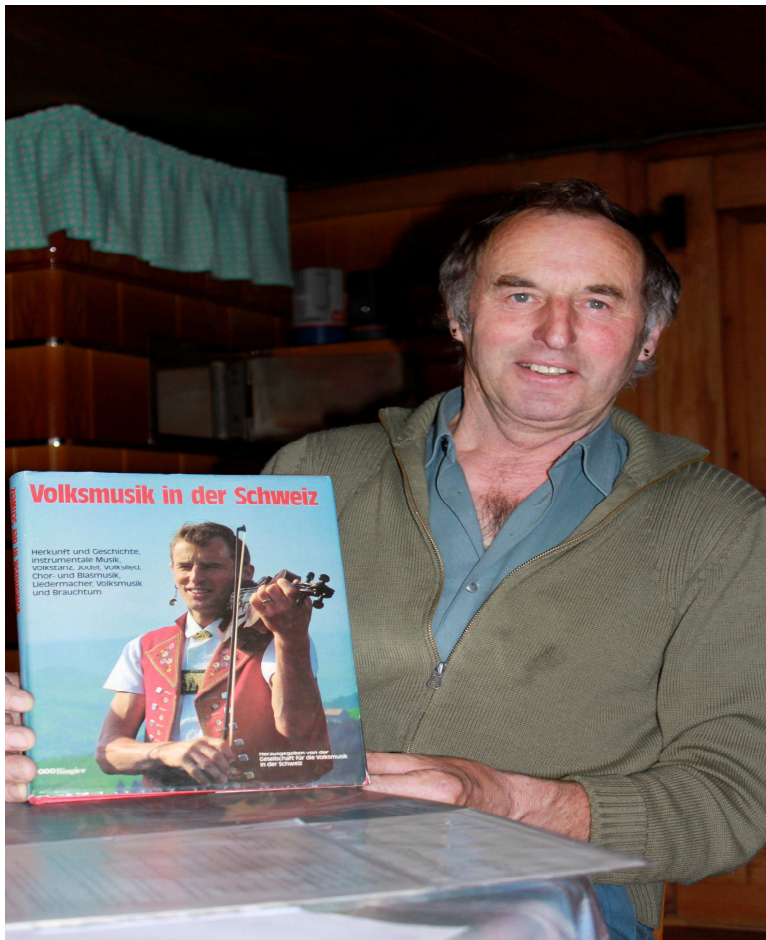


Figure 12. Jakob Düsel holding *Volksmusik in der Schweiz* (Photograph by Andrea Douglass)

wife answered the phone. As I spoke to Mrs. Düsel, she described to me how they run their farm. Other farms may have changed to more industrial methods, but the Düsels still do everything by hand. Mrs. Düsel even told me that she does more of the work that is hard on the hands in order to save her husband’s hands for playing violin.

This sense of pride in practicing traditions “the old way” is prevalent in the Appenzell and the Toggenburg. Violinist Jakob Knaus, for instance, comes from a farming family in the Toggenburg that has made cheese for twenty generations. Knaus still makes cheese in the same way as many centuries ago. Düsel and Knaus exemplify

what Noldi Alder means to “live in the tradition” (Noldi Alder 2012). There is a sense of pride of being *bodenständig*, rooted in the tradition, but it is also taken for granted, as there is the assumption that things should be done as they have always been done in their *Heimat*.

An embodied version of *bodenständig* is the *Orts-* or *Flurnamen* (place name).⁷³ Most Appenzeller people have an *Orts-* or *Flurnamen* with which they are commonly associated. Historical accounts of *Streichmusik* include the *Ortsnamen* of the musicians. Currently, Appenzeller musicians refer to each other by these nicknames. However, I have not heard the Toggenburger use them. The website, Ortsnamen.ch: *Das Portal der schweizerischen Ortsnamenforschung* (the portal of Swiss name/place research) provides an inventory of these names. These geographically tied nicknames are still often used in place of the given name since the *Ortsnamen* are more easily distinguishable than the many common names. For example, the accordion player, Franz “Baazli” Manser is almost exclusively referred to as “Baazli” by other Appenzeller musicians. “Baazli” refers to the section of land where Franz Manser’s family historically lived. In this way, identities are historically and physically bound to the geography. *Orts-* or *Flurnamen* are an example of the geographical boundedness of the region; they highlight the valuing of rootedness to place while also paying homage to the history of the relationship between the inhabitants and the landscape. The *Ortsnamen* are a tangible intermediary between an imagined *Heimat* and a rooted place.

⁷³ *Flur* is a German word that does not translate directly into English. *Flur* can refer to a geographically bounded place such as a meadow, field, or pasture.

In the *Appenzeller Magazin* (Appenzeller magazine) issue titled “Heimat Appenzellerland,” editor Christine König writes that through her experiences documenting the customs such as *Alpfahrt* (bringing the cattle to and from the alp) and *Alpstobete* (alpine festivals that occur in the summer) of the Appenzell, she has realized that practicing these customs is not a “show,” as she puts it, but an expression of *Heimatverbundenheit* (connection to the homeland) (König 2012, 1). In other words, König argues that the local customs do not exemplify a “staged authenticity” (MacCannell 1996), but actually live a life rooted in tradition and connected to *Heimat*.⁷⁴ I contend that some of the local customs are for “show,” but there are many customs that are part of the lived traditions of the Appenzell and the Toggenburg. The *Alpfahrt*, for instance, has the practical function of bringing the cattle to higher pastures to graze for the summer months. The customs that are not for “show” indicate that these are the “lived spaces,” the particularities and individualities, according to philosopher and sociologist Henri Lefebvre (Lefebvre 1991). Living a life that is *bodenständig* by practicing the particular customs of the region and perhaps farming the land, the Appenzeller and Toggenburger people activate a sense of place and belonging.

Josef Rempfler, leader and violinist of the group, *Appenzeller Echo*, emphasized his notion of authenticity to denote his rootedness (*bodenständig*) and his alliance with *Heimat*, because he grew up and “lives in the tradition.” He spoke about how he ultimately chose to play with his brother, after having found it difficult to perform with professional musicians from outside the *Streichmusik* tradition and the Appenzell.

⁷⁴ See chapters 1 and 5 for more on “staged authenticity.”

Rempfler talked about his experience of playing with a group called "Rondo Appenzell," which consisted of professional musicians from outside the Appenzell, all except Rempfler who is from the Appenzell. However, Rempfler does not consider himself a professional musician. Rempfler spoke about the importance of being from the Appenzellerland and the authenticity implicit therein:

I am authentic, that is just the way I am. The others were also wearing the *Tracht* (traditional costume). But me, because of the way I am—the way I played the violin or told jokes...they could do what they wanted but nothing worked in their favor as long as we performed as “Rondo Appenzell.” If we had been called “Rondo Classico” or something like that, then I would not have had the advantage of being authentic. But the people would come to performances and think: ‘aha, Appenzell—“Rondo Appenzell”—there must be an Appenzeller in the ensemble. So, for sure I will be entertained, and perhaps I will hear *Streichmusik*.’ (Rempfler 2012)⁷⁵

Rempfler emphasized that his authenticity comes from the way he performs, either on the violin or the typical Appenzeller jokes that he tells between sets.⁷⁶ Appropriate stage presence is an important aspect of Rempfler’s conception of authenticity as he enacts his *Heimat*, an exemplary rooted (*bodenständig*) individual. Rempfler, growing up in a large farming family that fostered music (especially singing) as part of everyday life, seemed confident in his authenticity and therefore his marketability as a performer.⁷⁷ When I asked if audiences had expectations, Rempfler had this response:

⁷⁵ Original German: “Ich bin echt, so bin ich halt. Die anderen haben auch die *Tracht* angehabt. Aber weil ich so bin—die Geige gespielt oder dass ich einen Witz erzählt habe... haben sie tun können, was sie wollen. Das hat nichts genützt, solange dass wir im “Rondo Appenzell” aufgetreten sind. Sobald es irgendwie “Rondo Classico” würde heissen, dann hätte ich keine “Birnen” mehr gehabt, oder? Aber so sind die Leute gekommen und haben gedacht: ‘aha Appenzell, “Rondo Appenzell,” ja da hat es sicher einen Appenzeller dabei, da wird es sicher lustig, und da hören wir vielleicht Streichmusik” (Rempfler 2012).

⁷⁶ It is common practice for Appenzeller musicians to tell jokes in between performing sets of music. These jokes play into the stereotype that the Appenzeller people are of a jovial nature.

⁷⁷ Many interviewees and other individuals in the community indicated that *Appenzeller Echo* was currently the most popular ensemble among the locals. One of the directors of the Center for Folk Music,

Yes, I can satisfy people's expectations because I come from the Appenzell. It did not even have to do with quality. It would be the same if I went to America and go to hear bluegrass, then I want to hear Bluegrass, not Brazilian music or Appenzeller music. (Rempfler 2012)⁷⁸

Rempfler is cognizant that he represents the Appenzell; he is a symbol of the region for those coming from the outside. While he “lives in the tradition,” Rempfler is aware of the semiotics at play, and performs a sense of place accordingly.⁷⁹

As highlighted by the Swiss tourists I met on the train from New York to Boston, the Appenzell and the Toggenburg are seen as a *bodenständig* region. What is valued in this region is hard work connected to the land. There are discrepancies in this construction, however. While there are those who are “living in the tradition,” as Noldi Alder phrases it, the actual number of people working in the agricultural sector has greatly diminished over time. As indicated in the film, *Gelebte Tradition: Brauchtum im Appenzellerland*, from 2004, played at the *Appenzeller Brauchtummuseum* (Museum of Appenzeller Customs) in Urnäsch, only eight percent of the population still works in farming in Appenzell Ausserrhoden, in Appenzell Innerrhoden the percentage is slightly higher. Only a small percent of the population can truly be defined as *bodenständig* in the sense that they work the land. Still, *bodenständig* is a prevalent trope that underscores the values of the inhabitants of the region. However, there are many other narratives of place. This region is made of many particularities and it is useful to think of place as not a

Matthias Weidmann mentioned on several occasions that he found Rempfler’s violin playing to be the current best representation of the style.

⁷⁸ Original German: “Ja, ich habe sie füllen können, weil ich vom Appenzell komme, nicht einmal wegen der Qualität, eigentlich. Das ist gleich, wenn ich nach Amerika gehe und ich höre Bluegrass Musik, dann will ich auch Bluegrass, nicht brasilianische Musik oder Appenzeller Musik” (Rempfler 2012).

⁷⁹ In chapter 5, I will examine in more detail varied situations in which musicians choose to perform what they assume audiences want to hear.

physical enclosure, but rather an articulation of various intersecting forces, both social and historical. In cultural geographer Doreen Massey's (1999) formulation, place is not bounded by geography but rather is articulated in particular moments: "one view of a place is as a particular articulation... a particular moment in those networks of social relations and understandings" (1999, 5). In a process of moving beyond duality, place is dependent on social, political, and economic factors. Massey's formulation aids in examining the past and prevailing definitions of the half cantons of the Appenzell and the Toggenburg region. Expressions of *Heimat* are different from one another in the Appenzell and the Toggenburg. The current distinctions between the Appenzeller and the Toggenburger senses of place can be elucidated by examining the contrasting histories within the *Alpstein* region.

During the nineteenth century and first half of the twentieth century, a weaving industry was widespread in the area surrounding the city of St. Gall. People worked from home, with looms in living rooms and basements. Because the Appenzell, in particular Appenzell Ausserrhoden, was closer to the urban center of St. Gall than the Toggenburg, this area acquired more weaving commissions. Therefore, in this and other industries derived from the urban center the Appenzell has historically been more economically successful than the Toggenburg. Peter Roth, self-proclaimed outsider even though he has lived in the Toggenburg since the 1960s, is concerned by this economic difference:

The Toggenburg has always been poorer than the Appenzellerland. The economic situation is just very different behind the *Säntis* mountain than near the city. The city of St. Gall was very important for the textile industry...it was internationally

renowned. The Toggenburg was too far from St. Gall in a time when communication was more difficult. (Roth 2012)⁸⁰

The Toggenburg has suffered historically because of its distance to St. Gall. Peter Roth suggests that the Toggenburg still struggles because of the historic poverty and the past inability to get enough weaving commissions in the area:

Someone told me recently that up here [in the upper Toggenburg] it looks fairly neglected. You know, there just is no optimism here and in the Appenzell this is totally different. They are proud of their area, which is what is missing here. (Roth 2012)⁸¹

Roth finds that the hardship in the Toggenburg's past still resonates today: "I believe that until today they have not recovered from that. Somehow poverty also creates an identity" (Roth 2012).⁸² Roth then went on to discuss Ulrich Bräker (1735-1798), a self-educated citizen of the Toggenburg who wrote a famous biography, *Das Tagebuch des Armen Mannes im Tockenburg* (Diary of the poor man in the Tockenburg).⁸³ Even though he was self-educated, Bräker was very well-read, including Shakespeare's entire oeuvre. Still, when the Toggenburger people speak about Bräker, they focus on his poverty.

He lived in the eighteenth century and wrote the Diary of the poor man in the Tockenburg (*Das Tagebuch des Armen Mannes im Tockenburg*). This book is the only written evidence from so early on in the Toggenburg. Until the present he is like a national hero here in the Toggenburg. The identification is always with "the poor man in the Toggenburg." I always respond that Bräker was exceptional

⁸⁰ Original German: "Das Toggenburg ist immer viel ärmer gewesen, als das Appenzellerland. Wirtschaftlich da hinter dem Säntis ist einfach eine andere Situation als in der Nähe der Stadt. St. Gallen ist ja für die Textilindustrie ganz wichtig gewesen... das ist international bekannt gewesen. Und das Toggenburg ist wie zu weit weg gewesen zu dieser Zeit, als die Kommunikation so schwierig war" (Roth 2012).

⁸¹ Original German: "Mir hat in letzter Zeit irgendwer gesagt, dass es hier oben ziemlich verwahrlost aussieht. Weisst du, einfach keine Aufbruchstimmung, und das ist im Appenzell total anders. Und sie sind auch stolz darauf, das fehlt hier" (Roth 2012).

⁸² Original German: "Und ich glaube, die haben sich bis heute nicht von dem erholt. Irgendwie schafft Armut auch eine Identität" (Roth 2012).

⁸³ Tockenburg is an old spelling of Toggenburg.

because he [was self taught] and read Shakespeare's complete works, not that he was poor. (Roth 2012)⁸⁴

Roth conjectures that this emphasis on poverty in Bräker's case translates to an overarching sense of impoverishment and therefore inferiority. Roth wonders, "why can the Toggenburger people not find their contributions valuable" (Roth 2012)?⁸⁵ The Toggenburg continues to be less economically successful than the Appenzell. The population of the Toggenburg is aging, with the percentage of individuals age 65 and older being the highest in the Canton of St. Gall (Ebneter et al 2010, 9). After secondary school the young people are leaving the region to find jobs elsewhere. A sense of inadequacy prevails, as it is difficult to be economically successful in the Toggenburg valley. As a consequence, even though the Appenzell and the Toggenburg are proximate and are considered part of the same geographical area, they exhibit vast differences in their self-perceptions and conceptions of place.

3. Regional differences: Appenzell Innerrhoden, Appenzell Ausserrhoden, and Toggenburg

From an economic point of view, the tourist industry in the two half cantons, Appenzell Innerrhoden and Ausserrhoden, as well as the neighboring Toggenburg valley, would benefit from mutual collaboration. However, this is very unlikely to happen as

⁸⁴ Original German: "Er hat im 18. Jahrhundert gelebt und hat das Tagebuch geschrieben, "Das Tagebuch vom Armen Mann im Tockenburg." Das ist das einzige schriftliche Zeugnis, das man so früh im Toggenburg hatte. Er hat das Gesamtwerk von Shakespeare gelesen und ist auch ein Handweber gewesen. Bis heute ist er so ein bisschen ein Nationalheiliger hier oben. Aber das Etikett ist immer 'der arme Mann im Toggenburg.' Mit dem identifiziert man sich. Ich sage immer: 'He, er hat das Gesamtwerk von Shakespeare gelesen, das ist das Besondere gewesen an dem, nicht, dass er arm war'" (Roth 2012).

⁸⁵ Original German: "Wieso können die Toggenburger nicht aus ihrer Haut heraus kommen" (Roth 2012)?

there are old regional differences and frictions among these localities. Roger Meier, director of *Toggenburger Tourism* spoke of the ideological difference:

We should actually use the synergies better, especially with Appenzell Innerrhoden. But here there are two worlds colliding that think very regionally. As someone from the outside, I feel that this world should be opened up and marketed to the outside. Of course there is a long history between these two regions. For outsiders it is difficult to understand that they do not work together. You can look in every country and everywhere there is regional solidarity and traditions that are cultivated, where they do not recognize their similarities with their neighbor even though they are not that different from each other but for the local citizens or natives the tradition of the neighboring region is not quite right and vice versa. Therefore these are difficult frontiers or borders that need to be ideologically broken. (Meier 2013)⁸⁶

Regional differences have been present for a long time.⁸⁷ Divergent ideologies are evident in the differing history of *Streichmusik* in the Appenzell and the Toggenburg and the way it is presented in written accounts. The Toggenburg is almost entirely excluded from written accounts of *Streichmusik* history as there is a perception of worthlessness that is attributed to the Toggenburg by its own inhabitants as well as by the Appenzell.

The Appenzell is able to capitalize on its identification as an imaginary of Swissness,

⁸⁶ Original German: “Eigentlich sollte man die Synergien besser nutzen, speziell mit dem Innerrhodischen. Aber hier treffen zwei Welten aufeinander, die sehr regional denken. Ich, als eher Aussenstehender sage, die Welt müsste geöffnet werden, Marketing nach aussen tragen. Aber das sind natürlich Historien, die dahinter stehen—auch für Aussenstehende ist es schwierig zu begreifen, dass die nicht miteinander nach aussen auftreten. Auch kann man jedes Land anschauen. Es gibt überall so gewisse regionale Verbundenheit oder Traditionen, die gehegt und gepflegt werden, und wo man sich dann nicht widerkennt in den Traditionen des Nachbarn, obwohl die gar nicht so weit weg voneinander sind, aber für die Ur- Ur- Einwohner oder Einheimische ist das eben nicht das richtige, und umgekehrt genau dasselbe. Deshalb sind das schwierige Fronten oder Grenzen, die rein ideell, also gedanklich, aufgebrochen werden müssten” (Meier 2013).

⁸⁷ Former director of the ZAV, Joe Manser spent several years collecting expressions in Innerrhoder dialect through a project with his students while he was a middle school teacher (Manser 2013). The students were asked to interview elderly relatives to find typical Innerrhoder expressions. After several years of this exercise with his students, Manser published a book of these expressions that has been so popular in the area that it has been reprinted five times since its first publication in 2001. To someone from the outside, the differences in speech may seem minute between Innerrhoden, Ausserrhoden and the Toggenburg. However, for the Innerrhoder these differences are monumental and a source of regional pride, as is exemplified by the success and multiple editions of Manser’s publication (as of 2013, the book is in its fifth edition).

whereas the Toggenburg lacks the resources and self-confidence to promote itself. This is also exhibited in the differing ways the *Streichmusik* narrative has developed in the Appenzell and the Toggenburg.



Figure 13. Map of the Toggenburg used with permission from Wikimedia Commons

The history of *Streichmusik* is different in the Appenzell and the Toggenburg. The Toggenburg has a history of practicing *Hausmusik* (“house music”—music practiced in the home) and music played in families: “What we keep on hearing is that no region in Switzerland plays as much music as in the Toggenburg—it happens most often in small settings, really as a family music in one’s own house” (Meier 2013)⁸⁸. My great-uncle Willi Lieberherr (b. 1919) still remembers his family’s *Hausmusik* and its prevalence in the region. The other important sites for *Streichmusik* performances in the Toggenburg

⁸⁸ Original German: “Was wir immer wieder hören ist einfach, dass in fast in keiner Region in der Schweiz so viel musiziert wird wie im Toggenburg—dass das sehr oft auch im kleinen Kreis stattgefunden hat, also wirklich in der Familie, im eigenen Haus” (Meier 2013).

are festivals, some of which are associated with calendrical farming customs such as the *Viehschau* (cattle prize show).

In the Appenzell, *Hausmusik* existed to a small extent—for example, *Streichmusik Alder* rehearsed on the family farm during the winter months, when there was not so much manual labor required on the farm. However, the Appenzeller musicians tour whereas the Toggenburger ensembles do not. The Appenzeller ensembles began touring in urban centers, most notably Zurich, in the 1930s. *Streichmusik Alder* from Appenzell Auser rhoden, for example, has toured internationally since the 1950s, performing across Europe, North and South America, Indonesia, Singapore, Japan, New Zealand, Nigeria, and Abu Dhabi.⁸⁹ That the Appenzeller ensembles travel internationally shows the recognition they have abroad as well as their initiative to create these performance opportunities. The Appenzeller ensembles benefit from being ambassadors of Swissness through their music while the Toggenburger musicians remain unrecognized.

A piece of information that often surfaced in interviews was that the *Streichmusik* in the Toggenburg experienced a brief hiatus. In 1952, the last known *Hackbrett* (hammered dulcimer) player in the Toggenburg, Hannesli Grob, passed away (Roth 1983, 11). Then, in the late 1960s *Streichmusik* was revived in the Toggenburg—some say recreated—mostly through the efforts of one individual, musician/composer/conductor Peter Roth. In contrast, in the Appenzell, *Streichmusik* was played continuously. The group of musicians that revived *Streichmusik* in the Toggenburg in the late 1960s recreated the music through transcribing field recordings from the Toggenburg and

⁸⁹ *Streichmusik Alder* website. *Auftritte* (performances) section. <http://www.streichmusikalder.ch/auftritte.html> (accessed November 20th, 2014).

composing their own pieces based on these recordings. Peter Roth told me that when he arrived in the Toggenburg (with his first teaching assignment in Bühl, Nesslau), that Albert Edelmann, the founder and director of the *Ackerhaus* (museum of local customs) in Ebnat-Kappel, played him field recordings made on a steel thread (precursor to the reel-to-reel) in the 1940s and 50s:

In the *Ackerhaus* in Ebnat-Kappel they had quite some *Streichmusik* notation. They also had Albert Edelmann, the founder of the *Ackerhaus*, and his housekeeper, Ida Bleiker, who did fieldwork by going to the farmers' houses and recording them. The recordings were not on tape but a device that had a thin wire. The recordings made with wire spools were then recorded on tape, but I do not think any of it was digitized. (Roth 2012)^{90 91}

Roth transcribed the pieces from the recordings at the *Ackerhaus* and his ensemble used these recordings as inspiration for their own improvisations and compositions.⁹² Joe Manser, the director of the ZAV at the time, was very interested when I told him of the field recordings that Albert Edelmann played for Peter Roth. Manser was so fascinated that he and I traveled to the *Ackerhaus* in Ebnat-Kappel and for two days searched the museum for any sign of these recordings. We did encounter some old recordings, but none made by Ackermann on steel thread. The *Ackerhaus* was disorganized—it has in fact been closed to the public for the last few years. We did find an inventory that Swiss

⁹⁰ Original German: “Im Ackerhaus in Ebnat-Kappel hat es einerseits Noten, relativ viel Noten, gehabt. Andererseits hat der Albert Edelmann, das ist der Gründer gewesen vom Ackerhaus, und seine Haushälterin, Ida Bleiker, die haben sehr viel Feldforschung gemacht, indem sie zu den Bauern nach Hause gegangen sind und das dann aufgenommen haben. Aber nicht einmal auf Tonband, sondern es ist ein System gewesen vor es das Tonband gab, es ist nur so ein dünnen Draht gewesen. Es hat so Spulen gegeben, mit Draht darauf und ein Teil von denen hat man dann überspielt auf Band, und digitalisiert ist es, glaube ich, noch gar nicht” (Roth 2012).

⁹¹ Edelmann was the director of the *Ackerhaus* in Ebnat-Kappel, Toggenburg. The *Ackerhaus* served both as a museum and a meeting place for rehearsals during Edelmann's lifetime.

⁹² As it was described to me by Peter Roth and violinist of the ensemble at the time, Jakob Knaus, much of the composition process for the ensemble consisted of improvising on ideas from these old recordings and eventually created a collective composition.

ethnomusicologist Brigitte-Bachmann-Geiser made of the contents of the *Ackerhaus*, but it did not mention the field recordings. As Bachmann-Geiser is a friend of Joe Manser's, we contacted her via email. Unfortunately she did not recall seeing any steel thread recordings. This is where the search for these recordings has ended for the time being. I hope to someday continue this search with more success. The fact that Joe Manser and I were not able to find these recordings, strengthened the Appenzeller musicians' argument that the Toggenburg does not have its own *Streichmusik*, because, as of now, there is no proof of the *Streichmusik* in the Toggenburg previous to the 1960s.

Because *Streichmusik* performance was briefly interrupted in the Toggenburg, the Appenzeller musicians contend that the Toggenburg does not have its own *Streichmusik*. It is true that the Toggenburger musicians have adopted much of the repertoire from the Appenzell, but they do have some of their own compositions, old and new. Peter Roth, as part of the board of directors of the ZAV, advocated for the transfer of the archival material from the *Ackerhaus* to the ZAV so that there could be a regional overview. An Appenzeller in a leadership role responded: “well, any ways, you people [the Toggenburger] play Appenzeller folk music' ...and the Toggenburg somehow lacks self-confidence to defend themselves” (Roth 2012).⁹³ Peter Roth advocated for the Toggenburg to become part of the ZAV collection. In 2010, Roth suggested the name, *Zentrum fuer Volksmusik: Appenzell/Toggenburg*, because it is difficult to convince the people in the Toggenburg to donate their music and instruments to the center if it is only called “Appenzeller.” Until recently he has been unsuccessful. The Appenzeller people

⁹³ Original German: “Ja, das was ihr dort oben spielt ist sowieso Appenzeller Volksmusik...Und das Toggenburg ist irgendwie zu wenig selbstbewusst, um sich zu wehren” (Roth 2012).

have been concerned with maintaining their specialness and want to distinguish themselves from the Toggenburg to preserve it. However, as I mentioned in the opening of this chapter, the name of the ZAV was changed to the *Zentrum für Appenzeller and Toggenburger Volksmusik* on January 1, 2015. This marks a new willingness to work together, perhaps creating a more unified front in promoting the specialness of the region, rather than individual areas.

By fostering a musical practice that is purportedly only legitimately performed by the Appenzeller people, the performers assert the specialness and uniqueness of the Appenzellerland. One way in which the Appenzeller people maintain their specialness is through musical terminology that is self-exoticizing. The Toggenburg lacks their own specialized terminology, sometimes using the terms from the Appenzell. The terms, particular to Appenzeller dialect, that were most often used in a musical context were *schläüzig*, *löpfig* and *zick*. The two terms—*schläüzig* and *löpfig*—are used to describe the phrasing of *Streichmusik* pieces, principally referring to the violinists. This was how violinist Arnold “Noldi” Alder explained it: “First of all it is a game... a tiny theater performance of the Appenzellers. These are exactly the two expressions (*schläüzig* and *löpfig*) they hope no one will understand because they want to be original” (Noldi Alder 2012).⁹⁴ Alder, a fourth generation member of the Alder *Streichmusik* dynasty, considers the use of the terms *schläüzig* and *löpfig* as a process of self-exoticization and gate-keeping in which the Appenzellers successfully engage.

⁹⁴ Original German: “Das ist ein kleines Theater der Appenzeller. Das sind jetzt genau die zwei Ausdrücke, die sie hoffen, dass sie niemand versteht. Weil sie originell sein wollen” (Alder, A. 2012).

There are a few definitions in print for this specialized terminology, such as the definition provided in the book, *Innerrhoder Dialekt* by Joe Manser (the former director of the Center for Appenzeller Folk Music) for *schläazig*: “angenehm, e *Schläazigs* s. ganz urchige Tanzweise, gefälliges Musikstück (comfortable, an ancient way of dancing, pleasing piece of music)” (Manser 2013, 165). This definition is so obtuse it is difficult to determine the meaning. Bruno Mock, who wrote his dissertation on the vocal music performed in Appenzell Innerrhoden, also uses Manser’s definition of *schläazig*—it seems to be the only written definition for the term (Mock 2007, 146). In conversation with me, Manser used Ueli Alder’s (longtime violinist for *Streichmusik Alder* who passed away in 2014) performance style as an example of the term *schläazig*. According to Manser, Ueli Alder was the most renowned string player in the Appenzell and possibly considered the most “authentic.” Ueli Alder was self-taught and therefore had his own unique way of bowing and shifting from one position to another, using glissandos. He had a wonderful stage presence and performed with all the greatest *Streichmusik* performers of the twentieth century.

Institutional use of this specialized musical terminology adds a level of validity and power to the Appenzell’s gatekeeping. For example, each year the ZAV has a publication. For 2012, the publication was called, *Schläazig und Löpfig*—even in an institutional context such self-exoticization occurs as a means to authenticity. Many of the performers I interviewed were cryptic about the definition of *schläazig* or referred me to someone else for an explanation. When I was playing my violin with other musicians in a participant-observation setting, they would tell me to play more *schläazig* or *löpfig*, but

then were either reluctant to explain it or did not define it in terms that I could understand. The sentiment was that only the Appenzeller people can possibly know how to perform *schläazig* or *löpfig*.

On a perfunctory level, *schläazig* means to play longer, drawn-out notes, legato, but there is an entrenched perspective of *Streichmusik* performers that only someone from the Appenzell (and possibly the Toggenburg) can really know the subtle performance aspects needed to indicate *schläazig*. Noldi goes on to describe the term *schläazig* further:

You cannot play piano in a *schläazig* way, it only occurs with string instruments. So that it sounds *schläazig*, you do not only need one performer to play *schläazig*, the whole ensemble needs to play *schläazig*—and no one actually knows what that means (Alder, A.2012).⁹⁵

From the above description, *schläazig* resembles the English term “groove.” *Schläazig*, *löpfig* and *zick* refer to what ethnomusicologist Charles Keil calls “participatory discrepancies” (1987); in other words, this terminology refers to the particularities in the relationship between performers, or, as Keil states, “Music to be personally involving and socially valuable, must be ‘out of time’ and ‘out of tune’” (Keil 1987, 275).

Ethnomusicologist Ingrid Monson, in discussing the conjuncture of riffs and repetition, addresses the inherent power in groove (1999, 52). Power is also manipulated in the way the term, *schläazig* is used to describe the violinists, highlighting and placing value on “participatory discrepancies” and emphasizing the specialness of the region through the performance practice.

⁹⁵ Original German: “*Schläazig* kannst du nicht Klavier spielen, *schläazig* gibt es nur bei einem Streichinstrument. Bis es *schläazig* tönt, kann ich zum Beispiel sagen, es reicht nicht, wenn du nur alleine *schläazig* spielst, es müssen alle *schläazig* spielen—und eigentlich weiss niemand recht, was das ist” (Alder, A. 2012).

Noldi Alder also elucidated the term “*löpfig*”: “*Löpfig* might mean to play short notes and to inspire people to dance. It means you have to get the tempo just right...you could translate *löpfig* as that it animates people to dance” (Alder, A. 2012).⁹⁶ Noldi is translating the term from Appenzeller Swiss-German dialect to a more general Swiss-German dialect—it is significant that *löpfig* is so specialized that he felt it necessary to translate it for the Swiss outside the Appenzell. Other interviewees define *Löpfig* to simply mean “to inspire to dance,” as it has the connotation of lifting one out of one’s seat to dance. This is more specific than the descriptions of *schläazig*, but still full of ambiguity. However, I wonder, what is the exact tempo that will inspire people to dance and moreover, how does one know the exact tempo and performance style to inspire dancing when often people no longer dance to *Streichmusik*?

Violinist Erwin Sager, unlike Noldi Alder, did not grow up playing *Streichmusik*. He came to play *Streichmusik* in his early twenties after having trained as a classical violinist. As a retired teacher, he approached my questioning didactically. When I asked for an explanation about the terminology such as *schläazig* and *löpfig*, he gave concrete musical examples of this kind of phrasing. He also explained that much of the phrasing typical in *Streichmusik* can be attributed to the fact that many of the performers were self-taught and so had an uneven bow stroke.⁹⁷ Sager also talked about “*Zick*,” another term

⁹⁶ Original German: “*Löpfig* heisst vielleicht kurz, und Animation zum Tanzen. Dass man wirklich genau das richtige Tempo findet...*löpfig*, dass es animiert zum Tanzen, könnte man es übersetzen” (Alder, A. 2012).

⁹⁷ Interestingly enough when I asked Erwin Sager what he would consider a typical piece, he showed me a piece he had composed for me using the US national anthem to demonstrate how a typical *Streichmusik* piece is composed with a first and second violin part. For Sager a typical piece is defined by the way it is composed with the first and second violin parts mostly in thirds and sixths, rather than the need for the piece to be widely known or performed.

used to describe the way a violinist performs in *Streichmusik*. The *Zick* refers to a particular performance style that is very individualistic:

There used to be many more individual differences in the way people played violin because most people were self-taught and because of this their bowing was somehow a little rough or unkempt or just unique—different from a beautiful, correct bow stroke. This is no longer typical today, because of the generally higher level of training of the violinists. (Sager 2012)⁹⁸

I asked Sager if he could play with a *Zick* and he responded:

I cannot do it either. I only know certain differences. Typically, conventionally schooled violin players are used to an exact division in note values[demonstrates dotted eighth notes]... and the treatment of rhythmic shifts that are off from the steady beat of the metronome is different. A dotted figure is either very exaggerated, double-dotted when it is a pick-up, on the other hand it can also be played almost like a triplet that gives more flow in some instances.... One more aspect of *Zick* is the anticipation of the beat. (Sager 2012)⁹⁹

Sager intellectually describes some of the intuitive choices made by performers. Just as Alder's description of *schlääzig* invoked similarities to groove, so does Sager's

description of *Zick*. Sager goes on to describe the slurs made by violinists:

Slurring—it is almost never notated, rather you do it intuitively so that there is a nice “pull.” In contrast to the pull, the staccato can be played in many different ways... For example, here are four quarter notes, how do you play these three? [Sings several ways it which it could be played] The adjustment is inexplicable, you just do it. (Sager 2012)¹⁰⁰

⁹⁸ Original German: “Es hat früher viel mehr individuelle Unterschiede gegeben im Geigenspiel, weil die meisten autodidaktisch dazugekommen sind und dadurch war es dann in der Bogenführung irgendwie so ein bisschen “ruch” oder ungepflegt oder einfach individuell—anders als ein schöner, korrekter Bogenstrich. Das ist heute mit dem allgemein höheren Stand der Ausbildung der Geigenspieler nicht mehr so typisch” (Sager 2012).

⁹⁹ Original German: “Ich kann es auch nicht. Ich weiss nur gewisse Unterschiede. Traditionelle, konventionell geschulte Geigenspieler sind sich an eine exakte Teilung gewöhnt [demonstrates dotted eighth notes]... und die Behandlungen von diesen Rhythmusverschiebungen, die entstehen wenn man weg vom geraden Schlag des Metronoms spielt...wie das behandelt wird, das ist anders. So eine punktierte Figur wird entweder sehr scharf, also überpunktirt gespielt, wenn es als Auftakt gelten muss, wird das verschoben zu einer triolischen Figur (demonstrates), das mehr Fluss gibt.... Ein weiteres Merkmal, das auch zum *Zick* gehört, ist das vorausnehmen des Schlags” (Sager 2012).

¹⁰⁰ Original German: “Das Binden... das wird fast nirgends geschrieben, sondern man macht das intuitiv, dass es einen schönen ‘Zog’ gibt. Im Gegensatz zum schönen ‘Zog.’ Das Staccato... jetzt sind hier drei

Clearly, there are many intuitive performance decisions that are difficult to explain:

Another aspect is the intonation. While I play folk music, I also perform classical and baroque music and the intonation is completely different. Whereas the major third interval is played lower in Baroque music, in *Streichmusik* it is played higher, it really has to shine. Leading tones are played in an extreme way—the seventh is generally played higher and the fourth is played lower. However, the fourth is not always played lower, occasionally it is played extremely high, so that it is close to the Alphorn-fa [the notes played by the Alphorn are the overtone series]. Another characteristic is the love of the tritone, for example. Players used to have an impure intonation. Where you needed to have the same finger in a high position on one string and a low position on another—if you do it in a lazy way you choose a placement in between the two, then one note is a little flat and one a little sharp but the passage moves along... Another element is shifting that is not done cleanly like in classical music, rather with a glissando so that players even make unnecessary shifts to create a glissando. (Sager 2012)¹⁰¹

Intonation is a large component of *Zick* as well as rhythm. *Zick* is personal and nuanced—it varies from person to person. The individual differences are unintentional, it is simply that every person has their own style. As Sager says,

It is not voluntary or conscious. I just notice that when I play a piece or someone else plays my piece that I hear the nuances where he plays it differently from me. Then I think, these are just the personal peculiarities. When I listen to the radio, I know exactly who it is that is playing but it is difficult to say why this is. (Sager 2012)¹⁰²

viertel, wie macht man die drei? Macht man die legato oder macht man... Die Anpassung ist unerklärbar, das macht man einfach” (Sager 2012).

¹⁰¹ Original German: “Ein weiteres Bestandteil ist das Intonieren ohnehin. Also ich bin parallel zur Volksmusik auch in der klassischen Musik tätig, in der Barockmusik, und da hat man eine andere Intonation. Also, die grosse Terz macht man da ein bisschen höher als im Barock, wo sie ja extrem tief ist, sie muss strahlen. Leit-Töne werden extrem gespielt—die siebte Stufe wird höher gespielt und die vierte Stufe wird tiefer gespielt. Hingegen die vierte Stufe ist nicht immer tief, manchmal wird sie extrem hoch gespielt, dann kommt man so nahe zum Alphorn-fa. Noch etwas weiteres ist eine Liebe zum Tritonus, zum Beispiel. Früher hat es eine unsaubere Intonation gegeben. Wo es nötig ist, dass ein Finger auf der einen Seite hoch sein muss und auf der anderen tief—wenn man es faul macht, nimmt man eine Mittelstelle, dann ist sie oben ein bisschen tief und unten ein bisschen hoch, aber dafür läuft es... ein weiteres Element sind die Lagenwechsel, bei dem sie natürlich nicht den sauberen Einsatz haben wie in der klassischen Musik, sondern ein bisschen glissando-mässig spielen, so dass man sogar unnütze Lagenwechsel macht nur wegen dem glissando” (Sager 2012).

¹⁰² Original German: “Das passiert ja nicht willentlich, das passiert auch nicht bewusst, das passiert nicht extra. Ich merke einfach, wenn ich ein Stück spiele und ein anderer spielt mein Stückli, ich höre die Nuancen, wo er es anders macht als ich. Und dann denke ich, ja das sind jetzt die persönlichen Eigenarten.

Since the number of *Streichmusik* violinists is quite small, and each person has such an individual style or *zick*, the players can easily identify each other by their hallmark sound. In a sense, the terms *zick*, *schläazig* and *löpfig*, articulate the uniqueness of the Appenzell's musical culture.

Zick, *schläazig* and *löpfig*, the terminology used among the Appenzeller community are a good marketing ploy—these terms emphasize that the Appenzell has something special to offer with its “original” music. The use of the term “original,” as in *Original Appenzeller Streichmusik* also needs to be examined in more depth. The designation *Original Appenzeller Streichmusik* was first used when *Streichmusik* was performed with five individuals for the first time in the late nineteenth century (see chapter 1 for more on the history of *Streichmusik*). The way it was labeled, *Streichmusik* was “original” from its inception. Noldi Alder links the labeling of *Streichmusik* as “original” with conservative tendencies:

This [*Original Appenzeller Streichmusik*] is a saying that the conservatives invented, very conservative people say...they want to create a label. We tend to label traditions but that is exactly the biggest mistake you can make...we have to evolve, we cannot just put on the brakes. We can, however, preserve the old. (Alder, A. 2012)¹⁰³

As part of the Alder Dynasty—the family that is considered the keepers of the *Streichmusik* tradition—Noldi Alder is uniquely positioned in the debate about labeling and preservation. Alder purposefully sets himself apart from the rest of his family by

Oder wenn ich im Radio etwas höre, dann merke ich genau, das ist der, aber das ist sehr schwer zu sagen, was es ist”(Sager 2012).

¹⁰³ Original German: “Das ist ein Spruch, den die Konservativen erfunden haben. Sehr konservativ denkende Leute sagen...wollen das einordnen—man muss ja Traditionen einordnen. Dabei ist das genau der grösste Fehler, den man macht...Wir müssen uns entwickeln, wir können nicht einfach bremsen. Wir dürfen das Alte schon erhalten” (Alder, A. 2012).

challenging them to change, both sonically and verbally. Resistance to change occurs in the Appenzell, where people consciously practice local customs, as Alder describes.

Ironically, the *Streichmusik* tradition is to an extent invented and operates under a false pretense of a non-hybrid practice. From its inception, *Streichmusik* has borrowed from other musical repertoire. *Streichmusik* has historically garnered its repertoire from surrounding European musics as is seen in the characteristic *Streichmusik* forms of polka, mazurka, walzes, and *länder*. The *Hackbrett* (hammered dulcimer), considered the unique feature of *Streichmusik*, was imported into Switzerland during the sixteenth century (Manser 2010, 29).¹⁰⁴ Since its beginnings, *Streichmusik* performance has included the so-called popular music of the time, for instance, in the 1920s German marches were included (Rempfler 2012). In other words, although *Streichmusik* is marked as an ancient, unchanging practice, it has always already been a hybridized practice.

I suggest that self-exoticization, as evident in the local terminology describing *Streichmusik* aesthetics, is a form of “staged authenticity.” Appenzeller people use this specialized terminology, but then are reluctant to define it, as this terminology is connected to the notion of originality. If something is original it is special and therefore more marketable. Since the Appenzeller and Toggenburger people have something that no one else has—*Streichmusik*—they can capitalize on this specialness. The *Streichmusik* repertoire has been carefully guarded in families and ensembles in both the Appenzell

¹⁰⁴ For more on the subject of the purported originality of *Streichmusik* see chapter 5.

and the Toggenburg until recently when there have been changes in the transmission of *Streichmusik*.

4. Changes in Transmission

Dölf Mettler, composer/singer and *Bauernmalerei* painter (traditional way of painting landscapes in the Appenzell and the Toggenburg), has noticed changes in the transmission of *Streichmusik*. *Hackbrett* students learn to play melodies first rather than the traditional way of initially learning to accompany:

The *Hackbrett* has become more of a solo instrument...the young people, they play it solo. But in folk music the *Hackbrett* is not a solo instrument. The *Hackbrett* accompanied, played other notes to fill out the harmony. The violin led the ensemble with melody. Today the young players learn from the beginning to play little pieces. (Mettler 2013).¹⁰⁵

This development in the *Streichmusik* praxis bothers Mettler because young players focus on learning melodies, rather than how to accompany. It is more immediately gratifying to learn solo melodies because the students can more quickly perform what they have learned. However, there is a loss in the knowledge of music theory because students spend so much time learning melodies instead of learning to accompany. Learning to accompany takes more time and requires a good ear as well as knowledge of harmony. This focus on melodies is largely due to the fact that Appenzeller folk music is now mostly learned in an institutional setting in *Musikschulen* (music schools), and no longer in a family setting. In the old, family-setting model there was a need to create an

¹⁰⁵ Original German: “Obwohl heute das Hackbrett mehr ein Soloinstrument geworden ist... die Jungen und so, die spielen das Hackbrett solo. Aber in der Volksmusik ist das Hackbrett kein Soloinstrument. Es ist ein Begleitinstrument gewesen, zum ‘sekundären,’ zum Akkorde machen. Die Geige hat geführt. Heute ist es schon so, dass die jungen Leute, die lernen von Anfang an, von der ersten Stunde, in der sie in die Schule gehen, lernen sie ein Stückli spielen” (Mettler 2012).

ensemble out of the members of the family and therefore the *Hackbrett* player had to learn to accompany, which was typically the main function of the instrument.

However, in the institutional setting, ensembles are created out of all the available students, and often the instructors accompany their students. The technical ability among the performers has increased overall and so the families that cultivate a traditional music practice want to ensure that their children are able to play at the new technical level.¹⁰⁶ In the Appenzell, many ensembles have been formed by young people called *Jungformationen*, with youths approximately 14-24 years old, as there is a demand for performers at area restaurants and bars, due to increased cultural tourism. In the Toggenburg there are about forty children learning *Hackbrett* but *Jungformationen* have not formed, partly because there does not seem to be demand for public performances in the region. I did hear of one young ensemble from Toggenburger cellist Niklaus Frei, who was contacted to coach them. However, thus far they seem to be practicing in homes, so it requires insider knowledge to hear of them.

Another significant change in *Streichmusik* transmission is the publication of the repertoire. Until the early 1990s, *Streichmusik* was almost exclusively an oral tradition. When it was notated, *Streichmusik* transcriptions were carefully guarded in family collections. However, as I mentioned in chapter 1, with the introduction of a series of publications by the *Mülirad Verlag* (Mülirad Publishing House) with the assistance of Noldi Alder, *Streichmusik* notation became available to the public. With the opening of the Center for Appenzeller Folk Music (ZAV) in 2007, many of the carefully guarded

¹⁰⁶ There are however a few families in which folk music is cultivated who resist sending their children to lessons because they could lose the traditional, individual sound.

transcriptions were donated to the ZAV archive for safe-keeping, permission was also granted to create publications. Since 2007, the ZAV has published a collection of transcriptions, with the goal of producing one publication per year (Matthias Weidmann, personal communication, spring 2012). The historically constructed specialness of the region, embodied by the transcribed and exclusive melodies guarded privately, is now changing as *Streichmusik* publications become available to the public.

There were a few early piano reductions of pseudo-Appenzeller folk music published by Aeschbacher in 1915 and 1920. The book *Heimatklang us Innerrhode* (Homeland Sounds of Innerrhoden) by Johann Manser (the late father of Joe Manser, director of the ZAV) in 1979, made *Streichmusik* transcriptions available to the public for the first time. Johann Manser, a mailman by trade but a passionate folk music aficionado, spent his life collecting details about the folk music of the region. He was an involved performer and composer in the Appenzeller musical community. Joe Manser remembers that during his childhood many of the prominent *Streichmusik* performers, such as Hans Rechsteiner and Jakob Alder, would frequent his house (Manser, personal communication, 2012). Violinist Erwin Sager spoke of the scandal that the publication of *Heimatklang us Innerrhode* (1979) caused:

There are many melodies and beautiful dances in that book. But there was a lot of uneasiness that he dared make this information public. You are not allowed to print these dances! Otherwise, foreigners will come play them; and they will not play them right. This music does not belong to them, it only belongs to us. (Sager 2012)¹⁰⁷

¹⁰⁷ Original German: “Da hat es so viele Melodien und schöne Tänze drin gehabt. Da hat es schon Stirnrunzeln gegeben, das der sich getraut hat, das zu veröffentlichen. Denn diese Tänze, die gibt man nicht heraus! Sonst kommen so fremde Leute und spielen sie auch. Und spielen sie dann nicht richtig. Und diesen gehört das nicht, das gehört nur uns” (Sager 2012).

Sager, who does not agree with this point of view, was personally confronted with this attitude when he first began to play *Streichmusik*. He had a difficult time gaining access to any *Streichmusik* repertoire. The only *Streichmusik*-type notation he was able to access were the piano transcriptions published by Aeschbacher. Sager explains the economic reason why the *Streichmusik* repertoire was so carefully guarded:

The relationship this community has with publication of *Streichmusik* notation is particular....In the first half of the twentieth century there was a world economic crisis with inflation and poverty. The musicians did not earn much money from their day jobs or farming. Therefore, the people who could play music had a secondary income, a significant one. This secondary income was a large percentage of the income—important for livelihood. The music ensembles that existed were distinguished from each other by their interpretation and repertoire. People would say: this ensemble plays like this, or this ensemble plays beautiful pieces, or this other ensemble plays good music for dancing. Then of course it is clear that they jealously guarded their repertoire—so that no one else would take it away. Otherwise the pieces would lose value, and it would no longer be exclusive. (Sager 2012)¹⁰⁸

Because of this attitude, *Streichmusik* literature was not available to the general public until the 1990s. The relatives of Josef Peterer, “Gehrseff,” a collector of *Streichmusik* compositions, kept the handwritten manuscripts for years in their attic. Joe Manser, then director of the ZAV, repeatedly asked for the manuscripts to be transferred to the ZAV for

¹⁰⁸ Original German: “Wie man also der Literatur gegenüber steht, das ist schon etwas Eindrückliches...im 20. Jahrhundert, erste Hälfte, da ist eine Weltwirtschaftskrise gewesen, Inflation und Armut. Und die Musikanten haben von ihrem Beruf oder von ihrem Landwirtschaftsbetrieb noch schlecht gelebt. Darum, wer noch Musik machen konnte, er hat einen Nebenerwerb gehabt, und zwar einen wesentlichen. Die Einnahmen sind ein wesentlicher Teil von den Einnahmen für den Lebensunterhalt gewesen, also wichtig. Und die Musikgruppen, die es gab, haben sich vor allem durch Interpretation und durch das Repertoire unterschieden. Dann hat man gesagt, die spielen ‘eso’ oder diese spielen ganz schöne Sachen oder diese spielen sehr gut zum Tanzen und so. Und dann ist klar, dass die eifersüchtig ihr Repertoire gehütet haben—nicht dass irgendwer anders es ihnen wegnimmt. Weil sonst der Marktwert sinken würde, dann ist das nicht mehr exklusiv” (Sager 2012).

safekeeping. Finally the Peterer family relented, agreeing however only to lend the manuscripts.

Currently compositions are copyrighted by Suisa—The Cooperative Society for Music Authors and Publishers in Switzerland.¹⁰⁹ In other words, the financial situation has changed. Rather than it being more financially profitable to keep the pieces for oneself, it is financially rewarding to make one's publications available to the public:

In contrast, currently there is also the situation that people like to make public their own compositions since now they are copy-right protected by Suisa... When other people play the compositions the composer earns a little bit of money. So people are interested in doing this. This is why Sep [Josef] Rempfler has his pieces on the Internet, the sheet music is there, you can just download it. So when you adopt it into your repertoire and tell Suisa, it will register him as the composer. (Sager 2012)¹¹⁰

Rather than keeping one's music private as in the past, in the present it makes more sense to make it public for financial gain. Now that there are copyright laws it is no longer necessary for performers to guard *Streichmusik* in the same way. Perhaps financial concerns outweigh claims on specialness. So far Rempfler is the only *Streichmusik* performer who makes his compositions publicly digitally accessible in this way. It remains to be seen if this will change in the future. Rempfler himself finds the Irish repertoire for his ensemble on the internet: "Today you can find one hundred thousand

¹⁰⁹ Suisa website <http://www.suisa.ch/en/home.html> (Accessed May 21, 2014)

¹¹⁰ Original German: "Dem entgegen strömt jetzt die andere Einstellung, dass man eigene Kompositionen sogar sehr gerne austellt, weil man jetzt alle eigenen Kompositionen schützen lässt von der Suisa... Wenn andere das übernehmen, gibt das einem wieder eine keine Einnahme, oder? Und und das ist das andere Interesse. Der Sepp Rempfler hat darum im Internet alle seine...[Stücke], schon bereit als Noten, die kann man gerade so herausholen. Und wenn man es ins Repertoire aufnimmt, wenn man es der Suisa angibt, dann gibt es ihm natürlich Kredit als Komponist" (Sager 2012).

Irish pieces on the internet” (Rempfler 2012).¹¹¹ Rempfler is very comfortable with the exchange of music that occurs on the internet and uses this resource frequently. This approach of incorporating music of other genres is actually quite typical of the open approach that *Streichmusik* performers have had historically of borrowing from other traditions.¹¹²

Conclusion

In this historically informed chapter, I explored *Streichmusik*'s connection with place and *Heimat* (homeland). *Heimat* and tradition, always hallmarks of the area, have recently increased in importance in the region as they become equated with Swissness. I focused on how traditions are displayed for cultural tourism, which involves exploring how the musicians present and self-exoticize themselves. Ideas of ownership have shifted and are challenged as the *Streichmusik* repertoire is made public through various avenues. Self-exoticization through terminology in local dialect aids *Streichmusik* performers to maintain their uniqueness. Performers and organizations emphasize differences between Appenzell Innerrhoden, Ausserrhoden and the Toggenburg in pursuit of maintaining the local heritage and for attaining economic success. In the next chapter, I investigate the consumption of cultural tourism and how the various articulations of place are presented to outsiders. Despite the prevalence of the seemingly essentialist discourse of *bodenständig*, this is only one aspect that defines the region. Cultural geographer Doreen Massey finds that “‘place’ and ‘community’ have rarely been coterminous” (Massey

¹¹¹ Original German: “Heute kannst du ja von hunderttausenden irischen Stücken im Internet die Noten gerade nachsehen” (Rempfler 2012).

¹¹² See chapter 5 for more on the subject of borrowing from other traditions.

1999, 146-147). However, a longing for such a concordance, affects the musicians of the Appenzell and the Toggenburg.

CHAPTER FOUR: SELF-CONSCIOUS HERITAGE: REBRANDING CULTURE

Returning to Switzerland with my young family to conduct follow-up fieldwork in the summer of 2013 for only six weeks, we decided to stay at *Schweizer Reisekasse* (Swiss Travel Fund—otherwise known as REKA), which are low-income, family vacation apartments.¹¹³ REKA has apartments located throughout Switzerland that are used mostly by Swiss families, with few exceptions. First we stayed for three weeks right next to the train station at the center of Urnäsch and then at another REKA apartment in Wildhaus in the Toggenburg for another three weeks. From these central locations, it was much easier to travel to people's homes for interviews as well as to music performances. I was able to interview more musicians from the Toggenburg that I was unable to reach in 2012 because of transportation issues. While I went to conduct interviews, my husband stayed with the children at the vacation apartments while they took part in a host of daily activities, including feeding goats, rabbits, and guinea pigs, riding horses and swimming in the indoor pool. This provided many opportunities for us to interact with the Swiss parents. Most of the families to whom we spoke came from urban areas from all over Switzerland and they were fascinated by us—the Americans. They wondered, why were we traveling to the Appenzell and the Toggenburg? How did we even know about these places? They told us that they came here because for them it represented a “true

¹¹³ I conducted interviews with people I did not reach the first time and follow-up interviews with others and attended *Alpstobete* (alpine summer festivals) as well as other festivals that I was unable to attend in 2012. During my longer fieldwork trip the previous year (from January until August 2012), we had rented a small, one bedroom apartment located approximately one mile from the center of the small town of Urnäsch in Appenzell Ausserrhoden. Living a twenty-minute walk outside of town with a baby and a toddler and without a car proved to be quite a challenge. The bus into town ran infrequently, even more infrequently in the winter months.

Switzerland,” pointing to the green hillsides speckled with flowers and the mountains in the distance; this place was to them a past version of Switzerland, still intact. These Swiss domestic tourists told us that traveling to the Appenzeller hillsides brought them closer to their imagined idea of *Heimat* (homeland). On several distinct occasions, domestic tourists staying at the REKA apartments called the Appenzell a *Heile Welt* (ideal or idyllic world), untouched by the modern world.¹¹⁴ This place is an *imagined* heritage for these tourists, since the tourists that travel to the Appenzell and the Toggenburg may not originate from this area. Still, these tourists think of the Appenzeller and the Toggenburger culture presented as their culture excerpted from a different time. Because of the presence of the “tourist gaze” (Urry 2011), the idea of culture is then commodified and packaged by performers, cultural institutions and tourist agencies (in contrasting ways in the Appenzell and the Toggenburg) while products are sold using the notion of *Heile Welt*. I posit that this idealization of place contributes to the reason why *Streichmusik* has come to represent Swissness in the cultural imagination of Switzerland.

1. Rebranding Culture¹¹⁵

We [the Appenzeller people] work only with farming clichés. We advertise using the *Tracht* (traditional costume). Only these clichés are used in advertising at the moment and it is a huge catastrophe. We sell ourselves to the whole world—the Appenzeller people are the representatives of all of Switzerland in terms of advertising—a beautiful *Tracht*, both natural and kitschy. (Noldi Alder 2012)¹¹⁶

¹¹⁴ There are few international tourists that pass through this region, mostly to reach the top of the *Säntis* mountain or to stop in the town of Appenzell, but tourists travelling here are predominantly domestic.

¹¹⁵ Both the Appenzellerland and Toggenburg can be viewed as what I would call partially bounded cultures, meaning there is always fluidity in such an overarching construct as culture.

¹¹⁶ Original German: “Wir schaffen mit Klischees, nur mit sennischen Klischees, mit Trachten machen wir Werbung. Es ist nur das im Moment und es ist eine Riesenkatastrophe. Wir verkaufen uns in der ganzen Welt—Appenzeller sind Vertreter der ganzen Schweiz, wenn es um Werbung geht—schöne Trachten, natürlich, kitschig, alle Kitschfarben sind hier dabei” (Alder 2012).

Violinist Noldi Alder is aware of the image of the Appenzell that is being sold on a national and global level. It is usually the Swiss outside of the Appenzell (and even outside of Switzerland) that have commented to me about how the Appenzell is prominent in Swiss advertising and how the Appenzeller *Tracht* (traditional costume) is often representative of the nation as a whole. In other words, the Appenzeller *Tracht* (and the customs and musical practices associated with it) embodies Swissness, and is used to sell the region.¹¹⁷



Figure 14. Painting by an unknown artist located at the *Ackerhaus* in the Toggenburg

¹¹⁷ The Toggenburger *Tracht*, while quite similar to the Appenzeller *Tracht*, is not recognized in the same way on a national level. See chapter 5 for more on the *Tracht*.

Alder spoke to me about the consumption that disguises the power of music. He tried to imagine the past as he wrote the music for “*Der Dreizehnte Ort*” (The Thirteenth Territory), performed in 2013, the theatrical spectacle that was created to celebrate the five hundred year anniversary of the Appenzell joining the Swiss confederacy as the thirteenth canton:

I imagined a time where music had a different place in society. What was important one hundred, two hundred years ago? Currently the same things are important—but everything is disguised by consumption. Everything is disguised—love, relationships, good work, good food...and music plays a big role for communication, the speechless communication for creating community. (Noldi Alder 2012)¹¹⁸

Alder believes that all these old values still exist, they are just concealed by consumption. In 2013, when I returned to the Appenzell, Alder had more to say about consumer culture: “In popular music it is currently the case that about 20-30% of performers are invested in the music for themselves and about 70% for the audience” (Noldi Alder 2013).¹¹⁹ Alder is disappointed because he feels performers are making aesthetic choices to please audiences and are selling out, in the way that was expected of him when he was a child. He is trying to find more distance from this way of creating music for consumption and instead to play more music for himself, untangling himself from audience expectations of which he was unwittingly subjected to as part of the Alder dynasty. Alder’s case marks an extreme friction between artistic integrity and

¹¹⁸ Original German: “Ich habe mir vorgestellt, dass es eine Zeit gab, als die Musik einen ganz anderen Stellenwert gehabt hat... Was ist denn wichtig gewesen vor 100, 200 Jahren? Jetzt ist noch genau das gleiche wichtig—aber es ist einfach verdeckt mit viel Konsum. Es ist alles verdeckt—die Liebe, Partnerschaft, eine gute Arbeit, und gutes Essen... und Musik hat einen grossen Stellenwert für Kommunikation, die sprachlose Kommunikation, um Beziehungsnetze zu schaffen” (Noldi Alder 2012).

¹¹⁹ Original German: “Mit der Unterhaltungsmusik ist es heute so, dass die meisten so 20-30 % für sich investiert sind und 70 % für das Publikum” (Noldi Alder 2013).

commodification, which has always been present in the *Streichmusik* genre (see chapter 1 and 2 for more of this history).

In “The Thirteenth Territory” Alder romanticizes the past, which is ironically the notion that is sold to Swiss tourists traveling to the Appenzell. The Appenzell practices a self-conscious heritage—cultural customs are marketed and sold, or, as Comaroff and Comaroff write in *Ethnicity, Inc.* (2009):

With the turn of the twenty-first century, however, we seem to have entered a phase in which otherness is not transacted only as trophy, talisman, souvenir, or subjection. Identity is increasingly claimed as property by its living heirs, who proceed to manage it by palpably corporate means: to brand it and sell it, even to anthropologists, in self-consciously consumable forms. (29)

The Appenzell has been branded and rebranded for tourists, mostly Swiss. Not just the products are rebranded, but the region, with its beautiful landscape and its calendrical agricultural customs, has been re-imagined.

In professor of gender and women’s studies Miranda Joseph’s assessment of capitalism, she shows that power is inherent in marketing.¹²⁰ Cultural identity has become a commodifiable product when, as

Jean Baudrillard and others have described a shift to a stage of capitalism in which profit depends not on the production process, or the exploitation of labor, but rather on the control of consumer desire through advertising, through control of “the code,” the entire symbolic order. (Joseph 2002, 41)

“The code” that Joseph refers to involves the efficacy of cultural indexing. In other words, brand recognition is the most powerful means to achieving profit. As economic alliances shift and permute in a time of “global commodification” (Monson 1999, 32), the role of culture changes, and “[c]ultures, like brands, must essentialize...successful

¹²⁰ Miranda Joseph is professor of Gender and Women’s studies at the University of Arizona.

and sustainable cultures are those which brand best” (Martin Chanock quoted in Comaroff and Comaroff 2009, 18). Cultural identity is advertised through cultural products. *Streichmusik* is just one of the many products of the Appenzell that are sold under the premise of a *Heile Welt: Appenzeller Käse* (Appenzeller cheese), *Appenzeller Alpenbitter* (Appenzeller alp liquor), *Appenzeller Mineral* and *Flauder* (mineral water and soda).¹²¹¹²² *Appenzeller Alpenbitter* is made from forty-two mountain herbs that are a secret recipe (similar to *Appenzeller Käse*) created more than one hundred years ago.¹²³ According to the website, the slogan for *Appenzeller Alpenbitter* is “original, special, cultural, traditional, spiritual, bestseller” (“origineller, spezieller, kultureller, traditioneller, spiritueller, bestseller”).¹²⁴ Interestingly enough, the last word in the *Appenzeller Alpenbitter* slogan is in English. Decidedly, this slogan is an outward projection. The rest of the terminology in the *Appenzeller Alpenbitter* slogan equates the liquor with the Appenzeller values of culture—this benefits both *Appenzeller Alpenbitter* and the Appenzeller traditions such as *Streichmusik*.

The Toggenburg industry produces textiles, health food products and cosmetics, among other products. The company *Kauf* in Ebnat-Kappel produces expensive dress shirts for men. *Morga* and *Biokosma*, also in Ebnat-Kappel, respectively manufacture health food products and cosmetics. The wafer cookies by *Kägi* in Lichtensteig are sold nationally and internationally, especially in the U.S., Chinese and Arabian markets. With

¹²¹ See the section on the *Tracht* in chapter 5 for more on *Appenzeller Käse*.

¹²² *Appenzeller Mineral* and *Flauder* comes from a mineral spring in the town of Gontenbad, Appenzell Innerrhoden.

¹²³ *Appenzeller Alpenbitter*. http://www.appenzeller.com/en/news/news-detail.html?tx_ttnews%5Btt_news%5D=61&cHash=89e3c713ec0639a473dd04ffac87bca5 (accessed November 30th, 2014).

¹²⁴ *Appenzeller Alpenbitter* homepage. <http://www.appenzeller.com> (accessed November 30th, 2014).

the exception of *Kägi*, which specifically mentions the Toggenburg on its website, none of these companies promote themselves as specifically from the Toggenburg, in contrast to the Appenzeller enterprises which stress their connection to the Appenzell. From this it can be concluded that there are economic benefits to being heralded as Appenzeller because the Appenzell has made long term efforts to brand itself while the Toggenburg has not. The Appenzell sells itself as the Swissness connected to *Heimat*, an inward looking projection, while the Toggenburg, because it is not as recognizable a brand, attempts to align itself with the cosmopolitan version of Swissness.

What is it about the Appenzell that invokes the sentiment of a “true Switzerland” for Swiss tourists? Why does this region exude “specialness” on a national level, as I discussed in chapter 2? I contend that this “specialness” is related to philosopher and social critic Walter Benjamin’s concept of “aura,”¹²⁵ which is based on authenticity: “[t]he authenticity of a thing is the essence of all that is transmissible from its beginning, ranging from its substantive duration to its testimony to the history which it has experienced” (Benjamin 1968, 221). Benjamin finds that the “aura is never entirely separated from its ritual function” (ibid., 224). However, when the aura begins to detach from its ritual function, it shifts to politics (ibid., 224). It is significant that the Appenzell and its culture are often equated with conservative politics.¹²⁶ Because of the aura, the Appenzell is an object of longing, according to the Swiss tourists, a “true Switzerland.”

¹²⁵ The idea of originality or “aura” was a key concept in Walter Benjamin’s famous essay, “The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction” (1968; original edition 1936). Benjamin writes about originality or aura in a reproduction of a piece of artwork. According to Benjamin, authenticity is measured differently in the mechanical reproduction of artworks because the context is changed. Benjamin uses the term “aura” to describe the specialness of an original work of art.

¹²⁶ The Appenzell tends to vote conservatively. As I discuss in chapter 2, women’s suffrage for Appenzell Innerrhoden was not granted until 1991, twenty years after they were permitted to vote in federal elections.

The aura of the Appenzell is protected and preserved through conscious practice of calendrical rituals that I discuss in chapter 3. Customs connected to the land produce the aura of the region and also draw tourists to an imagined heritage.

Some performers (and some organized events) more than others capitalize on the economic benefits of increased tourism. Particularly, there are newly created and reinvented festivals that are “the ‘out of the ordinary’ occasions of display, through ceremony, procession and the like, which provide focal points for consumption by an ‘outside’ audience” (Picard 2006, 2). Several *Alpstobete* (alpine festivals), which were a local practice, have been revived after years of inactivity as there is currently a demographic from outside the region that is interested in the practice. Also, the *Striichmusigtag* (day of *Streichmusik*) was newly created in 2000 to draw almost exclusively a domestic tourist audience. The newly created *Music Marathon*, on the other hand, is a festival for mostly a “local” audience. Anthropologist David Picard states: “The explanation for the recent proliferation of festivals is complex, but in part relates to a response from communities seeking to re-assert their identities in the face of a feeling of cultural dislocation brought about by rapid structural change, social mobility and globalisation processes” (Picard 2006, 2).

In 2000, the annual *Striichmusigtag* (*Streichmusik* day) was conceived, which draws mostly Swiss tourists from outside the Appenzell. Music is performed in approximately twelve restaurants in the small town of Urnäsch, Appenzell Ausserrhoden. The *Striichmusigtag* always occurs on the last Saturday of April and includes many of the

active *Streichmusik* ensembles in the Appenzell and the Toggenburg.¹²⁷ Each restaurant hosts an ensemble, which plays from approximately 6 p.m. to midnight. In recent years, several of the area *Hackbrett* teachers have organized a performance of their students on the *Striichmusigtag*.



Figure 15. Students performing at the *Striichmusigtag*, Urnäsch, AR (Photograph by Andrea Douglass)

During several of my interviews with *Streichmusik* performers, their children or grandchildren were present and they commented on the joy that these young children

¹²⁷ For the Toggenburg the ensembles include *Toggenburger Original Streichmusik* and *Brandhölzler Streichmusik*. The cellist and second violinist for *Brandhölzler* retired after the 2012 *Striichmusigtag* and Nicolas Frei, the longtime cellist for *Toggenburger Original Streichmusik*, volunteered to be the interim cellist for *Brandhölzler*. This only becomes an issue on the *Striichmusigtag*, when both ensembles play concurrently.

were already interested in playing *Streichmusik*. There is the hope that with these children the traditions will remain intact, that Swissness will be preserved.

The *Musik Marathon*, like the *Striichmusigtag*, is also a newly invented festival. Begun in 2010, the performances happen on the Ebenalp above the town of Weissbad, Appenzell Innerrhoden, and initially began with three continuous days of performance. The *Musik Marathon* happens at the end of March—the summer tourists have not arrived yet and the winter skiing season is coming to an end—and so is specifically performed for a local audience at a time of year when there are few tourists in the Appenzell.

The *Alpstobete* (summer alpine festivals) have occurred since the sixteenth century in some capacity. The practice stems from family visits to the goat and cow herders who spent the summer on the alp. Several *Alpstobete* were discontinued in the middle of the twentieth century due to low attendance. Recently, some *Alpstobete* have been reinstated and recreated as there is now interest among tourists in attending *Alpstobete*.

On the one hand, these (re)invented festivals and organizations are important for the local community in keeping their heritage alive, and on the other hand, they are instrumental in drawing outsiders to the region, providing an outward projection of Swissness. These festivals mark an intersection of local and national desires to celebrate local traditions, of which *Streichmusik* is a central component. The reinstatement and (re)invention of festivals—celebrating the local—indicates an alignment with the notion of Swissness in a time of redefining boundaries and nationhood.

As there is a “[r]emapping of the global village” (Erlmann 1999, 20), the recent fetishization of seemingly old and unchanging customs speaks to concerns about

changing demographics and a new opening to the rest of the world through technology. The scale of identity politics has changed: the “other” now refers not only to the next valley over, but the “other” is the rest of Switzerland, and on an even larger scope, the rest of the world as “many localities in contemporary societies are being transformed by diverse forms of extremely rapid economic restructuring” (Urry 1995, 71). The situation is more complex than a local/national or private/public dichotomy. Not all so-called “traditional” performances are for the people visiting from outside the region nor do all the ensembles have the same perspective on various audiences. In fact, it is often difficult to ascertain what is local, regional, or national as well as to distinguish between public and private as these categorizations are constantly shifting and mobile.

It is clear that the Appenzellerland (especially when the two half cantons Appenzell Innerrhoden and Appenzell Ausserrhoden work together and provide a unified front) is successful in branding its culture, the Toggenburg less so. So far, the Appenzellerland and the Toggenburg rarely work together in promoting the region, which I will discuss in greater detail later in this chapter. The tourist industry has developed differently in these proximate geographic areas (Meier 2013).¹²⁸ However, both the Appenzell and the Toggenburg profit from the Swissness phenomenon in that they can market their place and culture as paragons of Swissness.

¹²⁸ Appenzell Innerrhoden and Ausserrhoden collaborate in several marketing endeavors—ranging from products such as *Appenzeller Käse* (Appenzeller cheese) and *Appenzeller Alpenbitter* (a nationally famous liquor made from dozens of herbs collected in the mountains) to the theater piece produced by both half cantons, *Der Dreizehnte Ort* (The Thirteenth Territory), to celebrate five hundred years of the Appenzell joining the Swiss Confederacy.

2. Consumption of Place

Places are marketed for consumption, as John Urry argues in *Emotional Geographies*; “consuming of place involves the consumption of goods/services that are somehow unique or at least culturally specific to that place” (John Urry in Davidson 2005, 79). Creating emotional appeal increases the attractiveness of a location. One way to attract Swiss tourists is to market the region as a “true Switzerland,” an imagined heritage for domestic tourists. Heritage can be described as “culture named and projected into the past, and, simultaneously, the past congealed into culture” (Comaroff and Comaroff 2009, 10). Culture, in Comaroff and Comaroff’s discussion of the heritage industry, can be conceived as a “guise claimed by those who would assert a collective subjectivity by objectifying it for the market” (ibid., 18). The way some people live and practice their culture can draw other people to an area. The Appenzeller people capitalize on their “specialness” whereas until now the Toggenburger people have not. According to Urry, “consuming of place involves the consumption of goods/services that are somehow unique or at least culturally specific to that place” (John Urry in Davidson 2005, 79). As mentioned, the Appenzell has many such unique cultural products: *Appenzeller Käse*, *Appenzeller Bitter*, *Appenzeller Mineral* and *Flauder*, the calendrical agricultural customs, and of course, *Streichmusik*. The Toggenburg, however, does not promote its cultural products, and practices its calendrical customs, including *Streichmusik* to some extent, for itself.

Performing a culture, both for oneself and for others, is a way of transacting identity. The local traditions of the Appenzell and the Toggenburg represent an imagined

heritage for the outsiders traveling to the area, mostly Swiss tourists from outside the region. Authentication “has become a strategy to appropriate sites/places and a strategy to invest emotionally in places” (Knudsen and Waade 2010, 5). What is being sold is the impression of an old, unchanging tradition—partially a fabricated authenticity (Peterson 1997). As anthropologist Richard Peterson writes, “the ironic phrase ‘fabricating authenticity’ is used here to highlight the fact that authenticity is not inherent in the object or event that is designated authentic but is a socially agreed-upon construct in which the past is to a degree *misremembered*” (Peterson 1997, 5, my italics). That the past is *misremembered* collectively is relevant in the *Streichmusik* case as there are fabrications of how old and “original” *Streichmusik* is, when it only became a genre with its own label in the nineteenth century. A closer look at the *Streichmusik* tradition exposes the contradiction that this practice is not as old or as original as advertised. For instance, the first time a *Streichmusik* ensemble, *Quintett Appenzell*, played with the full instrumentation of two violins, cello, bass, and *Hackbrett* (hammered dulcimer) was in 1892. This is not a centuries-old tradition as many enthusiasts like to believe. *Quintett Appenzell* instantly called themselves an *Original Streichmusik* when they played in the full instrumentation, meaning that this is the “original” way of performing, even though this was the first time this instrumentation occurred. *Streichmusik* as a practice has always embraced music from other traditions as well as popular music of the time. Ironically, what is being marketed and commodified as an imaginary heritage is actually a tradition that has always embraced the new and the other.

Another example of Appenzell performing its culture as a heritage product for consumption is what has happened with the practice of *Silvesterchlausen*, a custom connected with the celebration of the New Year.



**Figure 16. *Schöwüeschte Silvesterchläuse* on January 13th, 2012, in Urnäsch, AR
(Photograph by Andrea Douglass)**

One of my interviewees, Noldi Alder, a member of the Alder *Streichmusik* dynasty (see chapter 5 for more about the Alder family), commented that it bothered him that so many customs of the area are now presented as a “show.” In particular the *Silvesterchlausen*

draws a large tourist audience.¹²⁹ Alder notes that the presence of tourists has changed the custom:

In fact, it starts in the town center—from ten to noon all the *Schuppel* [group of *Silvesterchläuse*] come together and it is chaos. There is no sense in this. If you are making a video then it makes sense, you know, but not according to the principle of *Silvesterchlausen*, from that we have come a far way. We now hear ten *Schuppel* singing at the same time. However, good *Silvesterchlausen* is when you all of a sudden hear a *Schuppel*. This is the way my *Schuppel* used to travel. But then all the members of my group wanted to go to the town center. I never wanted to do it but I also understood their perspective. What they experienced in the town is what I experienced on stage, as a musician...now they have an audience (Alder, A. 2012).¹³⁰

Alder notes that the other members of his group enjoy the attention they get when performing for an audience, specifically of tourists, as *Silvesterchlausen* has shifted from a participatory to a performance practice. He is concerned about the transactions that are expected between the *Silvesterchläuse* and the shopkeepers in town:

In the background are the shops. The shopkeepers think that they have to give the *Silvesterchläuse* lots of money so that they will buy products at his store [during

¹²⁹ *Silvesterchlausen* is a custom practiced in Appenzell Ausserrhoden. On December 31st and January 13th the *Silvesterchläuse* travel door to door in their costumes, singing two to three yodels called *zäuerli* at each household before receiving money and wine and then traveling onwards. The *Zäuerli* are a type of *naturjodel* found in the Appenzell. Divided into *Schöne* (beautiful), *Wüeschte* (ugly), and *Schöwüeschte* or *Naturchläuse* (natural), the *Silvesterchläuse* are all men but some of them are cross-dressing as women. The “male” *Schöne Silvesterchläuse* wear four large bells (two in front and two behind) that they swing back and forth as they yodel and the “female” *Schöne Silvesterchläuse* or *rolli* generally have thirteen small bells.

¹³⁰ Original German: “Im Fall, es fängt an im Dorfkern—von 10-12 kommen alle Schuppel und "hocken" [Swiss-German dialect] zusammen, das ist Chaos. Das hat gar keinen Sinn mehr. Wenn man eine video Aufnahme macht, hat es schon einen Sinn, weisst du, aber nicht vom Prinzip vom Chlausen. Da sind wir weit weg gekommen. Wir hören dann einfach zehn Schuppel. An zehn Orten sind sie am Zahren...Aber eben, die gute “Chlauserei” ist wenn du auf einmal hier oben einen Schuppel siehst, an einem Haus “chlauset.” Ich bin eben auch so gewesen früher. Und dann bin ich mit meinen Kollegen gewesen und die haben auch alle ins Dorf wollen. Das habe ich nie gewollt, aber ich habe es verstanden. Was im Dorf gewesen ist, das habe ich auf der Bühne gehabt, als Musiker...dann haben sie ein Publikum” (Noldi Alder 2012).

the year]. A mafia has developed this way, but it has already been this way for forty years. (Alder 2012)¹³¹

The practice of *Silvesterchlausen* has become commercialized. Previously it was a custom for the outlying farms, but due to the presence of tourists now the groups are often in the center of town. This shift in location has altered the dynamics of the town's commerce. Though the members of his group enjoy the staged aspect of performing in the town center, Alder finds that the verity of the practice is lost in this case. He says:

“No show” is when you go far out to the farmsteads, and just go “chlausen,” relaxed.¹³² The show begins as soon as you go on the main street where all the newspaper reporters are, where previously people didn't actually go “chlausen.” And when you go to one of these isolated farmsteads you really have the feeling that you are chasing away the bad ghosts and wishing them a new year. (Alder, A. 2012)¹³³

When Alder goes to the remote farmsteads he feels the function of *Silvesterchlausen* is preserved, namely that of scaring away the bad ghosts. However, in the town center the function and authenticity are lost because it is staged and becomes a performance, not a practice. Previously, the *Silvesterchläuse* would travel to the farms far outside of town. Traditionally, their itineraries were and are kept secret and change from year to year. The idea for the *Schuppels* (groups of *Silvesterchläuse*) is to travel to the far outlying farms on the hillsides, bringing good cheer and celebrating the new year with the inhabitants that are somewhat isolated during the winter months. Now the *Schuppels* stay close in town to

¹³¹ Original German: “Im Hintergrund stehen ja Geschäftshäuser. Der Geschäftshaber denkt, ich muss ihnen viel Geld geben, dann kommen sie zu mir zum einkaufen und so ist eine halbe Mafia entwickelt, aber das ist schon Vierzigjahr so” (Alder, A. 2012).

¹³² “Chlausen” is a verb that means to perform as a *Silvesterchlaus*.

¹³³ Original German: “Keine Show ist wenn man zu den Bauern geht zu ihren abgelegenen “Höfen” aussen, und einfach Chlausen geht ganz gemütlich. Und die Show fängt an sobald man an die Hauptstrassen kommt, wo die Zeitungen sind, wo eigentlich früher gar nicht "chlauset" wurde. Und wenn man so zu einzelnen “Höfen” geht zum Chlausen, das hat einen absoluten Sinn. Das ist ja wie Geistervertreibung und das gute Jahr wünschen” (Alder, A. 2012).

perform for the tourists and the *Silvesterchlausen* has changed from being a participatory performance (Turino 2000) with the isolated farmer stepping out his front door and singing along, to a performance for tourists where there is a clear distinction between performer and listener. The context and function have been repositioned, from an age-old ritual with pagan roots to a show for an audience. There has also been a similar shift with *Streichmusik* in recent years. *Streichmusik* certainly happens within a performance context, maybe less so than the other customs and cultural practices of the Appenzell and the Toggenburg. Historically it was music for dancing, as I will discuss in more detail in chapter 5. *Streichmusik* performance evolves and changes just as *Silvesterchlausen*, and part of this is due to the consumption of place.



Figure 17. *Schöne Silvesterchläuse* surrounded by tourists on the town center of Urnäsch, AR on January 13th, 2012 (Photograph by Andrea Douglass)

3. Sounding, healing, idealizing: rebranding of the Toggenburg

In 1993 the precursor of the *Klangwelt* (sound world) started with music courses taught by innovative musician and teacher Peter Roth at the hotel *Seegüetli*, up on the hillside above the town of Wildhaus, Toggenburg. In 2003 it became officially named *Klangwelt*—a first in terms of more touristically oriented projects in the Toggenburg. As an outsider to the Toggenburg, Peter Roth, who is from just outside the city of St. Gall, is a unique artistic individual who was willing to take the risk to start the *Klangwelt*.

According to *Toggenburger Tourismus* (Toggenburg Tourism Office) director, Roger Meier:

Klangwelt is currently one of the few functioning organizations [in the Toggenburg]. *Klangwelt* is functioning exceptionally well, it is a great organization, it is the aspect of a niche product that makes the Toggenburg known outside the region. You cannot just advertise with beautiful nature anymore, which we definitely have, but you need good offers, good accommodations, and one of our top products or offers, actually a pearl, is the whole realm of the *Klangwelt*. (Meier 2013)¹³⁴

The *Klangwelt* includes the *Klangweg* (the sound walk), the *Klangschmiede* (the sound forge, an interactive museum about sound and a location for sound healing), the *Naturstimmen Festival* (natural voices festival), as well as the courses taught under the auspices of the *Klangwelt*. The *Klangweg* was constructed halfway up the *Chäserugg* mountain, above the towns of Alt St. Johann and Wildhaus. Along the *Klangweg* there are

¹³⁴ Original German: “Klangwelt ist eine von den wenigen, funktionierenden Organisationen beim heutigen Zeitpunkt. Klangwelt funktioniert hervorragend, ist eine ganze tolle Organisation, ist eigentlich der Aspekt in einem Nicheprodukt drin, wo das Toggenburg überregional überhaupt momentan noch einigermaßen bekannt macht. Nur noch mit schöner Natur, die es unbestritten hier hat, ist es nicht mehr gemacht. Es braucht ein gutes Angebot, es braucht gute Beherbergung. Eins von den Angeboten, das nach wie vor ein Topprodukt und eine Perle eigentlich ist, ist der ganze Bereich rund um Klangwelt” (Meier 2013).

sound installations, many of which provide a way for hikers to experiment with the overtone series.



Figure 18. Author's son playing one of the instruments on the *Klangweg* (Photograph by Andrea Douglass)

In 2010, the number of tourists traveling to the Toggenburg for the *Klangweg* was measured at 40,000.¹³⁵ According to Meier, the *Klangweg*, along with the *Churfirten* mountains is the USP, the “Unique Selling Proposition,” a concept stemming from marketing, meaning that this is an aspect of the region that is not available elsewhere

¹³⁵ See the website “Der Klangweg is das touristische Zugpferd” <http://www.klangwelt.ch/162/items/der-klangweg-ist-das-touristische-zugpferd.html> (accessed May 21, 2014).

(Meier 2013). I asked Meier if the music in the Toggenburg is generally performed for a local audience. He replied, “in principle yes, but there is the *Klangwelt* that very consciously thinks about tourism, more than other endeavors” (Meier 2013).¹³⁶ The *Klangwelt* is an unusual aspect of the Toggenburg in that it is geared towards outsiders in a place that generally practices its culture for itself. The *Klangwelt* also organizes a vocal festival, called *Naturstimmen* (natural voices). According to the *Klangwelt* website, the festival attracts 6,000 audience members from Switzerland and neighboring countries and “creates a positive image for the folk music from the Toggenburg and all of Switzerland—it raises awareness of the region with its unique culture.”¹³⁷ When I spoke to Meier, he was excited about the festival:

Then, every two years there is the *Naturstimmen* (natural voices) festival that is organized by the *Klangwelt*. This is really an international exchange with tickets for purchase, and many people come from outside the region to hear the concerts in these ten days. For this we try to create tourist packages together with hotel and tickets for the festival, etc. (Meier 2013)¹³⁸

Meier is working to make the Toggenburg more attractive for tourists to stay overnight and the *Naturstimmen* festival is aiding him in this process.

The *Klangwelt* is a relatively new phenomenon—only drawing significant numbers of tourists in the last ten years or so. The Toggenburger people have mixed reactions to

¹³⁶ Original German: “In der Regel ja. Es gibt eben Klangwelt wo ganz bewusst touristische denkt als auch schon” (Meier 2013).

¹³⁷ Original German: “Das Klangfestival „Naturstimmen“ schafft ein positives Image für die Volksmusik aus dem Toggenburg in der gesamten Schweiz – und erhöht den Bekanntheitsgrad der Region mit deren einzigartigen Kultur” (Klangwelt website, projects page. <http://www.klangwelt.ch/de/projekte/klangfestival> (accessed December 3rd, 2014))

¹³⁸ Original German: “Dann gibt's auch alle zwei Jahren das Naturstimmen Festival, das von der Klangwelt organisiert wird. Das ist dann wirklich ein internationaler Austausch, wo man Karten kaufen kann, wo dann auch viele Auswärtige kommen, um die Konzerte während zehn Tagen zuhören. Wo man auch probiert, touristisch nutzen mit "Packages"— kombiniert mit Hotelübernachtung plus Eintritt ans Klangfestival und so weiter” (Meier 2013).

this new institution since traditions are practiced more self-consciously in this area. Meier spoke of the *Klanghaus* (sound house), a project that is part of the *Klangwelt*, which is in the planning stages. The *Klanghaus* is to be built up on a hillside where the hotel *Seegüetli* currently stands—the place where Peter Roth first started teaching courses and initiated the *Klangwelt*. The *Klanghaus* would offer courses on music, ranging from the local *Streichmusik* and vocal techniques to courses taught by international artists, as well as sound installations. Roger Meier discussed the *Klanghaus*:

There is also a project open with the canton for the *Klanghaus* to be built, hopefully. It is not necessarily seen as a project to promote the economy, rather as a cultural project. In spite of everything it has a huge potential to support tourism. (Meier 2013)¹³⁹

Establishing the *Klanghaus* is a complex operation. The first step in the process is a vote on the project by the community of Wildhaus. There are various factions and responses to the project: “there are some locals who say no, I do not find it beautiful to construct a *Klanghaus* up there, I do not want that. In contrast, there are for sure quite a few that find it will be a landmark, a sign of optimism, that it will be useful for tourism” (Meier 2013).¹⁴⁰ There are individuals who do not wish more outsiders to come to the area and they do not see the benefit of tourism, they may hinder the execution of the *Klanghaus* project. Even if the vote approves the project—which it is projected that it will—then there are land ownership issues that need to be resolved, and money must be raised for

¹³⁹ Original German: “Und sonst ist ein Projekt offen mit dem Kanton mit dem Klanghaus, das sollte hoffentlich irgendwann gebaut werden. Es wird nicht unbedingt als Wirtschaft förderndes Projekt angeschaut, sondern als kulturelles Projekt. Trotz allem bietet es ein wahnsinnig grosses Potenzial an, um eben auch der Tourismus zu fördern” (Meier 2013).

¹⁴⁰ Original German: “es gibt die Einheimischen, die sagen nein, dort oben so ein Klanghaus, das finde ich nicht schön, das will ich nicht. Dann gibt's sicher einen Haufen, die sagen, es ist ein Wahrzeichen, eine Aufbruchstimmung, das ist dem Tourismus nützlich” (Meier 2013)

the project. The canton has offered to pay 23 million Swiss francs but a remaining 5 million must be raised. With all these hurdles in the way, Meier estimates that *if* the *Klanghaus* is built, it will take several years.

The *Klangwelt* is an exception for tourism in the Toggenburg, it is the one endeavor that consistently draws tourists to the area. This has occurred because of the effort and personality of Peter Roth (b. 1944). As an outsider to the Toggenburg (he grew up in a suburb of the city of St. Gall, called Haggen), Roth created the *Klangwelt* to connect the indigenous cultural forms with innovation (Roth 2012). The *Klangwelt* was his vision, which he created and led since 1993. He stepped down in 2011 and the vocalist Nadja Räss (b. 1979) now leads the organization. Roth stipulates that his creation of the *Klangwelt* was only possible because of his outsider status. Roth finds that the “Toggenburgers cannot promote themselves...they are too reserved” (Roth 2012). The *Klangwelt* has unquestionably met with local resistance as can be seen in regards to the plans for the new *Klanghaus* (sound house). However, the *Klangwelt* is very organized and clearly has brought revenue to this impoverished valley.

4. *Heile Welt* (ideal or idyllic world) and Imagined Heritage

As I mentioned previously, the families I met while staying at REKA, the low-income family vacation apartments, remarked how they came to the Appenzell for their vacation because for them it represented the untouched landscape of the “true Switzerland,” and a *Heile Welt* (an idyllic or ideal world). Coincidentally, the *Toggenburger Tourismus* (Toggenburg tourist office)—in an effort to rebrand the area—includes the phrase, “*Heile Welt*” in their new slogan. This was through the efforts of Roger Meier,

who became director of *Toggenburg Tourismus* in 2012. Originating from canton Graubünden, he was the first person to hold this title from outside the Toggenburg. He initiated efforts to rebrand the Toggenburg with the slogan, “*Echtheit, Natürlichkeit, Heile Welt*” (authenticity, naturalness, ideal world).



Figure 19. The new slogan of *Toggenburger Tourismus* (Toggenburg Tourist Office)

Paying homage to the *Klangwelt* (discussed in the previous section), the slogan, “*Toggenburg, klingt gut*” (Toggenburg, sounds good), was also created by *Toggenburger Tourismus*. The use of the terminology *Toggenburg, klingt gut* (Toggenburg, sounds good) and *Echtheit, Natürlichkeit, Heile Welt* (authentic, natural, ideal world) indicates an awareness of the perception of this region, what tourists are seeking, and what the Toggenburg has to offer—a bucolic landscape with the therapeutic benefits of healing air against the backdrop of the *Churfürsten* mountains, calendrical agricultural customs, and the healing sounds of the musical organization, *Klangwelt*.

When searching for images for *Heile Welt*, I came across many depictions of idyllic pastoral scenes, often with cows in the foreground and mountains in the background. Alpine and pastoral landscapes were not always idealized in Switzerland. A shift happened in the nation during the eighteenth century when writers such as Albrecht von Haller (1708-1777), Jean-Jacques Rousseau (1712-1778), and Salomon Gessner (1730-1788) claimed the alps as identity-forming (Janett and Zimmermann 2014, 14).

The alpine landscape currently represents an idealized world, a *Heile Welt* for many of those traveling to this area. There are those that believe the traditions in this region are practiced in the same way as always, that these traditions and practices belong to the inhabitants of the Appenzell and the Toggenburg, and should be preserved as is done through the *Convention for the Safeguarding of Intangible Cultural Heritage*, begun by UNESCO in 2003. However, there is also another group of individuals who believe that culture is always in flux and is open to interpretation. This second view is a more accurate estimation of what has occurred in this region, with borrowing from other genres and traditions.¹⁴¹ People—locals and tourists alike—want to believe that this is an age-old, unchanging heritage.

Sociologist John Urry, in writing about tourist locations, finds that the “pleasure of such places derives from the consumption of goods and services that somehow stand for or signify that place...the good or service is metonymic of the place, with the part standing for the whole” (2005, 79). Therefore, places are revamped to further consumption and the items or performances that are consumed take on a new, symbolic

¹⁴¹ I will describe this in greater detail in chapter 5.

meaning. In my dissertation, *Streichmusik* signifies the region and is an imagined heritage for the urban Swiss who travel to the Appenzell and the Toggenburg to experience the *Alpstobete* (alpine music festivals) and now also the newly invented, annual *Striichmusigtag* (day of *Streichmusik*).

The Appenzellerland website advertises that in the Appenzell it is, “as if time has stood still”—the Appenzell and the Toggenburg consciously sell their timelessness (Bewes 2010, 202). One of the motivations of Swiss tourists, especially those from urban areas traveling to the Appenzell, is the notion of the pristine, rural area, where life is simpler, slower.¹⁴² This assumption is not entirely false, as the Appenzell and the Toggenburg have been among the places in Switzerland that have nurtured their folk culture rooted in farming tradition. Bassist Barbara Giger mentioned that “the culture surrounding farming is very alive” (Giger 2012).¹⁴³ Giger goes on to add that

I believe there are just regions that emphasize their rural culture...in these places the whole dairy farming culture is very alive and well sustained. The people have found that important and value it (Giger 2012).¹⁴⁴

Since the people of the Appenzell still practice the cultural events associated with the calendrical celebrations of farming life, Swiss tourists travel to the Appenzell to experience this connection with the land and old practices that for many is the imagined heritage and cultural identity of their ancestors.

¹⁴² There are some sociological works that contrast the problematic notion that urban areas are anonymous, dirty, and there is a greater pressure for time (Gans 1986; Williams 1973).

¹⁴³ Original German: “da ist halt die ganze Senne, die Bauernkultur einfach sehr lebendig” (Giger 2012).

¹⁴⁴ Original German: “Ich glaube das sind einfach Regionen, die wie ländlich geprägt sind... da ist halt die ganze Senne, Bauernkultur einfach sehr lebendig und das wird von denen auch genähert...Die Leute haben das wichtig gefunden und legen einfach Wert auf darauf” (Giger 2012).

Anthropologists John and Jean Comaroff suggest that cultural identity “represents itself ever more as two things at once: the object of choice and self-construction, typically through the act of consumption, *and* the manifest product of biology, genetics, human essence” (2009, 1). In this formulation, cultural identity is no longer just a fact but also something *expressed* through choices. Thus, cultural identity is a shifting concept that can be constantly redefined. Swiss tourists imagine the Appenzell and the Toggenburg as a *Heile Welt* and the “true Switzerland” that they can access through consumption and so express their cultural identity and heritage. Swiss tourists spend time in the “REKA village,” with guided trips to local farms to watch the milking of the cows and cheese making. They travel from throughout Switzerland to attend the annual *Streichmusigttag* (*Streichmusik* day) in April and to hike up to the *Alpstobete* (alpine festivals) in the summer. It is important to note that in a mobile and internet-connected world, in which it is possible to have access to almost any culture, regional Swiss culture such as *Streichmusik* is cultivated by the Appenzeller and Toggenburger people, and appreciated to a great extent by the Swiss tourists traveling to the area. Swiss tourists seek and celebrate their “roots,” even if they are not as age-old and unchanging as they might be led to believe.

The customs of the Toggenburg and Appenzell, including *Streichmusik*, are marketed as culturally authentic, a contested notion. So, what is the intersection between commercialism and purported cultural authenticity? Historian Marilyn Halter states: “exalting a particular culture and making money while doing it are not... antithetical” (Halter quoted in Comaroff and Comaroff 2009, 9). In fact, Halter believes that

commodification of a culture is frequently a “positive mechanism in the pursuit of authenticity” and notes that it should not be assumed that commodification of a culture will have negative consequences on the culture (ibid., 9). In the Swiss case, I suggest that the culture is preserved and maintained because there is an audience and therefore an income. For example, violinist Maya Stieger and *Hackbrett* player and builder Werner Alder are getting many customers for their presentations at the *Kulturwerkstatt* (culture workshop), housed within Alder’s *Hackbrett*-building workshop.¹⁴⁵ The *Kulturwerkstatt* offers three types of workshops, “*Rund ums Hackbrett*” (all about the *Hackbrett*), “*Appenzeller Brauchtum*” (Appenzeller customs), “*Jodeln und Talerschwingen*” (yodeling and *Talerschwingen*, the traditional rolling of a coin in an earthenware basin).¹⁴⁶ They have had a recent increase in presentations and performances. It is significant that there is such interest in the *Kulturwerkstatt*, it indicates the potency of Swissness. Alder and Stieger perform Appenzeller music for a mostly elderly, Swiss audience that travel by the bus-load to the Appenzell and come to experience Swiss heritage, the authentic, and the traditional. The commercial aspect of *Streichmusik* informs the performance practice. Specifically, Arthur Alder’s repertoire, Werner’s father—which is still otherwise carefully guarded by the family and therefore not often performed—is being passed on by the *Kulturwerkstatt*. Alder and Stieger are reviving the performance of Arthur Alder’s compositions in the context of their presentations for tourists. Arthur Alder (1931-2005) was part of the third generation of the Alder dynasty,

¹⁴⁵ *Kulturwerkstatt* website. <http://www.kulturwerkstatt-appenzellerland.ch/kulturwerkstatt/index.php?id=3> (accessed December 23rd, 2014).

¹⁴⁶ *Kulturwerkstatt* website, presentations page. <http://www.kulturwerkstatt-appenzellerland.ch/kulturwerkstatt/index.php?id=3> (accessed December 23rd, 2014).

which was considered the zenith of *Alder Streichmusik* in the *Streichmusik* community. Appenzell commercialism tends to inspire the performance practice and repertoire in what is perceived as an authentic or traditional direction. This is ironically an imagined authenticity of an invented tradition—the most typical *Streichmusik* pieces are performed, the *Tracht* (traditional costume) is worn and the requisite and often self-deprecating jokes are told between sets. This practice of telling jokes marks a “cultural intimacy” (Herzfeld 2005) of the region. Anthropologist Michael Herzfeld coined the term “cultural intimacy” in 1997 to write about “the recognition of those aspects of a cultural identity that are considered a source of external embarrassment but that nevertheless provide insiders with their assurance of common sociality” (Herzfeld 2005, 3). The Appenzeller people (in particular their small stature) are often the source of a joke in the rest of Switzerland. Rather than try to hide the stereotypes they embrace them by ridiculing themselves.

Streichmusik Alder has had economic success for many decades by performing to Swiss tourists’ expectations. As violinist Josef Rempfler states, they have a “good stage presence” (Rempfler 2012).¹⁴⁷ He also noted that *Streichmusik Alder* “have a good name, they have already been on the market for over one hundred years” (Rempfler 2012).¹⁴⁸ Rempfler speaks of the “recipe” for authenticity of the “old,” i.e. third generation

Streichmusik Alder:

That is the recipe of the old *Streichmusik*. They only have this performance. They are already laughing when they come to the performances, they have their hats on, they have their bells with them [for *Schelleschotten*—the traditional swinging of the bells associated with yodeling after the festive procession of the cows and

¹⁴⁷ Original German: “haben gute Bühnenpräsenz gehabt” (Rempfler 2013).

¹⁴⁸ Original German: “aber sie haben einen guten Namen, sie sind schon über hundred Jahre auf dem Markt” (Rempfler 2013)

goats up or down to different pastures] and say “Jahoo, Jahoo!” They have only this show and they do it really well. (Rempfler 2012)¹⁴⁹

Even though the members of *Streichmusik Alder* are now older and not as sure of the technical aspects of the performance, according to Rempfler they still know how to put on a good performance: “they still fulfill the contract—they go on stage, laugh, play—maybe with a few more mistakes than before, but they still know what it takes. That is important” (Rempfler 2012).¹⁵⁰ A good performance in this case is to project an entertaining stage presence—some might say to perform the clichés of the genre—as Rempfler describes in the above quote. In the case of *Streichmusik Alder* they have time on their side in terms of marketing power as the most iconic ensemble that plays the genre. *Streichmusik Alder* represent an imagined heritage through what is deemed by some as authentic and traditional performance because it is historically informed. Marketing and performing what might be labeled by some as stereotypes, proves to be financially successful, as is seen in the difference in economics in the Appenzell and the Toggenburg. In examining the contrasting ways that the Appenzell and the Toggenburg rebrand the region and its products in order to sell an imagined heritage, it is important to investigate the historical economic differences.

5. Economics and Culture in the Appenzell and the Toggenburg

The narrow valley of the Toggenburg is dependent on tourism, especially the upper part of the valley from Ebnat-Kappel to Wildhaus, where there is not much

¹⁴⁹ Original German: “Das ist das Rezept von der alten Streichmusik. Die machen nur das. Sie lachen schon wenn sie kommen, die haben den Hut an, sie haben die Schellen dabei, und sagen “Jahoo, Jahoo!” Die haben genau nur das Segment und das machen sie gut “(Rempfler 2012).

¹⁵⁰ Original German: “Sie erfüllen immer noch den Auftrag—es wird auf die Bühne gegangen, wird gelacht, wird gespielt—vielleicht schon mit mehr Fehlern als früher. Sie wissen immer noch, was es braucht. Das ist wichtig” (Rempfler 2012).

industry. Roger Meier, director of the *Toggenburger Tourismus* (Toggenburg Tourist Office) states that “about 65% of the population is affected by tourism...this is a large share. Even so, it is almost too small of a share of the population to really advance tourism” (Meier 2013).¹⁵¹ However, many of the hotels built in the 1970s—to accommodate the ski vacationers in the Toggenburg—are not at full capacity or even empty and currently less than 20% of the available rooms are booked on average in the hotels. I asked Meier why this is:

The offer does not work anymore—compared with other destinations, especially vacation destinations, it is extremely outdated. You see this reflected in the infrastructure. Today, the information media is much faster than twenty years ago. The guest is well informed and can make comparisons, with one click he can immediately find deals and decide what works for him. The guest no longer searches in just one region. So when they want to go on vacation in an alpine destination, the Toggenburg is no longer the only option, even Switzerland is not the only option, rather all alpine destinations can be compared. We are really behind, as of the last twenty to thirty years, to invest and renovate. This is reflected in that tourists come for just a short stay or even just make a day long excursion. (Meier 2013)¹⁵²

The Toggenburg has not made the effort to keep its tourist infrastructure updated, something that *Toggenburger Tourismus* is trying to help remedy by rebranding so that the Toggenburg can keep up with the competition of the rest of the world. As Meier states, the competition is global—not only the Appenzell and the Toggenburg are

¹⁵¹ Original German: “etwa 65% ist vom Tourismus betroffen... Das ist ein recht grosser Anteil. Trotzdem ist der Anteil fast zu klein, um den Tourismus richtig voranzutreiben” (Meier 2013).

¹⁵² Original German: “Das Angebot stimmt nicht—das Angebot vergleichbar mit anderen Destinationen, Feriendestinationen vor allem, ist massiv überaltert. Das ist in der Infrastruktur widerspiegelt. Heute sind die Informationsmedien ganz anders als vor 20 Jahren. Der Gast informiert sich, der Gast kann vergleichen, er hat per Klick sofort Offerten und kann abschätzen was für ihn stimmt. Der Gast orientiert sich nicht mehr rein in einer Region, also wenn man alpine Ferien machen will, dann ist es nicht nur einfach das Toggenburg, das in frage kommt, selbst nicht nur die Schweiz, sondern dann vergleicht man den ganzen alpinen Raum. Man hat die letzten 20, 30 Jahren ziemlich verschlafen, muss man deutlich sagen. Man hat nicht investiert, nicht renoviert und das hat sich allmählich wieder spiegelt in Toggenburg als Ausflugsdestination. Es finden vor allem Kurzaufenthalte statt oder eben sogar nur Tagesausflüge” (Meier 2013)

competing with one another. This is why Meier believes it would be practical for the Appenzell and the Toggenburg to work together.

The level of funding for cultural events has been very different in the Appenzell and the Toggenburg. There is a strong financial support by the canton for traditional culture in Appenzell Innerrhoden and Ausserrhoden, two rural half cantons. However, the Toggenburg is a contrasting case as it is part of the canton St. Gall. In canton St. Gall most of the funding for arts events goes to the productions in the city, such as the opera, and not to the rural valley of the Toggenburg where arts events consist of local culture. In alternate terms, cultural funding in the canton St. Gall goes towards more erudite productions whereas in both Appenzell Innerrhoden and Ausserrhoden the cultural funding supports “ethno-commodities” (Comaroff and Comaroff 2009, 20). Examples of “ethno-commodities” in this region include *Streichmusik* (including festivals), *Alpfahrt* (traditional, festive procession of cattle to higher and lower elevations in spring and fall, respectively), and *Viehschau* (a large cow prize show event in the fall where the cows are decorated and exhibited), and *Silvesterchlausen*, which I described earlier in this chapter.

“Ethno-commodity” (Comaroff and Comaroff 2009, 20) is an anomaly among commodities in that it seems to “*resist* ordinary economic rationality” (ibid., 20). Compared to other commodities, “ethno-commodity” “may be reproduced and traded without appearing to lose its original value” (ibid., 20). In other words, Walter Benjamin’s conception of “aura” (Benjamin 1968)—the aesthetic and economic value of the commodity—is not depleted in reproduction. I argue that the aesthetics do not suffer because of commercialism even though there are some individuals in the community that

say that the cultural products and performances lose value through commodification. In “ethno-commodity” settings (tourist contexts), the repertoire that is considered traditional is repeated and reproduced. This creates a scenario in which older pieces and performance practice are perpetuated.

Partially due to government funding for “ethno-commodities,” traditions are practiced more publicly in the Appenzell and more privately in the Toggenburg, as I describe in greater detail in chapter 3. Many performances in the Toggenburg were and are often in the home and included just the family and friends.¹⁵³ Another example of the private/public dichotomy is the way in which the website is used that is sponsored and maintained by the tourist organizations for each region. The *Appenzeller Tourismus* website¹⁵⁴ had an updated list of the performances whereas the website in the Toggenburg¹⁵⁵ does not. Both websites are set up so that the performers themselves can enter their performance dates—the performers in the Appenzell do this in contrast to the performers in the Toggenburg. I pointed out to Meier that in the restaurant on the alp *Gamplüt*, above the town of Wildhaus in the upper Toggenburg, was a list of performances on the counter that were to happen in the restaurant that summer that were not entered into the website. Basically the local individuals who frequent that restaurant—a hike or gondola ride up from the town—are the ones who are aware of the

¹⁵³ Private performances originated with the music making in the home during the Protestant Reformation. The Swiss reformation began with the reformer Ulrich Zwingli (1484-1531). He was born in the small town of Wildhaus in the upper Toggenburg and had a strong influence on the valley. The Toggenburg is nationally known for its *Hausorgeln* (house organs) that were often placed in the top floor of the home in order to be closest to God. Since the Reformation the music practices in the Toggenburg have centered around the home.

¹⁵⁴ “Me hend a schös lendli,” *Appenzellerland* website, accessed June 22, 2014, <http://www.appenzell.info>

¹⁵⁵ “Toggenburg: Klingt Gut,” *Toggenburger Tourismus* website, accessed June 20, 2014, <http://www.toggenburg.org/de>

performances. Meier told me also that many events are advertised only by word-of-mouth in the Toggenburg, making it difficult for the tourism office to promote them to outsiders. Part of the economic difference between the Appenzell and the Toggenburg stems from the lack of communication and promotion on the part of the Toggenburger musicians.

The Appenzell has more visibility than the Toggenburg since the traditions are practiced with more self-consciousness in the Appenzell. When Toggenburger musicians perform outside the region they are often mistaken for Appenzeller musicians. Part of the reason is that the Appenzell is much better at promoting itself and also that the Appenzell and the Toggenburg *Tracht* (traditional costume) are very similar. The Appenzellerland has gained visibility, because for more than forty years *Appenzeller Käse* (Appenzeller cheese) has had an aggressive advertisement campaign portraying Appenzeller men wearing their *Tracht*. Certainly, part of the Appenzell's aura is propagated by reproductions of the images of the Appenzell through advertisements along the railway lines throughout the nation. *Appenzeller Käse* has been advertising on a national level since the 1970s, denoting their specialness by emphasizing that their recipe is secret.¹⁵⁶ Ironically, *Appenzeller Käse* as a large corporation, is highlighting its specificities and its connection to place while a large percent of its product is produced in canton St. Gall (Roth 2012).

Most recently, *Appenzeller Käse* even capitalized on the popularity of the recent “ALS Challenge” by creating a commercial, making reference to the video phenomenon that went viral in the summer and fall of 2014, and inserting the typical *Appenzeller Käse*

¹⁵⁶ This secrecy speaks to sociologist Henri Lefebvre's “representational space” (1991, 33), in which the clandestine and particularities are emphasized.

phrase about secrecy.¹⁵⁷ The Appenzeller people are very successful at marketing their culture as a whole, from customs to products, all supported by the same branding effort. The institutions and infrastructure in the Appenzell are established in a more profitable way:

They [the Appenzeller people] have really promoted their customs in all their products. You also see this when you go into stores. Every time I am amazed by all the products for sale. If you cannot find something in the department stores, you can find it in the town center of Appenzell...of course there is the ambience, with the car-free town center that has the unique Appenzeller houses, with the living traditions, at times you are even served in the *Tracht* in the restaurants. This creates a big impression for tour guide organizations. The tourists come here by the bus-load and shop in Appenzell and take souvenirs home. This does not happen here [Toggenburg]. It has to do with the production. (Meier 2013)¹⁵⁸

The Appenzell is better equipped with its quaint, car-free, commercial center than the Toggenburg localities. The towns in the upper part of the Toggenburg—Nesslau, Alt. St. Johann, and Wildhaus are intersected by the main street and so have long, drawn-out towns with no real center whereas the town of Appenzell is centered around a *Dorfkern* (a village center). Meier mentioned that even though the Toggenburg has many more hotels than the Appenzell, per capita the Appenzell has a greater income from each tourist—the tourism in the Appenzell is packaged as a whole experience.

¹⁵⁷ The “ALS Challenge” became a widespread phenomenon in the summer and fall of 2014. Participants in the challenge filmed themselves pouring buckets of ice water over their heads to create awareness of research to cure ALS (Amyotrophic lateral sclerosis) or what is otherwise known as Lou Gehrig’s disease. Each person taking part in the challenge donated to ALS research and nominated additional people to do the challenge. These videos were first created by celebrities, which prompted many others to take part and post their videos on social media sites such as Facebook.

¹⁵⁸ Original German: “Sie haben das geschafft, das Brauchtum wirklich auf einer Linie zu ziehen. Das sehen sie auch, wenn sie dort in die Geschäfte gehen. Ich bin jedes Mal erstaunt, was man alles an Produkten kaufen könnte. Wenn sie etwas nicht in den Warenhäusern finden, in Appenzell finden sie es, ich glaube...natürlich das Ambiente, mit dem autofreien Ortskern, mit den Appenzellerhäusern, die überall stehen, mit den geliebten Traditionen, sie werden teilweise in der Tracht bedient... Das ist schon sehr eindrücklich für Reiseveranstalter. Da die Leute carweise kommen und dann kaufen sie dort ein und dann wird ein Souvenir mitgenommen. Das ist hier überhaupt nicht vorhanden. Es hat auch viel mit der Inszenierung zu tun” (Meier 2013).

In contrast to the Appenzell, Meier has found it difficult for the tourism organizers to attempt to organize cultural events in conjunction with the local farmers, performers, and business owners. The Toggenburger people appear to be less interested in uniting their efforts to draw tourists. Meier mentioned that he knew of only one restaurant owner who was promoting the local culture in the Toggenburg, other than that no one seems interested in marketing the traditions:

I know one hotelier who promotes the tradition, specifically the *Schwing* [Swiss wrestling] culture. This is the Hotel *Sternen* in the town of Unterwasser. Other than this individual, I do not know of anyone here who promotes the tradition. There are almost no stores where you could buy the merchandise, such as souvenirs. The situation is easier in the town of Appenzell—you can drive there, get out of your car and go in, consume and then continue on. Here in the Toggenburg the distances are too far. The typical town centers are missing—Unterwasser has it a little, Alt St. Johann maybe also a bit, but otherwise I do not know where. (Meier 2013)¹⁵⁹

It is not only that there are no real town centers in the Toggenburg. Meier also spoke of how someone from the tourism industry attempted to coordinate the Toggenburger farmers on their *Alpfahrt* (the festive procession of bringing the cattle to and from the alp in spring and fall) as is done in the Appenzell.

¹⁵⁹ Original German: “Ich kenne jetzt auch einen Hotelier, der jetzt traditionell unterwegs ist. Also eine gewisse Schwing-Kultur lebt. Das ist das Hotel Sternen in Unterwasser. Aber sonst kenne ich hier nicht viele, die darauf auch Wert legen. Es gibt ja fast keine Läden, wo man Souvenirs und so weiter einkaufen könnte. Das ist vom Verhalten also viel einfacher im Appenzell, weil es sich dort auf den Ortskern konzentriert. Man kann hinfahren, aussteigen, hinein gehen, konsumieren und dann geht man wieder. Im Toggenburg sind die Wege, die Distanzen viel zu gross dafür. Die typischen Ortskerne, die fehlen ein bisschen—also Unterwasser hat es so ein bisschen, Alt St. Johann vielleicht auch noch ein bisschen und sonst weiss ich nicht wo” (Meier 2013).



Figure 20. *Alpfahrt* (alpine procession) passing through the town of Urnäsch, AR (Photograph by Anthony Douglass)

In the Appenzell the farmers coordinate with each other when they decide to do the *Alpfahrt*, when they bring the cattle up to higher pastures. The *Alpfahrt* is a tourist attraction, as the *Sennen* (cattle and goat herders), their helpers and children are dressed in the *Tracht* and intermittently sing a *Naturjodel* (slow improvised vocal piece using the overtone series). It is much more worthwhile to wake up at dawn (which is when the *Alpfahrt* travels through town to make it up the mountain before the heat of midday) when there are several farms traveling in a row. According to Meier, in the Toggenburg the farms not only do the *Alpfahrt* separately (and recent attempts to coordinate have not been successful), but they do not let anyone know when they are going to happen. Dissimilar to the Toggenburg, in Urnäsch, Appenzell Ausserrhoden, the town where I lived during fieldwork in 2012 and 2013, the restaurant owners were always informed on which days the *Alpfahrt* would occur in any particular week. This way, tourists could

organize their overnight stays in the hotels so they could watch the *Alpfahrten*, which typically pass through the town between four and eight in the morning.

As I mentioned earlier in this chapter, *Toggenburger Tourismus* (Toggenburg tourist office) has recently created new slogans and a new logo for the region: *Echtheit, Natürlichkeit, Heile Welt* (authenticity, naturalness, ideal world) and *Toggenburg, klingt gut* (Toggenburg, sounds good). As seen in the photo below, the font used for the new Toggenburger slogan, *Echtheit, Natürlichkeit, Heile Welt*, is Bauhaus. Created by Herbert Bayer (1900-1985), the Bauhaus font represents German modernism of the Bauhaus movement (1919-1933) through its simplified form.¹⁶⁰

Roger Meier, the director of *Toggenburger Tourismus*, commented that the new slogan is a controversy, and several individuals and companies still use the old logo that has an image of a rainbow, on their products. This was true of some of the merchandise sold at the local health food store in Wildhaus—the soaps and herbs displayed the old logo.

¹⁶⁰ “The Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Bauhaus 1919-1933 webpage.” 2000-2014.
http://www.metmuseum.org/toah/hd/bauh/hd_bauh.htm



Figure 21. The new logo of *Toggenburger Tourismus* (The Toggenburg Tourist Office) (Photograph by Andrea Douglass)

Violinist Jakob Knaus, who played with Peter Roth in the ensemble that revived *Streichmusik* in the Toggenburg in the 1960s, still uses the old Toggenburger logo on his cheeses as well. The Knaus family has a long history of cheese making in the Toggenburg. Jakob Knaus is the twentieth generation of cheese farmers in his family in the Toggenburg, and so is rooted in the history of performing cultural acts, including cheese making and *Streichmusik* performance.



Figure 22. The old logo of *Toggenburger Tourismus* (The Toggenburg Tourist Office)

Roger Meier found this resistance to using the new logo prevalent among individuals whose families had long histories in the Toggenburg. The resistance to change in the Toggenburg has made it difficult for *Toggenburger Tourismus* to promote the region and organize cultural events to draw more tourists. This attitude, along with a sense of self-doubt, is the reason why the Toggenburg has not made a recording in decades, in contrast to the Appenzell.

At the end of my fieldwork trip in 2012, a few weeks before I was to return to the U.S. in the summer, I took the familiar train ride to Appenzell, the main town of Appenzell Innerrhoden. It was evening, but the days were long, and it was still light when I arrived at the train station in the town of Appenzell. I immediately recognized Daniel “Dani” Bösch’s car when he came to pick me up at the train station—the logo for his ensemble *Quartett Laseyer* was emblazoned on the side of his car. When I mentioned it, Bösch proudly explained that *Quartett Laseyer* is making efforts to present a professional

image of the ensemble. Each member of the ensemble has the logo on their car, they all have business cards, and their website is easily navigable and kept up to date with upcoming performances. When their violinist changed from Martin Dobler to Johannes Schmid-Kunz, they quickly changed the professional photos on the homepage of the website, removing the old violinist and adding the new one.

Just like *Quartett Laseyer*, *Appenzeller Echo* also maintain an updated website, current with all their upcoming performances and projects. *Appenzeller Echo* has a section devoted to the history of *Streichmusik*. Josef Rempfler, violinist for *Appenzeller Echo* made a website listing all the ensembles in Appenzell Innerrhoden so that people in search of an ensemble could contact them directly (he was receiving many phone calls and giving them the phone numbers of the musicians). *Quartett Laseyer* and *Appenzeller Echo* are to date some of the most successful and well-liked ensembles. Currently they play the most performances of all the *Streichmusik* ensembles. Assuredly, part of their successfulness comes from their ability to promote themselves, through recordings and maintaining updated websites. In contrast, the website for *Streichmusik Alder* has not been updated in over three years.

Many Appenzeller ensembles create recordings regularly, as a way of maintaining their cultural presence in the local and national music industry market. Violinist Erwin Sager spoke of how this phenomenon developed in the Appenzell in the 1950s and 60s. At that time “an ensemble that did not make a recording was somehow forgotten. So you had to show that you were here by making a recording, and in five to ten years another

recording. The market was flooded with recordings” (Sager 2012).¹⁶¹ In the Toggenburg, on the other hand, it has been many decades since an ensemble made a professional recording. Under the leadership of Peter Roth, the Toggenburger *Streichmusik* “*Churfirsten*” made a short record with four pieces on it, as well as an LP in the late 1960s. The other active ensemble in the Toggenburg, the *Brandhölzler Streichmusik*, were approached in recent years by someone who would finance a recording. So far nothing has materialized, in part because the ensemble thinks they are not prepared enough to make a recording. Peter Roth finds this response “the typical Toggenburger way. When the Appenzeller musicians have learned a few new pieces they make a recording, but the Toggenburger think they still have too few” (Roth 2012).¹⁶² The issue of lack of recordings in the Toggenburg is complex, part of the reason is economic, but also there is a feeling of not measuring up to the performers in the Appenzell, a certain mentality of worthlessness. It is because of the differing projections of the two regions—the Appenzell marketing itself to outsiders and the Toggenburg not (except for the *Klangwelt*)—that the Appenzell is viewed as a symbol of Swissness on a national level and the Toggenburg remains unrecognized.

¹⁶¹ Original German: “Eine Musikgruppe, die keinen Tonträger macht, ist irgendwie so ein bisschen vergessen gegangen. Also, man hat fast mit einer Tonproduktion zeigen müssen, dass man hier ist, und irgendwann in fünf oder zehn Jahren gibt es wieder eine neue. Also, da ist der Markt fast überflutet worden mit Produktionen” (Sager 2012).

¹⁶² Original German: “typisch Toggenburger Art. Die Appenzeller wenn sie ein paar Stückli spielen können, dann machen sie eine Platte. Die Toggenburger finden, dass sie noch zu wenig spielen können” (Roth 2012).

6. Changes due to Cultural Tourism

Cultural tourism has generated developments in *Streichmusik* performance. Tourists do not know the traditional dance that accompanies *Streichmusik*, and in tourist settings, music making has shifted from its functional aspect of inspiring the dancers, to a more presentational style, what they call “Concertante,” or concert-style. For many of the ensembles, the repertoire has increased in complexity, *Geschwister Küng* being the most extreme example of this case.¹⁶³ The members of *Geschwister Küng*, their name meaning literally, the “siblings Küng,” are a group of sisters and one brother who have all received college (and higher) degrees in performance and so they have a high level of technical proficiency. As there are fewer dance events, the type of pieces performed have changed. In some instances the folk music is approached as background music at restaurants, but more often than not, *Streichmusik* performers have adopted a presentational style.

The instrumentation of *Streichmusik* ensembles has also changed due to cultural tourism. For example, there are many more ensembles that use the accordion as a melodic instrument, some with violin and accordion sharing melodic responsibilities, while others trade off between two accordions. As I discuss in chapter 2, out of all the *Streichmusik* instruments, the *Hackbrett* has had a noted increase in performers. Local teachers articulated that learning to play violin is much less popular due to the steeper initial learning curve of the violin. Students have to practice violin for a few years before they have an adequate sound and intonation to perform with an ensemble. Accordion and *Hackbrett* more immediately give the student a sense of accomplishment as the students

See chapter 5 for more on the subject of borrowing from other traditions.

do not need to work on intonation and bowing. Of all the instruments there are the fewest cello players. The cello predominantly plays an accompaniment, but requires knowledge of music theory and improvisation and therefore is at the same time challenging but not in the spotlight, a combination that does not interest many young students.

A last change due to increased cultural tourism is that more ensembles exist, creating more competition for performance opportunities. *Streichmusik Alder*, for instance, is competing with many young, technically accomplished performers: “today, we do not play as often. In the last few years we have had more competition. There are many young and good performers and so now we play only about one hundred shows per year” (Freund 2013).¹⁶⁴ Freund then goes on to say that in their prime, *Streichmusik Alder* performed almost every day. There is more tourism to the area now, and as a result a need for more ensembles. Many groups of young musicians are forming as performance opportunities increase. Even though there is an increase in performers and changes to *Streichmusik* due to cultural tourism, the “specialness” of *Streichmusik* is maintained through its alignment with Appenzellerness and more broadly, Swissness.

Conclusion

I am in a good field; it will probably be “in” for at least another ten years. Folk music is totally en vogue, it is almost not good, almost too much.

—Noldi Alder, personal interview, 2012¹⁶⁵

As Noldi Alder relates, Swiss folk music is currently incredibly popular in Switzerland, “almost too much” for Alder because it is commercializing the genre, which

¹⁶⁵ Original German: “Ich habe jetzt ein gutes Gebiet. Das ist sehr wahrscheinlich noch zehn Jahre "in," oder? Die Volksmusik ist ja völlig "in." Also, das ist fast nicht gut, ist fast zu viel” (Noldi Alder 2012)

is ironic since *Streichmusik* has historically been performed for Swiss visitors of the *Kurorte* in the nineteenth century (see chapter 2). The recent popularity of folk music is related to the Swissness phenomenon. Swiss tourists conceptualize the Appenzell and the Toggenburg as their imaginary heritage. This stems from the practice and governmental financial support of old traditions in the region, which is not always the case in other, more cosmopolitan areas of Switzerland. The local culture is rebranded in such a way that Swiss tourists have a sense of longing and belonging for this “true Switzerland.”

Both the tourism infrastructure as well as individual performers and ensembles capitalize on “specialness” (in other words, “aura”) in promoting place and cultural heritage. The regional “culture-on-display” benefits by promoting an image of a *Heile Welt* (ideal or idyllic world) for Swiss tourists. Until recently, gaining access to the *Streichmusik* repertoire was difficult because individuals outside the families who guarded the tradition did not have access to the notation. The Appenzell has an allure that is larger than its exchange-value and the aura is easily branded, which enables “marketing of heritage-as-possession” (Comaroff and Comaroff 2009, 32). Efficacious in branding its culture, the Appenzell tourist industry packages culture as a product (*Appenzeller Käse*, *Appenzeller Bitter*, *Appenzeller Mineral*, for example) as well as promoting it as a living tradition (*Alpfahrt*, *Alpstobete*, *Viehschau*, *Silvesterchlausen*, for example). The Toggenburger musicians are less effective in the branding process, as many in the community prefer to keep their traditions for themselves. The industry in the Toggenburg valley attempts to align itself with a more cosmopolitan version of Swissness since the Toggenburger name is not a recognizable brand. To survive in a globalized, mobile world,

the Appenzellerland and Toggenburg tourism could benefit from working together to promote the region, but as Roger Meier of *Toggenburger Tourismus* mentions, Appenzell Innerrhoden, Appenzell Ausserrhoden, and the Toggenburg each solicitously practice (and sometimes promote) their own customs. The reasons for differing cultural attitudes in the proximate areas of the Appenzell and the Toggenburg are complex, varied and rooted in a long history of frictions.

In the above quote stating that folk music is “almost not good, almost too much” (Alder, A. 2012), Alder’s unease stems from a fear of over-commercialization of folk music—this can change the way the music is performed. Paradoxically, *Streichmusik* has been commodified since its beginnings. What is being sold is a performance of belonging to an imagined heritage and an encounter with a *Heile Welt*. Certainly, the rebranding of the region is successful and the way the *Streichmusik* performers present themselves, both visually and sonically, contributes to the destination branding of the region, as I will show in greater detail in the following chapter.

CHAPTER FIVE: AURAL AND VISUAL EXAMPLES OF “STAGED AUTHENTICITY”: THE DIALOGUE BETWEEN PURISM AND SYNCRETISM

I will give you an example. A company has an event and has foreign visitors. Then we have to play Appenzeller music, we cannot play any Hungarian or Irish music, nothing like that. We have to yodel, do *Talerschwingen*¹⁶⁶, play alphorn and present the clichés of our music.

—Josef Rempfler, personal interview, 2012¹⁶⁷

This is what Josef Rempfler, violinist for the ensemble *Appenzeller Echo*, told me about playing for varying audiences. A cultural entrepreneur, Rempfler shows his awareness of audience perception and expectations. He knows when it is appropriate to include pieces from outside the genre—Hungarian or Irish music, for example—but also when it is important to play the traditional repertoire and present the “clichés.”

An increase in the number of tourists to cultural events in the Appenzell has created more performance opportunities for the local *Streichmusik* ensembles in the past few decades. The increased and varied performance opportunities have resulted in diverse reactions to the “tourist gaze” (Urry 2011) among ensembles, some choosing to perform “traditionally” and others incorporating non-traditional genres and performance practices, arguably modernizing the style; in other words, both sides of Swiss ethnomusicologist Max Peter Baumann’s (1996) conception of purism and syncretism are represented. For instance, *Quartett Laseyer* proclaim themselves as “innovative yet original” on their

¹⁶⁶ A coin is rolled around in a large earthenware bowl to accompany a *zäuerli* (vocal technique). The rolling of the coin in the bowl imitates the sound of cow bells.

¹⁶⁷ Original German: “Ich mache ein Beispiel. Irgendjemand hat einen Firmenanlass mit einer ausländischen Gruppe. Dann müssen wir Appenzeller Musik spielen. Dann dürfen wir keine ungarische, keine irische Musik spielen, nichts anderes. Dann müssen wir jodeln, Talerschwingen, Alphornblasen und das Klischee von unserer Musik präsentieren” (Rempfler 2012).

website to advertise both their traditional and modernizing approaches.¹⁶⁸ Paying homage to the “original” way of performing is important to the ensembles that are otherwise modernizing the tradition. I further expand Baumann’s concepts of purism and syncretism into a continuum to describe the fluctuating repertoire and presentational approaches of ensembles, depending on the audience (as described by Rempfler in the quote above).

In this chapter, using theoretical frameworks from tourism studies, such as John Urry’s “tourist gaze” (2011) and Dean MacCannell’s “staged authenticity” (1996), I explore the seeming contradictions in the notions of authenticity embodied in performances.¹⁶⁹ I examine the commodification of *Streichmusik*, repertoire choice, wearing of the *Tracht* (traditional costume), and entrepreneurial endeavors to highlight the different marketing strategies of various ensembles in order to answer the questions of how and why this region has become a symbol of Swissness. I will argue that differing choices among the *Streichmusik* performers form, inform, and provoke each other, creating a vibrant musical community.

1. “Tourist gaze” and “tourist listening”

As described in chapter 1, one of the most prevalent theoretical lenses in tourism studies is sociologist John Urry’s “tourist gaze” (2011). The “tourist gaze” refers to the visual stereotyping by tourists and expectations of clichés. Urry has expanded the “tourist gaze” to include corporeality in his newest edition in 2011. I augment the notion of

¹⁶⁸ Quartett Laseyer website. http://www.laseyer.ch/laseyer_d/quartett_laseyer.htm (accessed June 3rd, 2013)

¹⁶⁹ See chapter 1 for more on the “tourist gaze” and “staged authenticity.”

“tourist gaze” to emphasize the aural by coining the new term “tourist listening,” which is inclusive of more than just the visual and specifically focuses on the listening expectations of tourists. The “tourist gaze” and “tourist listening” are formed around conceptions of authenticity.¹⁷⁰ Through the “tourist gaze” and “tourist listening,” tourists begin to associate certain sights and sounds with ideas of nationhood (or Swissness) through preconceived expectations. In the *Streichmusik* case, the manner in which performers present themselves visually and aurally depicts their alignment with or contraposition to Swissness.

How are such stereotypical delineations propagated? Professors of English Culler (1981) and Frow (1991) argue that tourists do not actually perceive the tourist object itself (the tourist object may include a building, a performance, a piece of art, etc.), but interpret the object as a sign.¹⁷¹ The tourists experience what the object represents for them rather than the object itself. For example, when tourists travel to the Eiffel Tower they have preconceived ideas of what they will encounter based on images, films, descriptions, etc., to which they have been exposed in their life experience. Thus, “[a] place, a gesture, a use of language are understood not as given bits of the real but as suffused with ideality” (Frow 1991, 125). In this light, then, what is the real Eiffel Tower? Is the Eiffel Tower an object seen in person, a memory, a picture, something viewed in a film? With an iconic object such as the Eiffel Tower, it is impossible for

¹⁷⁰ Choosing the term “tourist listening” over “tourist hearing” emphasizes the agency of tourists. *Hearing*, is passive and refers to the biology of the ear, whereas *listening* implies attentiveness and agency.

¹⁷¹ I use the term “sign” in the broad sense that Charles Peirce (1839-1914) decided to use in the latter part of his life. Sign then is an overarching term that includes index and symbol. See “Commens: Digital Companion to C.S. Peirce” (<http://www.commens.org/dictionary/term/representamen>) for a letter from 1905 in which he describes this decision.

someone to perceive without preconceived notions or information about the object that have been acquired over time.¹⁷² Places can represent an idealized real, or “the *type* of the beautiful, the extraordinary, or the culturally authentic” (ibid., 125). Therefore, the tourist has no choice but to rely on previously formed ideas of what will be encountered in his or her experience as a tourist.

Tourist expectations affect a variety of performer choices: for example, repertoire, dress, venue, and marketing. In my fieldwork, I observed that performances for tourists included many more traditional *Streichmusik* pieces than the performances for local audiences. Interviewees commented on this conscious choice of repertoire for different listeners. In this way, both “tourist gaze” and “tourist listening” are instrumental in shaping the choices of performers, as I will show in greater detail later in this chapter.

2. “Staged Authenticity” in the context of Swiss Folk Music

With the presence of the “tourist gaze” and “tourist listening” there is inevitably “staged authenticity” that is performed for so-called outsiders (MacCannell 1996).¹⁷³ Sociologist Dean MacCannell introduced the concept of “staged authenticity” to tourism studies in 1976, and refers to the put on quality of tourist performances. MacCannell finds that tourists are in search of authenticity, which is found in other times and places (1996, 3). The presence of “staged authenticity” (MacCannell 1996) in Switzerland dates back to 1805 with the creation of the first *Unspunnenfest* (chapter 2). The *Unspunnen*

¹⁷² This is similar to the reflexivity that began in the 1960s and 70s when anthropologists became aware that they could not take themselves out of their accounts. Rather than try to eradicate their presence in their ethnographies, they began to consciously include themselves. Among the authors championing this approach were Napoleon Chagnon, Charles Briggs, Clifford Geertz, and Paul Rabinow (McGee and Worms, 534). Just as the anthropologist is inevitably part of his or her writing, so too the tourist brings his own preconceived ideas to the tourist experience.

¹⁷³ See chapter one for more on “staged authenticity.”

festivals, which repeat approximately every twelve years (the most recent one was in 2014) with (re)invented traditions such as yodeling and alphorn playing, have a “staged” quality of Swiss heritage. The *Unspunnen* festivals exhibit what Swiss ethnomusicologist Max Peter Baumann labels *Musikfolklorismus* (music folklorism) due to its “staged” quality. Baumann distinguishes between the complex and intertwined terms *Musikfolklore* (music folklore) and *Musikfolklorismus* (music folklorism). While the term *Folklore* was coined in the mid-nineteenth century, *Folklorismus*, also referred to as *fakelore*, was coined in 1962 by Hans Moser in the *Zeitschrift für Volkskunde* (Journal for Folklore). Moser found that *Folklorismus* materialized before World War II and then became established through tourism and advertising. Folklorism or *fakelore*, also sometimes called pseudo-folklore, refers to the adaptation or reinvention of folklore, often for commercial purposes.

Baumann takes the terms, *Folklore* and *Folklorismus* and then centers the discussion around music by coining the terms, *Musikfolklore* and *Musikfolklorismus*. *Musikfolklore* in this context generally refers to historically grounded customs whereas *Musikfolklorismus* refers to newly invented performances, sometimes based on older conventions that are produced for a tourist or outsider audience. These terms illustrate the difference between music that is a folk tradition (*Musikfolklore*) and music that is to a degree artificially engineered (*Musikfolklorismus*). The distinction between *Musikfolklore* and *Musikfolklorismus* is not so clear in the Appenzeller music community—where the staged or *Musikfolklorismus* aspects are reintegrated in the performance practice.

Local discourse around the notion of authenticity centers on an origin myth debate of *Streichmusik*. Some argue that *Streichmusik* is an age-old practice indigenous to the region. Others contend that *Streichmusik* repertoire has always borrowed from other traditions and did not occur in isolation. For example, as I have argued in chapter three, all the *Streichmusik* forms, such as Polka, Mazurka, Schottische, *Walzer*, and *Ländler* originate in other countries (Seiler 1994, 114). Also, by 1900, *Streichmusik* performers were incorporating popular music and marches from Germany and Austria (Manser 2010, 26). The *Hackbrett* (hammered dulcimer), the instrument that is said to distinguish *Streichmusik* from other Swiss folk music genres, is also not unique to the Appenzell and Toggenburg region. These cross-cultural intersections are often cited by performers to defend their choice to incorporate other genres and performance styles.

Ethnomusicologist Philipp Bohlman finds that the discursive use of authenticity in a community can be problematic: “[r]ather than fixing the language of authenticity, the new questions interpellate the troubled history that the belief in authenticity has imposed on the culture of modernity” (Bohlman 2011, xxii). Bohmann’s analysis suggests that using the label “authenticity” is problematic as it is embedded within power relations and discourses of legitimacy. For instance, authenticity in the *Streichmusik* community is measured by the performer’s birthplace and residence, length of the family legacy, choice of repertoire, and performance practice, etc. People who have lived in the Appenzell and the Toggenburg for decades are still considered outsiders if they were not born there, a phenomenon which does not happen in Swiss urban areas. The local discourse on validity applies particularly to violin players as it is often the violinist who plays the melody—

and so must have the desired phrasing—and indicates the tempo of the pieces. For example, one family of performers, *Streichmusik Schmid*, who have performed this music for five generations, consciously did not send their children to music lessons because they did not want them to lose the *schläüzig* way of bowing, for fear of losing the “authentic” sound.

The relatively recent presence of female performers has raised questions of authenticity in performance practice. Swiss ethnomusicologist Margaret Engeler, during her fieldwork for her dissertation on Appenzeller *Streichmusik* in the late 1970s and early 1980s, discovered that women, even the wives of performers, were not welcome at *Streichmusik* performances. With few exceptions, not very many women performed *Streichmusik* until recently. Bethly Giezendanner is one notable exception; she is a female instrumentalist, performing on bass with *Streichmusik Alder* in the mid-twentieth century, even going on international tours with the ensemble. In the Alder family the girls were encouraged to play *Streichmusik* in the home.¹⁷⁴ Susanne Rempfler-Alder (b.1978), daughter of *Hackbrett* player Walter Alder, performed often as part of the *Jungstriichmusig Alder* (young *Streichmusik* ensemble Alder), the ensemble for the fifth generation of the Alder Dynasty, before she was married.¹⁷⁵ However, now that she is married and has a family, she rarely performs. In 1998, the ensemble, *Fraue Streichmusik* (women’s *Streichmusik*), was purposefully created as an ensemble consisting of only

¹⁷⁴ Though once they matured, left home and married, they did not perform much or not at all.

¹⁷⁵ Walter Alder website, *Formationen* (ensembles) section. <http://www.walteralder.ch/formationen.html> (accessed November 25th, 2014).

female performers, a conscious transgressive move, challenging the male dominance of *Streichmusik* performers.



Figure 23. Bethly Giezendanner performing in an ensemble with Ueli Alder

There is still a shortage of women *Streichmusik* performers. According to their *Hackbrett* player, Brigitte Meier, it is difficult for the *Fraue Streichmusik* to find substitute players (Meier, B. 2012). While there are certainly still few women performers, their presence on stage necessitates a reexamination of what is authentic in *Streichmusik*.

3. Repertoire choice

Ensembles represent themselves to the locals and tourists via their promotional materials, comments, and choice of repertoire at performances, which are different between local and tourist audiences. As several interviewees stated, the locals want to hear music from other parts of the world but the tourists expect the traditional. As

Appenzeller Innerrhoder violinist Albert Kölbener says about the old repertoire: “the *Original Streichmusik* is not played here for the locals. Nobody would listen; it is played primarily for the tourists” (Kölbener 2012).¹⁷⁶ Due to these discrepancies, repertoire choice is affected by audiences. “Staged authenticity” does not only affect tourism, but also alters the choices performers make since the way performers are perceived affects the way they perform. As I mentioned in chapter one, the conception of “staged authenticity” has been developed further by sociologist Ning Wang (1999) and anthropologist Yujie Zhu (2012). Wang and Zhu develop authenticity in tourism into three categories: *objective*, *constructive* and *existential* (Wang 1999; Zhu 2012). The *objective* approach is binary, either something is authentic or it is not. The *constructive* approach suggests that the “genuine” and the “real” do not exist but that they are constructed or invented by individuals or institutions. The *existential* approach includes the intrapersonal (a person’s history with a tourist location) and interpersonal (shared experience among tourists as they are removed from the everyday). I will mobilize the *constructive* and *existential* approaches in this section to elucidate the particularities of repertoire choice.

Since its beginnings in the nineteenth century, *Streichmusik* has attracted a mixture of local and tourist audiences.¹⁷⁷ Even though several *Streichmusik* groups have toured internationally and one group even collaborated with Swiss rapper Bligg (see chapter 2), the majority of the performances happen in the Appenzell and Toggenburg in

¹⁷⁶ Original German: “Auch die Original Streichmusik wird hier nicht gespielt für die Einheimischen, es würde doch niemand [zuhören], es ist eigentlich vor allem für die Touristen gespielt worden” (Kölbener 2012).

¹⁷⁷ In fact, as I mentioned in chapter 2, the hotel built in the town of Weissbad, AI in the early nineteenth century was one of the first locations *Streichmusik* was performed.

small settings. The genre can be considered an “intercultural scene” where most audience members meet “face-to-face” with the performers (Stokes 1999, 152). Because of the intimate performance setting, mostly in restaurants and bars (and in the summers near the alpine pastures), the performers can get a sense for their audience and choose the pieces they play accordingly. Each venue is associated with certain audiences and therefore perceived listener expectations, in other words, “tourist listening.”

When playing for a local audience, performers had two tendencies: one was to play what locals call *Stimmungsmusik* (which translates roughly to “music that creates a good atmosphere or ambiance,” i.e. music that can be danced to) and the second was to incorporate music from other traditions. For local audiences the need to create a “staged authenticity” is different than for a tourist audience. The inhabitants of the Appenzell, in particular, enjoy dancing when they go out to hear music, or, are interested in experiencing something new. The first musical traditions from outside of Western Europe adopted into the *Streichmusik* repertoire were jazz and Hungarian music in approximately the 1970s. The repertoire has expanded since then to include flamenco (*Alderbuebe* currently collaborate with a flamenco dancer), Finnish music, American music (jazz, bluegrass, popular music), and Irish music (fiddle music), among others. Currently, Irish music is most popular among the Appenzeller locals—*Appenzeller Echo* has even had several recent performances consisting only of Irish music.

When I arrived for an interview at Josef Rempfler’s house, violinist of *Appenzeller Echo*, his wife answered the door since Rempfler was in his converted basement music studio, listening to country music on Youtube. Having met Rempfler only briefly by then,

he, more than other interviewees, was interested in the kind of music I played (other interviewees were more interested in my motivation for learning about their music). I mentioned a few genres that interest me, among them Brazilian *choro*, which was unfamiliar to him. Later in the interview while I was taking photographs of old postcards and photos he had of his ensembles, he had a few minutes and immediately searched Youtube for *choro*. Rempfler was open to incorporate any kind of musical style into *Streichmusik* and found any opportunity to unearth new repertoire and educate himself about other styles. Rempfler has what ethnomusicologist Martin Stokes calls a “magpie attitude toward genres, picked up, transformed and reinterpreted in their own terms” (Stokes 1997, 16). Rempfler may be reacting to repeating the same repertoire for tourist audiences and at corporate events as repetition can cause not only routine but also trivialization of the culture performed (Kirshenblatt 1998, 64). However, it is also possible that when cultural entrepreneurs such as Rempfler have access to music from around the world through free resources such as Youtube, they take the opportunity to incorporate what appeals to them.

Rempfler revealed that when the domestic tourist audience expects *Streichmusik* that his ensemble tries to play traditionally: “the three of us play *Streichmusik* in the small, “original” formation—violin, *Hackbrett*, bass—as authentically and as well as we can” (Rempfler, 2012).¹⁷⁸ Creating a perceived “constructive authenticity,” the members of *Appenzeller Echo* could be labeled as “vendors of ethnic authenticity” (Comaroff and Comaroff 2009, 24). For instance, Rempfler is aware of the expectations that traditional

¹⁷⁸ Original German: “Wir spielen jetzt Streichmusik, zu dritt, in der kleinen Originalbesetzung— Geige, Hackbrett, Bass—so echt wie wir es einfach können und so gut wie es wir können” (Rempfler, 2012).

music be played at corporate events. However, when there is a local audience, the repertoire is different, then they “also play other things: we play Irish, Hungarian, classical and German salon music” (Rempfler 2012).¹⁷⁹ Rempfler’s ensemble is capable of playing music of different genres but he is aware of the listeners’ perceived desires. As a cultural entrepreneur, meeting audience expectations is what propels his choices. As a way of defending the incorporation of repertoire outside the genre, Rempfler argues that even around the 1920s, *Streichmusik* ensembles played what was considered modern for the time—such as a Viennese waltz or a German March. Rempfler plays what he considers current modern music with his ensemble (2013). Rempfler goes on to say: “We are currently hired because we play such a wide ranging repertoire. I get called to play gigs because we also play Irish music” (Rempfler 2012).¹⁸⁰ Rempfler then immediately adds that *Appenzeller Echo* always wears the *Tracht*, as a way to indicate that they are firmly rooted in the Appenzeller tradition, that they pay homage to the way the music has historically been performed.¹⁸¹ Rempfler indicates that *Appenzeller Echo* is adapting to their audiences, without feeling hypocritical. His ensemble is hired to play in a bar every year after the *Landsgemeinde*, the annual meeting in the town square for the voting procedures.¹⁸² He talked about the audience reaction to *Appenzeller Echo*’s repertoire:

The young people were like, huh, I thought this was Appenzeller music but they are playing Irish music, they even play “Smoke on the Water,” you know, a rock

¹⁷⁹ Original German: “Wir spielen aber auch andere Sachen; wir spielen irische, wir spielen ungarische, klassische, und deutsche Salonmusik” (Rempfler, 2012).

¹⁸⁰ Original German: “Heute ist ist so, weil wir so breit gefächert spielen, darum werden wir angestellt. Ich muss spielen, weil wir auch irische Musik machen” (Rempfler 2012).

¹⁸¹ Of course there is irony in the act of wearing the *Tracht*, as historically the *Tracht* was not worn at first. Wearing of the *Tracht* was introduced in the 1930s when *Streichmusik* ensembles traveled to Zurich to perform for tourists. I will provide more details on the *Tracht* later in this chapter.

¹⁸² See chapter 2 for more on the *Landsgemeinde*.

piece. Then we play a bit of jazz and a bit of everything in here [showing me his gig book], and then some more Appenzeller music but authentically played, like “cow dung” [local expression of validity] (Rempfler 2012).¹⁸³

Rempfler discusses the popularity of this performance on the afternoon after the *Landsgemeinde*, during which the audience comes to dance. It is important to the performers and the local audience that the so-called traditional repertoire be performed according to the local idea of authenticity, i.e. like *Kuhdreck* (cow dung). However, no such strict guidelines apply to music borrowed from other genres. Playing music from other parts of the world frees *Appenzeller Echo* from conventions and allows them to be more creative for the local audience’s needs as well as their own enjoyment.

Appenzeller Echo has also collaborated with musicians outside the *Streichmusik* genre—they have several projects. I attended a collaborative performance in St. Gall in the summer of 2012, of *Appenzeller Echo* and the Duša Orchestra, which is comprised of musicians from the Balkans. *Appenzeller Echo* also performs with jazz musicians, Michael Neff and Goran Kovacevic. One of *Appenzeller Echo*’s projects is what they call a *Balkan-Alpstobete* with accordionist Goran Kovacevic, which is taking the concept of an Appenzeller alpine musical gathering and combining it with music from the Balkans as well as improvisation and jazz. According to the “projects” section of the *Appenzeller Echo* website: “[t]his project brings together living and open folk music with an equally open and curious musician. This symbiosis creates an unforgettable experience.”¹⁸⁴

¹⁸³ Original German: “Das war für die Jungen gewesen wie, huh, das ist doch Appenzellermusik, aber die spielen irisch Musik, die spielen sogar “Smoke on the Water,” weisst du, so ein Rock-Stück. Dann spielen wir Jazz-Stücke, ein bisschen, ja eben was alles dort drin ist, ja alles [showing me his gig book] und dann wieder Appenzellermusik, aber dann echt, ‘Kuhdreck’” (Rempfler 2012).

¹⁸⁴ “ Projects section of Appenzeller Echo website.”

<http://www.appenzellerecho.ch/index.php/appenzellerecho/projekte.html> (accessed August 7th, 2014).

Rempfler, who created and manages the *Appenzeller Echo* website, underscores that his ensemble plays living folk music, because they welcome other genres and new ideas. Rempfler's "constructive authenticity" (Wang 1999; Zhu 2012)—what he determines as genuine in this context—emphasizes the adaptability of *Streichmusik*. "Constructive authenticity" (Wang 1999)—the notion that a person's worldview shapes their perception of reality—inspires adherence to aspects of the tradition because most Swiss have an awareness of how they believe *Streichmusik* should sound. Rempfler posits that in order to keep the *Streichmusik* tradition alive, its musicians must be open to innovations. Most recently, *Appenzeller Echo* has performed with Chinese Erhu player, Wang Xiaojing. *Appenzeller Echo*'s innovative approach aids in their continued interest in their projects and success among local audiences (my interviewees consistently named *Appenzeller Echo* as the most popular *Streichmusik* ensemble).

At the *Alpstobete* (alpine musical gatherings that happen during the summer months, often in an outdoor setting) and *Stobete* (indoor informal musical gatherings) that were attended mostly by locals, the repertoire included *Stimmungsmusik* (dance music).

¹⁸⁵ *Stimmungsmusik* most often involves an accordion or two, which adds more volume than just string instruments. One festival, the *Musik Marathon*, newly created in 2010, is

Original German: "In diesem Projekt trifft sich lebendige und offene Volksmusik auf einen ebenso offenen und neugierigen Musiker, welches mit dieser Symbiose ein unvergessliches Erlebnis entstehen lässt, voller Lebenslust und Übermut, zum Intensiven Hören, Abtauchen und Ergründen."

¹⁸⁵ The word *Stobete* comes from *Stube*, which means "living room." The origin of the word *Stobete* is that there is a long history of *Hausmusik* (house music) in this area and people used to visit each other in their living rooms to play music together. The tradition of *Hausmusik* (sometimes also called *Familienmusik* or family music) still exists today and is more often practiced in the Toggenburg than the Appenzell. See chapter 4 for more information on *Hausmusik*.

held on the Ebenalp (an alp that can be reached by hiking or gondola from the last stop, Wasserauen, of the *Appenzeller Bahn*) and attended almost exclusively by locals. This three-day festival is a social event for the local music community, performing a wider range of *Appenzellermusik*, than just *Streichmusik*. Ensembles rotate playing for each other—every hour the ensembles switch, so over the course of six hours each of the three ensembles performs twice. In its first iteration of the *Musik Marathon*, the schedule included performances twenty-four hours per day for three days. Eventually the organizers realized the unviability of this program as the audience dwindled during the night.

At the *Musik Marathon* in 2012 the one *Streichmusik* ensemble performing at the event, *Streichmusik Weissbad*, played in a formation that included an accordion.¹⁸⁶ The cellist for this ensemble played accordion instead, requiring only four members of the ensemble to perform at the event, since the accordion takes over the function of both the second violin and the cello. This formation is more efficient and cost effective. Hiring an *Original Streichmusik*, the full five-person ensemble, costs approximately 1,500 Sfr (\$1,500), according to interviewees. Often, just a three person ensemble (violin, *Hackbrett*, bass) or four person ensemble (violin, accordion, *Hackbrett*, bass) performs in order to lower the cost of hiring an ensemble and making it more accessible. Carola Conle, a retired professor from University of Toronto who now resides in the Appenzell to listen to *Streichmusik*, and I were the only two people from outside the Appenzell present at this event. The *Musik Marathon* is held in March, at a time when there are not

¹⁸⁶ As I mention in chapter 1, an original *Streichmusik* ensemble consists of two violins, cello, bass, and *Hackbrett*.

many tourists traveling to the Appenzell.¹⁸⁷ Because of the lack of outsiders at this event there is not much presence of the “tourist gaze” or “tourist listening” and no need to present a “staged authenticity.” Therefore, most of the ensembles played *Stimmungsmusik*, dance music that literally means to create a good atmosphere. The localized audience comes to the *Musik Marathon* to socialize and dance in the intimate setting of a mountain hut on the Ebenalp (1640m), below the *Säntis* mountain.

Martin Dobler, violinist for *Streichmusik Weissbad*, grew up performing *Streichmusik* with his family and embodies the genre, according to my interviewees. His father Josef Dobler, “Hornsepp,” was the teacher and ensemble coach for many of the performers and ensembles in Appenzell Innerrhoden. In fact, “Hornsepp” was one of the two remaining *Streichmusik* performers in Appenzell Innerrhoden that I mentioned in chapter 2. He played an important part in reviving *Streichmusik* in Appenzell Innerrhoden. While watching the performance of *Streichmusik Weissbad* at the *Musik Marathon*, I observed that Martin Dobler would quickly play the first few notes of the next piece immediately following a piece to indicate the next piece to the other musicians. This practice used to be standard in the past when *Streichmusik* was dance music. Immediately continuing with the next piece encouraged the dancers to remain on the floor and dance as it allowed for the music to continue without interruption. *Streichmusik* for traditional dancing has become a rarity, as other music styles, ranging from Austrian music to American popular music, are used for dancing in the Appenzell. It

¹⁸⁷ When I attended the *Musik Marathon* in March 2012, a cold rain was falling down in the valley. As I ascended to the *Ebenalp* on the gondola, an icy snow began to fall and I had to brave the elements hiking up the rest of the way to the restaurant. It is understandable that the timing of this event makes it unattractive to tourists.

was significant to witness this (mostly) past function of *Streichmusik*. This occurred because the audience consisted of locals—many of them musicians themselves who had grown up in the *Streichmusik* tradition and who were aware of the traditional function of *Streichmusik*. For example, many of “Hornsepp’s” grandchildren were present at the event with their own young families, dancing at the event.

Even though there is the *Musik Marathon* and other similar events, currently many *Streichmusik* performances are “*concertante*” (performances with a seated audience—either local or tourist— in a concert setting). For instance, the weekly performances organized by the Bureau of Tourism at the *Ratsaal* (Council Chamber) in Appenzell, a historic room at the center of town, during the spring/summer/fall are arranged as concerts instead of leaving space for dancing (usually performance settings have space for dancing—it can be a small or large designated dance floor, depending on the locale). The *Ratsaal* performances are short, only one hour from 6:30pm to 7:30 pm. The whole room is set up with rows of chairs facing the performers (not grouped around tables as is usually done), leaving no space for dancing, even if someone was so inclined. Throughout the seasons the majority of the local ensembles perform at the *Ratsaal*, showing the mostly tourist audience representative pieces of the genre. Often ensembles will perform *Talerschwigen* with accompanying vocals and tell jokes at the midpoint of the performance—conventions in *Streichmusik* performance. At the *Ratsaal* the ensembles tend to perform only the so-called traditional repertoire, not including pieces or performance practices from other countries. Another example of “*concertante*” music is the ensemble *Geschwister Küng*—they intentionally perform music for listening, not

for dancing. Various members of the Appenzeller music community articulated a sense of loss and sadness that *Streichmusik* is for the most part no longer played for dance events.¹⁸⁸ As mentioned to me in a personal conversation, Joe Manser, former director of the Center for Folk Music, considers the danceability of *Streichmusik* a marker of authenticity, since historically this was the function of *Streichmusik*. Even though tourist presence and therefore the “tourist gaze” and “tourist listening” encourages performance of the traditional repertoire, it discourages the traditional function of *Streichmusik*—dancing.

“Staged authenticity” is evident in the tourist performances at the hotel, *Hof Weissbad*. At present, the most so-called traditional *Original Streichmusik* repertoire can be heard on Wednesday nights at the hotel *Hof Weissbad*, a five-star hotel in the small town of Weissbad in Appenzell Innerrhoden.¹⁸⁹ Currently, Wednesday nights at *Hof Weissbad* are reserved as an “Appenzeller Evening” for tourists, with traditional food and music. Every week a different local ensemble plays from 8-10 pm. Many of these ensembles I had heard in other contexts such as in restaurants, concerts and local celebrations. In other locations the repertoire choice was more varied in its inclusion of pieces from around the world. At *Hof Weissbad* the tourists have an existential tourist experience (Zhu 2012), interacting with one another and propagating an imagined or constructed version of Appenzellerness and as an extension, Swissness. In contrast, at

¹⁸⁸ Vroni and Hugo Kamm of *Toggenburger Original Streichmusik* told me of some *Streichmusik* dance events they organized in which they rented a large hall in the Toggenburg. However, the audience numbers declined until it was no longer economically feasible (Kamm and Kamm 2012).

¹⁸⁹ *Hof Weissbad* replaced the *Kurhaus* (health spa) that was originally built in that location. The *Kurhaus Weissbad* was created as a site for a tuberculosis cure, among other illnesses. In fact, this spa was one of the first locations *Streichmusik* was performed for tourists in the nineteenth century.

restaurant *Bären* in the small town of Gonten, AI (which has a predominantly local audience), the ensembles tended to perform more music outside the traditional repertoire. *Streichmusik Neff*, for example, performed several Hungarian pieces as well as an Irish medley, when playing in restaurant *Bären*. When *Appenzeller Echo* played at *Hof Weissbad* they played the typical walzer, polkas, and ländler of the *Streichmusik* repertoire. This is unusual for this ensemble, which has collaborated with several international musicians and has performed entire concerts of only Irish music on *Streichmusik* instruments. They strayed only one time from the traditional repertoire to play an Irish piece. However, the Irish piece was immediately followed by what may be deemed the most typical *Streichmusik* piece, the “Birre Wegge.”¹⁹⁰ At this performance I was sitting with the parents of Josef Rempfler, violinist for *Appenzeller Echo*. When the ensemble began to play the “Birre Wegge,” Josef Rempfler’s father leaned over to me and said, “this piece is like the national anthem of this region” (personal communication 2012). He wanted to ensure that I was aware of the importance of the piece. Performing the “Birre Wegge” at this juncture showed that the ensemble is grounded in the tradition to their employers at *Hof Weissbad*.

Since its inception, the *Streichmusik* tradition has borrowed from other genres. Different audiences—local and tourist—have differing constructive authenticities (Zhu 2012). Typically, the local audience enjoys hybridized styles while the domestic tourists expect traditional melodies. Relying on these stereotypes, performers tend to stage the so-called traditional for the tourists and the modernized styles for the locals. As the

¹⁹⁰ See chapter 2 for more about the “Birre Wegge” in the context of the musical performance of *Streichmusik Alder* and rapper Bligg.

repertoire expands, the most obvious visual aspect of *Streichmusik* performance—the *Tracht*—has become more standardized and uniform, to ensure authenticity, whether it is staged or not.

4. The *Tracht*, authenticity, and Swissness

A special exhibit on the *Tracht* at the *Appenzeller Brauchtumsmuseum* (Museum of Appenzeller Customs) in Urnäsch had an explanation of the *Tracht* on a poster: “[t]he wearer of the *Tracht* expresses his regional belonging and underlines his cultural, linguistic and religious identity.”¹⁹¹ Since the *Tracht* was first worn by *Streichmusik* performers in the 1930s, this traditional costume has been used to represent the rural farming life of the region for which it was typically worn. The *Tracht* represents heritage pride and a connection with *Heimat* (roughly translated as homeland)¹⁹², but the *Tracht* is also used strategically to index “staged authenticity.” This is evident in that the *Tracht* was not always worn for *Streichmusik* performances—performers wore suits (*Sonntigshääss*—Sunday best) until the 1930s.

¹⁹¹ Appenzeller Brauchtumsmuseum Sonderausstellung (Museum of Appenzeller Customs Special Exhibit) entitled *Öseri Tracht* (our tradition costume) from April 1, 2012 to January 13, 2013. <http://www.museum-urnaesch.ch/download.php?f=5c55133117996e45ce1b65e75d8cf47b> (accessed December 29, 2013).

¹⁹² See chapters 2 and 3 for more on *Heimat*.



Figure 24. Children wearing the *Tracht* at the Viehschau in Bühler on September 27, 2014 (Photograph by Nicolas Senn)

The attire changed just before the start of WWII as Switzerland redefined its culture in opposition to that of Germany. Before the twentieth century, the *Tracht* was not standardized according to region; there were individual variations in attire.¹⁹³

Streichmusik ensembles usually wear the Appenzeller or Toggenburger *Tracht*. Now that they are standardized (with slight variations between regions), the Appenzeller and

Toggenburger men's *Tracht* consists of colorful red embroidered vests over white shirts,

¹⁹³ The standardization of the *Tracht* and of the vocal technique of yodeling happened concurrently in Switzerland. Yodels that were in minor keys were changed to major, for example. The *Eidgenössischer Jodlerverband* (the National Yodeling Association) has altered the sound of yodeling since it was founded in 1910 by Oskar Schmalz (1881-1960).

The association, which has about 25,500 members currently, organizes regional (two festivals every three years) and national yodel festivals (one every three years) and competitions. The first national festival happened in 1927. For the competitions, the yodels are precisely notated and sung without the variance of improvisation so the judges can follow the score along with the performance. This is problematic for the genre since historically yodeling involves improvisation. Yodeling has changed much to fit the constraints of notation in this way. One composer calls this the “sterilizing effect” (Leuthold quoted in Plantenga 2004, 38). Currently fewer than twenty percent of the members of the *Eidgenössischer Jodlerverband* work in agriculture so the act of yodeling (as well as wearing the *Tracht*) represents “an idealized Swiss past” (Plantenga 2004, 37).

handcrafted silver work across the chest, black wool pants (or occasionally yellow leather pants), and a gold ladle-shaped earring in the right ear for the men (representing the ladle used for skimming cream off the fresh milk). Incidentally the red embroidered vest is more similar between Appenzell Ausserrhoden and the Toggenburg than Appenzell Ausserrhoden and Appenzell Innerrhoden. For the women, who have recently become more prominent participants in *Streichmusik*, the *Tracht* consists of traditional dresses specific to the region with a blouse underneath and sometimes a *Hube* or a “head piece.” The *Tracht* is used as a marker of identity in the realm of *Streichmusik* in the dialogue on authenticity in rural and urban contexts. Worn by *Streichmusik* performers, the *Tracht*, like a period costume, projects a visual image of the traditional and the past in the imagination of the national Swiss consciousness. In other words, *Tracht* visually invokes Swissness, and therefore is instrumental in marketing practices of the local musicians.

In the late nineteenth century, the *Tracht* became the “Kleid der Heimat “ (clothing of the homeland).¹⁹⁴ The *Tracht* was divided into a work day and a holiday (festival day) *Tracht* for each Canton (state), and even in some cases each region, in Switzerland. The *Tracht* most often worn for *Streichmusik* performance is the historical holiday outfit that is incidentally very similar between the Appenzellerland and Toggenburg.¹⁹⁵ These outfits are specified for unmarried, married, and widowed men and women outfits (Mock 2007, 76). Barbara Giger, bassist for *Quartett Laseyer* iterates her

¹⁹⁴ “Historisches Lexikon der Schweiz: Tracht.” <http://www.hls-dhs-dss.ch/textes/d/D16426.php> (January 11, 2012).

¹⁹⁵ There was a special exhibit at the *Appenzeller Brauchtummuseum* in Urnäsch from April 1, 2012 to January 13, 2013 about the *Tracht* from Appenzell Ausserrhoden, Appenzell Innerrhoden, and the Toggenburg. The side-by-side comparison showed how similar the *Tracht* is in this region, especially the *Tracht* from Appenzell Ausserrhoden and the Toggenburg were strikingly alike.

joy in viewing people in their *Tracht* at an event: “I find it beautiful, especially when you are at an event, that many people wear the *Tracht*. I find it pleasing—you can see where people come from by their *Tracht*... that way you can see people’s origin” (Giger 2012)¹⁹⁶. Giger is alluding to a “sense of belonging,” sometimes implicit and sometimes explicit (Levitt and Glick Schiller 2004). The *Tracht* explicitly symbolizes belonging to a particular region as denoted by the intricacies of the costume.

When I asked Peter Roth if his ensemble wore the *Tracht* when they revived *Streichmusik* in the Toggenburg in the late 1960s, he said: “Yes, of course. Somehow we could not imagine it otherwise. Since the *Tracht* has such a great meaning for ‘alp culture’ here that it is clear that [the *Tracht*] be worn in this context” (Roth 2012).¹⁹⁷ The *Tracht* is worn for the *Alpfahrt* (the festive procession of bringing the cattle to and from the alp in spring and fall) and the *Viehschau* (a large cow prize show event in the fall where the cows are decorated and exhibited) in the Appenzell and Toggenburg, and so the *Tracht* is associated with the bucolic image of dairy farming. The *Tracht* is also worn for weddings and baptisms—more often in recent years—or in Appenzell Innerrhoden for various catholic holidays.

When I asked about the *Tracht* during interviews, I received strong emotional responses, ranging from the importance of wearing the *Tracht* for performance and life cycle events to the assumptions of conservative political affiliation when performing

¹⁹⁶ Original German: “Ich finde es schön, gerade wenn man an einem Anlass ist, dass viele Leute die Tracht anhaben. Ich finde es schön, da du siehst, woher die Leute kommen an der Tracht... dass man so die Herkunft sieht” (Giger 2012).

¹⁹⁷ Original German: “Ja, natürlich. Irgendwie hat man sich das gar nicht anders vorstellen können. Weil die Tracht so eine grosse Bedeutung im Zusammenhang mit der Alpkultur hat, ist das wie klar gewesen, dass das zusammengehört” (Roth 2012).

elsewhere in Switzerland. Jakob “Köbi” Freund, *Hackbrett* player/president of the *Verband Schweizer Volksmusik* (Organization of Swiss Folk Music-VSV) as well as a local and national politician, spoke very proudly of wearing the *Tracht*:

The Appenzeller people have always placed value on visually respectable performance. The *Tracht* was a holiday outfit. When I attend a special event I wear the *Tracht*. When my children got married, both my wife and I wore our *Tracht*. The whole family also wears the *Tracht* for baptisms and for parties. The *Tracht* is an outfit that you should feel honored to wear at special occasions and also for performing. This also makes a good image. (Freund 2013)¹⁹⁸

The *Tracht* making a “good image” in the quote above can be interpreted as an outward projection, increasing their marketability. *Tracht*, however, is used not only for marketing but also for the locals’ own sense of belonging. In the last decade, there has been a return to wearing the *Tracht* for celebrations such as weddings, even in urban areas. For instance, Barbara Giger also mentions the *Tracht* in instances of family celebrations. She says: “We also were married wearing the *Tracht*—it was so close to our hearts” (Giger 2012).¹⁹⁹

The Appenzeller Center for Folk Music (ZAV) has historical photographs of the earliest *Original Streichmusik* ensembles, showing men in suits. The ensembles started to wear the *Tracht*, at the advent of World War II, in part to distinguish their identity and politics from Germany, when they played in cities such as Zurich or for mostly Swiss tourists coming to the Appenzell from outside the region. One of my interviewees was

¹⁹⁸ Original German: “Die [Appenzeller] haben immer einen grossen Wert darauf gelegt, dass man auch anständig auftritt—visuell. Die Tracht war ein Festtagskleid. Wenn ich einen besonderen Anlass habe, dann trage ich die Tracht. Wenn meine Kinder Hochzeit gehabt haben, habe ich die Tracht angezogen und meine Frau auch. Die Familie trägt die Tracht zu einer Taufe, an ein Fest. Das ist einen Ehrenkleid, das man bei einem besonderem Anlass anzieht und so eben auch zum spielen. Das macht auch ein gutes Bild” (Freund 2013).

¹⁹⁹ Original German: “Wir haben auch in der *Tracht* geheiratet, es ist uns so nahegelegen” (Giger 2012).

Roland Inauen, director of the *Amt für Kultur* (Office of Culture) and the *Museum Appenzell* affairs and *Landammann* (political leader, a political position similar to governor) of Appenzell Innerrhoden since 2013. Inauen remembers that as late as the 1950s and 60s the performers did not wear a *Tracht* when they performed for a local audience:

There were folkloristic groups that went on tour to America, England, wherever. They definitely wore the traditional costume. But the ensembles that played dance music locally at festivals, they did not wear the traditional costume in my youth, all the way up to the end of the 1960s. (Inauen 2013)²⁰⁰

For many decades after ensembles began to wear the *Tracht* for tourist performances they still wore suits or other clothes for local performances. During his childhood, Inauen's parents operated the restaurant *Gasthaus Schäfli* in Weissbad, AI. As is still the case in some restaurants in the region, the family running the restaurant lived on the premises. Living in such close proximity to music and dance events, Inauen has a good sense of the culture as it has evolved since the 1950s. He remembers that the performers in his childhood home, *Gasthaus Schäfli*, did not wear the *Tracht* as the audience consisted of locals—there was no “tourist gaze” to palliate, the outward projection of a sense of place was unnecessary.

Today it is assumed that performing groups wear the *Tracht*. Akin to wearing a period costume, the *Tracht* gives a sense of legitimacy to the performers, a “crude temporal notion of authenticity” (Gibson and Connell 2005, 144). Thus, the *Tracht*

²⁰⁰ Original German: “Es gab Gruppierungen, die wirklich folkloristisch unterwegs waren. Die auch früh auf Tourneen gegangen sind nach Amerika, nach England, und wo auch immer. Die trugen natürlich die Tracht. Aber die, die vor Ort quasi Tanzmusik gemacht haben, eben an so Festen, die spielten noch bis in meine Jugendzeit, bis Ende Sechzigerjahre, in der Regel ohne Tracht” (Inauen, 2013).

bespeaks an actuality rooted in the past. I asked Walter Alder, *Hackbrett* teacher and part of the *Alder Dynasty*, if he ever did any performances not wearing the *Tracht*. His response:

Almost never. It is just that the people expect that I wear the *Tracht*. They say: “you all will be wearing the *Tracht*, right?” For me it is obvious that I play in the *Tracht*. Otherwise the people have to tell me if they do not want the *Tracht*, and that practically never happens. (Alder, Walter 2012)²⁰¹

For Alder and many other performers, wearing the *Tracht* for performances is currently the default. Walter Alder also mentioned the *Tracht* in connection with *Streichmusik* as a custom of the area:

Appenzeller music is a custom. It belongs here since it is primarily practiced here and is a custom here...together with the *Tracht*, of course. The *Tracht* is also a custom. We wear the *Tracht* here in the Appenzellerland and the Toggenburg...It is a custom to wear the *Tracht* to play Appenzeller music. (Alder, Walter 2012)²⁰²

As is evident in the above quote, Walter Alder associates custom with place. He has lived his entire life on the family farm, called *Strüssler*. While I was conducting fieldwork, I hiked up to the farm half way up to an alp, about an hour walk straight up the hillside from the town of Urnäsch, to conduct interviews with him and his relatives. He showed me the promotional photos and LP and CD cover photos that were taken of his ensemble on the surrounding hillsides. The music and the *Tracht* are part of this landscape for Walter Alder, inextricably linked—marking a geographic articulation of place. The

²⁰¹ Original German: “Fast nie. Es ist einfach die Leute erwarten auch, dass man die Tracht anhat. Sie sagen: ‘Ihr kommt schon in der Tracht, oder?’ Und für mich ist es selbstverständlich in der Tracht. Sonst müssen sie mir sagen, wenn sie Tracht nicht wollen, aber das passiert praktisch nie” (Alder, Walter 2012).

²⁰² Original German: “Appenzeller Musik ist eigentlich schon ein Brauch. Es gehört hier, wenn es von hier ist und hier vor allem gemacht wird, ist es ein Brauch von hier...auch mit der Tracht zusammen, natürlich. Tracht ist auch ein Brauch. Man hat sie an hier im Appenzellerland und im Toggenburg...Es ist auch ein Brauch, dass man die Tracht anhat, um Appenzeller Musik zu machen” (Alder, Walter 2012).

promotional photographs for many of the *Streichmusik Alder* albums were taken on the hillsides close to the farm, as they told me in interviews.

Another *Hackbrett* player, Nicolas Senn, spoke of how important it was for him to own and wear a *Tracht*, when he first started playing *Streichmusik* as a child. Since Senn did not come from a farming family in which all the members of the family have a *Tracht* for the calendrical customs of farming life, he had to piece it together, buying one expensive article of clothing at a time. Intermittently, between performance opportunities, he would have enough money to buy the next piece of the *Tracht*. Senn mentioned how important the *Tracht* is to him, to create a counter argument for the criticism he has received by some people for wearing the *Tracht*: “Now, when I have performances on television, there are people who have said that I wear the *Tracht* because it sells well” (Senn 2013).²⁰³ Senn provides the anecdote below to show his loyalty to the *Tracht*:

I grew up with the *Hackbrett*, with the *Tracht*. I always wear the *Tracht*. For example, when I went on tour with Bligg, the rapper, there were costume designers from Germany... They said, “put on a pair of cool jeans and then the red vest of the *Tracht* and you will look really cool.” I said no, I just want to wear the *Tracht* in the normal way, the proper way, and not mix it with something else—that is delicate matter, that is not allowed. (Senn 2013)²⁰⁴

Clearly, Senn places value on the traditional way of wearing the *Tracht*. He alludes to strict guidelines for the *Tracht* when he mentions that it is a “delicate matter” to wear parts of the *Tracht* with street clothes, as the costume designers suggested. Senn is

²⁰³ Original German: “Jetzt, wenn ich so Sachen im Fernsehen gespielt habe, weisst du, hat es auch schon Leute gegeben, die gesagt haben, er zieht die Tracht an, weil es sich quasi gut verkauft” (Senn, 2013).

²⁰⁴ Original German: “Ich bin in einem Sinn mit dem Hackbrett aufgewachsen, mit der Tracht aufgewachsen. Ich ziehe sie auch immer an. Als ich zum Beispiel mit dem Bligg, der ist ein rapper, als ich mit ihm auf Tournee gewesen bin, haben sie noch so Kostümbildner von Deutschland gehabt... Die haben dann gesagt, ‘zieh doch eine coole Jeans an und dann die rote Veste von der Tracht und das sieht super cool aus.’ Ich habe gesagt, nein ich will einfach die Tracht normal anziehen, wie sie richtig ist und nicht mit etwas vermischen—das ist heikel, das darf man nicht” (Senn 2013).

primarily concerned with respecting the authenticity of the *Tracht* (whether it is staged or not) over the desires of costume designers.²⁰⁵

Wearing the *Tracht* signifies a farming way of life, even though few (and increasingly fewer) people currently make a living working in the agricultural sector in Switzerland.²⁰⁶ Only a handful of the *Streichmusik* performers are currently farmers yet almost all the performers wear the *Tracht*—they represent a “staged authenticity” in their traditional garb. The image of the *Tracht* is used in marketing and advertisement campaigns that at times propagate stereotypes of the region. To use Marilyn Ivy’s phrase, it is “commodifiable desire” (Ivy 1995, 65) rooted in nostalgia for a past Switzerland or Swissness that enables the Appenzell to sell its products. For example, *Streichmusik* performers wearing the *Tracht* pose on a large advertisement for a bank in Appenzell and for their ensemble. The performers benefit from exoticizing the self by wearing the *Tracht*, delineating their heritage. In other words, the *Tracht* highlights the “Appenzellerness” and regional pride—on a national level the Swissness—of the Appenzeller bank and advertises for both the performers and the bank.

²⁰⁵ While touring with rap artist Bligg, Senn provided not only sonic, but visual contrast to the rapper. This collaboration between the *Hackbrett* virtuoso and the rapper (that I describe in greater detail in chapter 2) embodies the contradiction between modernists and traditionalists. Senn visually represented the traditionalists as he performed alongside a modern rap artist: Senn indicated traditional authenticity by insisting on wearing the *Tracht* to perform the *Hackbrett* and Bligg the modern in his sweatshirt and baggy pants while rapping.

²⁰⁶ On a national level the agricultural sector has decreased to 4.2 percent in 1990 from 21 percent in 1941 (Schelbert 2007, xxix). However, with the Agricultural Program implemented in 2007, the federal government now subsidizes 70% of the agricultural sector. Recently, the number of organic farms has increased because of the governmental financial support.



Figure 25. Quartett Laseyer on an advertising billboard for the *Appenzeller Kantonalbank* (Photograph by Andrea Douglass)

The *Tracht* is also used in the *Appenzeller Käse* (Appenzeller cheese) advertisements that can be found along the railway throughout Switzerland. One version of the advertisement states that Appenzeller people will not reveal their secret recipe, not even for 2.5 million Euros. The theme of these cheese advertisements is one of exclusivity and secrecy and therefore specialness. The *Appenzeller Käse* advertisements represent the Appenzell but on a grander scale these billboards also advertise for Switzerland as a nation as the *Tracht* projects a visual image of the “traditional” and the past in the imagination of the national Swiss consciousness.



Figure 26. *Appenzeller Käse* advertisement

There are some performers who feel the need to work against the associations that are made with the rural and therefore the conservative parts of Switzerland when they wear the *Tracht*. I recall two performers, violinist Erwin Sager and bassist Barbara Giger, discussing audience reactions at performances outside the Appenzell. These two performers felt they were immediately stereotyped, as they told me at the five-year celebration of the Center for Appenzeller Folk Music. As soon as they arrived wearing the *Tracht* at performances outside the region, they felt that people assumed they were uneducated, worked in the agricultural sector, and were politically conservative. Politically, Giger and Sager are very liberal—there is a whole range of political affiliations in the *Streichmusik* community. They disliked being stereotyped, because they

were wearing an Appenzeller *Tracht* (which tends to be a politically conservative region overall, as mentioned earlier). They also felt assumptions were made about the music they were going to perform. For example, audiences assumed they would play the *Ländler* style of the inner regions of Switzerland in the most traditional sense. *Quartett Laseyer* really enjoys thwarting these preconceived notions, according to Giger.²⁰⁷

The stereotyped image of the *Tracht* seems to have both positive and negative results. The image of the *Tracht* can increase revenue for companies, but can also exclude certain populations—for example, urban and liberal audiences—from attending *Streichmusik* performances. The same ensemble posing for the bank advertisement I mentioned earlier, *Quartett Laseyer*, experimented with wearing suits for concerts during the Christmas season in 2011. The violinist for the ensemble, Martin Dobler, told me this was to unhinge the assumptions that some audience members make when they see an ensemble wearing the *Tracht* (Dobler 2012). Giger, the bass player for the ensemble, notes that things are changing:

I believe it has to do with that for a long time the *Tracht* was politically bound. If you are politically conservative, if you vote for the SVP [Swiss People's Party], then you tended to wear the *Tracht*. The *Tracht* was frowned upon by those with a cosmopolitan, liberal, and alternative outlook. Things were politically categorized...folk music is for the common people and it is a bit cheap...but somehow a change happened. People realized that it has nothing to do with politics, that it has to do with music, with ancestry, with feelings, and not with politics or any kind of world view theories. (Giger 2012)²⁰⁸

²⁰⁷ The *Ländlerkappelle* is the most popular ensemble type in Switzerland. Found in all regions of the country, the instrumentation consists of clarinet, accordion, and double bass. The *Ländlerkappelle* play for dances. Various international music forms have been incorporated into the *Ländler* over the years, among these are waltzes, polkas, mazurkas, tangos, foxtrot and one-step (Rice 2000, 10).

²⁰⁸ Original German: "Ich glaube, es hat etwas damit zu tun, dass es auch lange wie politisch gebunden gewesen ist. Wenn man konservativ ist, wenn man SVP wählt, dann macht man das. Bei den anderen eher weltoffenen, liberalen, eher ein bisschen alternativen Kreisen, ist es total verpönt gewesen. Und man hat das eben politisch gemacht.... Volksmusik, das ist mehr so etwas für das einfache Volk und das ist ein

Giger alludes to a shift happening on a national level, separating politics from traditional folk cultures. I contend that Giger’s point of view is idealized. There is movement in the direction of disassociating the *Tracht* from politics as it is embraced in the formulation of Swissness, but the historical association is always present in the background for Swiss inhabitants.

Dani Bösch, accordion player for *Quartett Laseyer*, recently wrote his thesis entitled “Schweizer Volksmusik an der Berufsschule—Ein Beitrag zur Identitätsbildung?” at the *Pädagogische Hochschule* (College of Education) in St. Gall in 2012. Bösch teaches general education at the *Berufsschule* (Vocational School) in St. Gall and as part of his thesis project he incorporated a way of integrating folk music into the curriculum. Barbara Giger, the bass player in his ensemble, first told me about this: “Dani Bösch says that, for example, there are teaching materials about classical music, a chapter on rock, a chapter on jazz... Swiss folk music is nonexistent—it does not exist at all in these teaching materials” (Giger 2012).²⁰⁹ Until now, Swiss folk music was not included in the general curriculum, but there were chapters about other genres. Bösch found it strange that Swiss folk music was not part of the curriculum and decided to incorporate learning about Swiss folk music into the program. He did this by dividing the students into groups and showing one group a picture of folk musicians in street clothes and the other pictures of folk musicians wearing the *Tracht*. The two groups were assigned to

bisschen billig... und irgendwie hat doch ein Wandel stattgefunden. Wirklich, dass man gemerkt hat, dass es mit Politik überhaupt nichts zu tun hat, es hat wirklich mit Musik zu tun, mit Herkunft zu tun, mit Gefühl zu tun und nicht mit Politik oder irgendwelchen Weltanschauungstheorien” (Giger 2012).

²⁰⁹ Original German: “Dani Bösch sagt, zum Beispiel in den Lehrmitteln hat es ein Kapitel über klassische Musik, ein Kapitel über Rockmusik, es hat ein Kapitel über Jazz... Schweizer Volksmusik ist inexistent. Das existiert gar nicht in diesen Lehrmitteln, zum Beispiel” (Giger 2012).

write an imagined biography of the people in the photographs. Bösch told me that his students were surprised at their own assumptions. In his reflections about the exercise, he wrote that the biographies of the *Tracht*-wearing individuals showed an overall politically conservative leaning: “farming background, SVP [Swiss People’s Party] affiliation, not very educated” (Bösch 2012, 5).²¹⁰ When wearing street clothes in the photographs, the same individuals were not stereotyped as conservative by the students. Even though the *Tracht* has become less politically charged in recent years, there still is some underlying stereotyping, as was evident in the exercise Dani Bösch conducted with his students. The more liberal performers of *Streichmusik* confront these stereotypes by performing a more hybridized and varied repertoire when they are being incorrectly identified as politically conservative.

While the *Tracht*’s political implications may be increasingly contested, it is certain that the *Tracht* exudes a cultural legitimacy, rooted in history and agricultural customs. The *Tracht* validates *Streichmusik* and its performers and provides a visual authenticity, whether it is staged for tourists or simply a connection to *Heimat* for the inhabitants of the region.

²¹⁰ Original German: “Bäuerlicher Hintergrund, SVP-Zugehörigkeit, eher tiefer Schulabschluss” (Bösch 2012, 5).

5. Max Peter Baumann's purism and syncretism

Tradition trifft Moderne



Figure 27. Moderator Nicolas Senn's *Potzmusik* show is labeled as "tradition meets the modern"

I have always said, the new "currents" are absolutely necessary. If they are good, they renew the folk music and when they are bad they are forgotten in twenty years. You do not have to be afraid.

—Erwin Sager, personal interview, 2012²¹¹

I was searching for ways to describe these "currents" among *Streichmusik* ensembles that negotiate the "old" and "new" or "traditional" and "innovative," as Erwin Sager calls them in the above quote, when I came across the work of Swiss ethnomusicologist and editor of *The World of Music* journal Max Peter Baumann.

²¹¹ Original German: "Ich habe immer gesagt, die neuen Strömungen, die sind unbedingt nötig. Wenn sie gut sind, erneuern sie die Volksmusik, und wenn sie schlecht sind, dann vergisst man diese in zwanzig Jahren. Muss man gar keine Angst haben" (Sager 2012).

Baumann writes of the bifurcation in folkloric music and assigns the terms *purism* and *syncretism* (Baumann 1996) to the traditional and modernizing approaches, respectively, as I introduce them in chapter 1. The ensembles concerned with purism dedicate themselves to performing the music as they imagine it always was and the syncretic ensembles experiment with new ideas while still paying homage to the tradition. Paying tribute to the roots is key for the syncretic ensembles—interviewees stressed the importance of remembering their heritage. Performing *Streichmusik* repertoire in the style of times past—the purist approach—occurs most often in situations when tourists are present and performers cater to “tourist listening” and create a “staged authenticity.”

I contend that in the *Streichmusik* case, purism and syncretism are not just two categories in opposition to each other. Rather, they represent a continuum along which ensembles choose to play, according to the audience. There are many examples of how ensembles fall along this purism-syncretism continuum. In the face-to-face community of the Appenzell and Toggenburg, the ensembles are well aware of each others’ repertoire choices, performance styles, and collaborations outside the genre. When I spoke with Josef Rempfler of the *Appenzeller Echo*, he outlined for me some of the ensembles that are currently performing *Original Appenzeller Streichmusik* in the five-person formation:

Streichmusik Edelweiss from Herisau, they play old pieces—that is their specialty. *Streichmusik Bänziger*, I do not know how much they still play. They also play only traditional, old pieces with the *Hackbrett* player Werner Knill and the younger Bänziger generation. *Streichmusik Edelweiss* also play German marches like they were played in the 1920s and 30s, alongside *Streichmusik*. And then, we [in Appenzell Innerrhoden] have the Küng family—they play more spiritual, modern, and new arrangements. There are also some other ensembles: Kölbener, for example, they play many marches—German marches— as well as difficult and typical Appenzeller pieces of the type the Alder family plays...*Meedle Streichmusik* [the all girls ensemble created by *Hornsepp*] does not exist anymore.

There is the *Fraue Streichmusik* [women's *Streichmusik*]...each ensemble has their own specialty. (Rempfler 2012)²¹²

In this close-knit musical community, the different models of purism and syncretism inform, form, and provoke each other. Purism, the preservation model of traditional music performs what is symbolically the past, even if it is often more newly invented than presumed. This invented tradition is connected to clichés and stereotypes that are then marketed in the tourism industry. The syncretic model, on the other hand, appeals more to the locals and also attracts different listeners from outside the region.

Examples of the purism model are *Streichmusik Alder* and *Streichmusik Edelweiss*. One journalist described *Streichmusik Edelweiss* in this way: “[t]hey play folk music inside and out, traditionally and without the ambition to newly invent *Streichmusik*” (Seiler 1994, 30).²¹³ This description holds true for the iconic *Streichmusik Alder* as well, the most well-known *Streichmusik* ensemble both among this community as well as outside of the Appenzell—the Alder family of Urnäsch, Appenzell Ausserrhoden. Köbi Freund, *Hackbrett* player for *Streichmusik Alder*, describes the ensemble in this way:

We in *Streichmusik Alder*, we live and cultivate the traditional music. We do not do anything innovative, or only as an exception. We did an exceptional project

²¹² Original German: “*Streichmusik Edelweiss*, in Herisau, sie spielen sehr alte Sachen, das ist die Spezialität von ihnen. *Streichmusik Bänziger*, ich weiss nicht, wieviel sie noch spielen. Sie spielen auch nur traditionelle, alte Sachen mit dem Werner Knill, den Jungen und dem Bänziger. *Streichmusik Edelweiss* spielt vielleicht einen deutschen Marsch, ich sage jetzt einmal fast wie früher 1920, 1930, was zu dieser Zeit noch alles zusätzlich gespielt worden ist, neben der Streichmusik. Und dann hat es bei uns die Künigs—mehr spirituelle Musik, modern, neu arrangiert. Aber dann gibt es auch noch andere Gruppen: also, Kölbener, zum Beispiel, die spielen viele Märsche—deutsche Märsche—schwierige Sachen, gut, aber typische Appenzeller Musik, eher Alder-lastig... viel Musik von der Streichmusik Alder...*Meedle* [Streichmusik] gibt es nicht mehr. *Fraue Streichmusik* gibt's noch...jede Gruppe hat sich irgendwie spezialisiert” (Rempfler 2012).

²¹³ Original German: “Sie machten Volksmusik nach innen und aussen. Traditionell und ohne die Ambition, die Streichmusik neu zu erfinden”

with the rapper, Bligg. That was great for two years. It went well, but otherwise we really only play traditional music. (Freund 2013)²¹⁴

In the above quote Freund describes the niche product that *Streichmusik Alder* sell.

Freund speaks of the prime years of *Streichmusik Alder*:

Streichmusik Alder was famous and toured widely from about 1950 until 2000—they really were the most well-known music ensemble in Switzerland. They played well, at a high level, a wide range of repertoire, and of course they always played in the *Tracht*. Naturally, at that time, they did not just play music, they also made comments, put on a show, told jokes, brought along some dancers to dance the *Hierig* (traditional dance that depicts a narrative between a man and a woman). They provided a whole program, not just music. This is what the Alders could do. They were almost professional; they had so many performances. (Freund 2013)²¹⁵

Freund attributes *Streichmusik Alder's* success to their ability to put on a show, in other words, their propensity towards a “staged authenticity” that included the *Tracht*, telling jokes, and traditional dancers—success is attributed not just to musical ability, but also to the theatricality of the performance.

An example of Baumann’s syncretism model is *Geschwister Küng* from Appenzell Innerrhoden. This is a group of siblings who are altering and renewing *Streichmusik*. The members of *Geschwister Küng* belong to a younger generation born between 1982 and 1990 and are innovative in their inclusion of extended techniques like

²¹⁴ Original German: “Wir in der Streichmusik Alder, wir leben und pflegen vor allem die traditionelle Musik. Wir machen nichts Innovatives, oder nur ganz als Ausnahme. Wir haben ein Ausnahmeprojekt gemacht mit dem Rapper, Bligg. Das ist zwei Jahre super gewesen. Und das ist gut gegangen, aber sonst machen wir auf eine Art traditionelle Musik” (Freund 2013).

²¹⁵ Original German: “Streichmusik Alder hat sich eher einen Namen gemacht von 1950-2000--dann sind sie wirklich eigentlich die bekannteste Musik gewesen in der Schweiz. Sie haben sehr gute Musik gemacht, auf hohem Niveau, sehr vielfältig, und natürlich mit dem Auftritt immer in der Tracht. Und natürlich immer schon dazumal, hat man nicht nur musiziert, man hat auch kommentiert, man hat Show geboten, würde man jetzt sagen, wenn man Witze erzählt, wenn man ein Tanzpaar mitnimmt, um den ‘Hierig’ zu tanzen, einfach dass man ein Programm anbietet, nicht nur gerade die Musik. Und das haben die Alder gekonnt. Sie waren damals nahezu Halbprofis gewesen, sie haben sehr viele Auftritte gehabt” (Freund 2013).

pitch bends on violin and the use of harmonics.²¹⁶ *Streichmusik Geschwister Küng* also borrows from traditions outside the Appenzell. For instance, they incorporate Tuvan throat singing—which is outside the genre of *Streichmusik*—on their album, *Wintergeflüster*. The ensemble’s *Hackbrett* player, Roland Küng, is the first individual from Switzerland to receive a Master’s degree in *Hackbrett* performance.²¹⁷ His siblings have also received various degrees from conservatories in more conventional string instruments. This ensemble is the most proficient on a technical level of all the past and present ensembles. Because of this, members of *Geschwister Küng* collaborate widely with performers outside the *Streichmusik* genre. They have worked with vocalists and also performers who play what ethnomusicologist Philip Bohlman calls “new folk music” (2011) and have played for several film productions such as “z’Alp” by Thomas Rickemann.²¹⁸ The performers in *Streichmusik Geschwister Küng* wear the *Tracht*, signifying tradition, on their compact disc covers and for performances indicating their alignment with the traditional, despite all the new elements they incorporate. According to the ensemble’s website:

With feeling, wit, charm, a little impudence, but always with the necessary respect for the original, they arrange and adapt the pieces of their ancestors, and present the well-known in a new light.^{219 220}

²¹⁶ “Geschwister Küng: Appenzell Original Streichmusik website” <http://www.geschwisterkueng.ch> (Accessed May 23rd, 2014)

²¹⁷ Roland Küng received his degree in 2008 from the Richard Strauss Conservatory in Munich. When he started the degree it was not yet possible to receive the degree in Switzerland.

²¹⁸ “Geschwister Küng: Biography” <http://www.geschwisterkueng.ch/Biography> (accessed December 13th, 2014)

²¹⁹ “Geschwister Küng website, biography section. <http://www.geschwisterkueng.ch/Biography> (Accessed September 23, 2014)

The quote above exemplifies the role of the “original,” as *Geschwister Küng* calls it, in the formation of hybridity in *Streichmusik*. A little later, in the biography section of the website, it mentions:

They belong to the Swiss formations that question the tradition, and in this way they penetrate the essence of their heritage and make it accessible to others. So they become ambassadors of their culture, their society and their *Heimat*.^{221 222}

Questioning heritage and creating hybridity makes folk music more accessible to listeners, according to *Geschwister Küng*—this is the standpoint of the syncretic ensembles. *Geschwister Küng*'s latest CD, “*Nüdallgraaduss*” (2011), was the result of a request from the Center for Appenzeller Folk Music (ZAV). *Geschwister Küng* was asked to arrange the pieces of the collection, newly published by the ZAV, titled “Uufmache wie früehner.” The “*Nüdallgraaduss*” cover features a photo of an *Alpfahrt* (alpine procession), showing two men in their *Tracht*, flowers and ribbons decorating their hats, bringing the cows up to the alp. This is a quintessential image of the Appenzell, creating a compelling and provocative statement alongside the contemporary treatment of the traditional repertoire.²²³

²²⁰ Original German: “Mit Gefühl, Witz, Charme, etwas Frechheit, aber immer mit dem nötigen Respekt vor dem Original, arrangieren und bearbeiten sie die Stücke ihrer Vorgänger, und lassen Altbekanntes in einem neuen Kleid erscheinen.”

²²¹ “Geschwister Küng website, biography section. <http://www.geschwisterkueng.ch/Biography> (Accessed September 23, 2014)

²²² Original German: “Damit gehören sie zu jenen Schweizer Formationen, die das Althergebrachte in Frage stellen und dadurch zur Essenz ihres Erbes vordringen und es für andere zugänglich machen können. So werden sie zu Botschaftern ihrer Kultur, ihrer Gesellschaft und ihrer Heimat.”

²²³ The CD contains many compositions by Anton and Hermann Moser. The Moser family (from Appenzell Innerrhoden) were the first *Streichmusik* composers to write more harmonically complex music in the late nineteenth century.

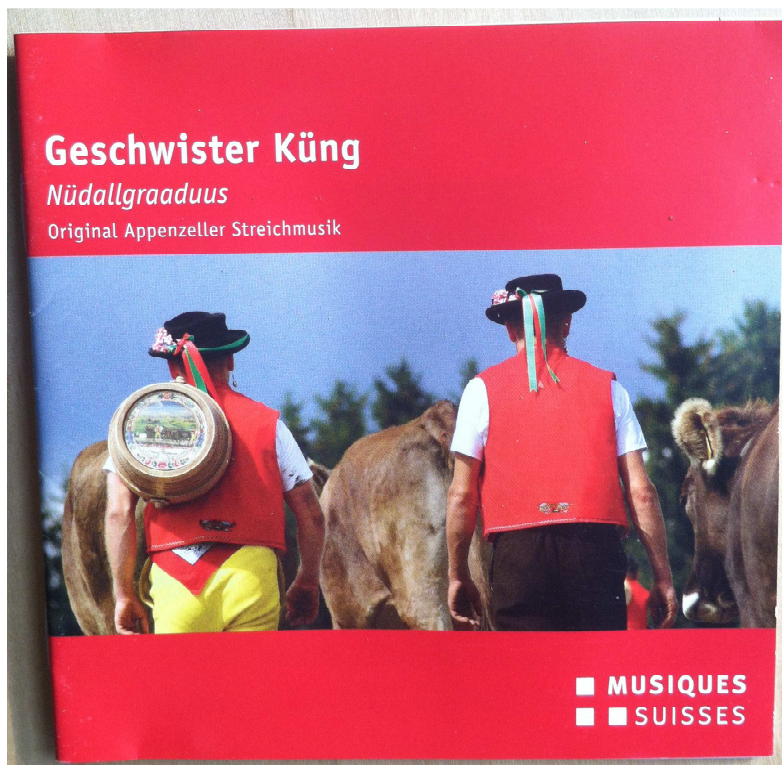


Figure 28. *Geschwister Küng’s “Nüdüllgraaduss” cover*

Arnold “Noldi” Alder—a member of the “Alder dynasty” as the Alder family is often referred to—is an extreme case of the syncretic approach. He says this about his relationship to folk music:

I am actually not recognized by the folk musicians as a folk musician, because they believe I deserted them. Even though there is probably rarely a person who thinks more in a folkloric way than I do—I think very traditionally. Also, everything that I compose contains folk music. I either compose with influences from Swiss folk music or by Bartok—which is also folk music—or I compose folk music influenced by Mozart. And you know, Mozart is important to me, but folk music is much more—because I know everything about folk music. (Alder, A. 2012)²²⁴

²²⁴ Original German: “Ich bin eigentlich nicht mehr anerkannt bei den Volksmusikern als Volksmusiker, weil sie meinen, ich habe sie verlassen. Dabei gibt es sehr wahrscheinlich selten einen, der mehr volkstümlich denkt als ich. Ich denke ganz volkstümlich. Also, alles was ich komponierte, hat Volksmusik drin. Ich kann gar nicht anders. Entweder bin ich irgendwo in der Schweizer Volksmusik oder ich bin irgendwo in einer Bartok-Welt, die ja auch Volksmusik ist, oder sonst mache ich Volksmusik und kopiere

Alder is one of the few violinists who are able to improvise the second violin part in *Streichmusik*. This is why *Streichmusik Edelweiss* (one of the consistently purist ensembles that I mentioned previously) calls Alder when they need a substitute. During the time I was working at the ZAV, Matthias Weidmann, one of the researchers at the center, discovered a piece by the well-known Innerrhoder Moser family in a book of transcriptions that had been donated to the ZAV. To validate that this piece was a Moser composition and previously unknown, Matthias Weidmann asked Alder to verify this, because he told me Alder was the individual in the *Streichmusik* community who knows the most about the repertoire.

Alder calls himself the “Erneuerer der Schweizer Volksmusik” (Innovator of Swiss folk music), according to his website.²²⁵ Historian Josef Küng (father of the members of *Geschwister Küng*) finds that “Enriching and groundbreaking new impulses in folk music come from Noldi Alder (*1953)” (Küng 2003, 190, my translation).²²⁶ Alder’s family has a long history of *Streichmusik* performance and because of this, Swiss-American vocalist Erika Stucky—who is one of the other two artists along with Noldi Alder portrayed in the film, *Heimatklänge* (Echoes of Home) (Schwietert 2007)—speaks of a big weight on his shoulders. Alder is a member of the fourth generation of *Streichmusik* performers in the Alder family—his father, Ueli Alder and two brothers, Hansueli and Walter Alder are members of *Streichmusik Alder*, the longest existing ensemble, founded in 1884. He was

Mozart Zitate. Und weisst du, der Mozart ist bei mir drin, aber Volksmusik ist viel mehr drin—weil ich alles über die Volksmusik weiss” (Alder 2012).

²²⁵ See <http://www.noldialder.ch> (accessed April 16th, 2014).

²²⁶ Original German: “Neue Impulse zur Volksmusik, die bereichernd und wegweisend sind, gehen von Noldi Alder (*1953) aus” (Küng 2003, 190).

one of eight children of the famous violinist, Ueli Alder. Like all his sisters and brothers, Alder learned to play musical instruments from a young age. He and his brothers formed the ensemble, *Aldbuebe* (Alder Boys) in the late seventies that still exists today with his brother Walter Alder on the *Hackbrett*. He left the group the *Aldbuebe* in the 1980s, because he says they were not evolving as musicians (Alder 2012). Alder was very outspoken about his ideas and opinions in contrast to many other individuals in the community. Along with two other relatives, Jakob Alder (1915-2004), and his brother, Walter Alder, Noldi Alder is one of the few performers from the *Streichmusik* tradition who solely earns a living as a musician (this applies to the second half of Walter Alder's career—until he was in his forties he worked at the family farm at which point the income from music, teaching and playing, was substantial enough to stop farming). For most others, *Streichmusik* is supplemental income.

Part of Noldi Alder's story is that he returned to school when he was thirty-five for a degree in violin. Through this experience, he had many contacts outside the Appenzeller musical community. Therefore, unlike the rest of the musicians, he frequently collaborates with performers outside the local community. In recent years, Alder feels emancipated from his obligation to audiences:

I never have to do what the audience wants...the last fifteen years...never again, never again. When you are an artist dependent on the audience, what do you have to do? What the audience wants, and then you are no longer yourself. Then you are a puppet. (Alder, A. 2012)²²⁷

²²⁷ Original German: "Ich muss nie machen, was das Publikum will...die letzten 15 Jahre...nie mehr, nie mehr. Wenn man abhängig wird als Künstler vom Publikum, was muss man machen? Was das Publikum will, und dann ist man nicht mehr sich selbst. Dann ist man eine Marionette" (Alder 2012).

Currently, Alder is composing his own music and no longer performing the traditional repertoire, except for on rare occasions, which he deems his own choice. When I returned to Switzerland in the summer of 2013 to conduct follow-up interviews, I went back to talk to Alder again. I asked him about the importance of audience and he told me this:

At the beginning, 30 or 40 years ago, I had the feeling that I had to serve the audience and have as many performances as possible and of course also practice... this feeling has diminished over time. The feeling has changed so that I have said to myself, actually the end result of making music is that you no longer need an audience, that you only need to practice for yourself. This is actually a kind of meditation. This sounds strange but playing an instrument can be a meditation—so you can find yourself and know yourself better by playing an instrument. For this you do not actually need an audience. (Alder 2013)²²⁸

Alder is unique in the Appenzell in this attitude towards audiences. He also has the luxury of being successful as a performer and composer, so he does not need to search for performing opportunities. It is difficult to say what came first—the attitude towards performance or the success and financial security, which can enable this perspective. He goes on to say:

Income forces people to have an audience, a large one, a general audience. A general audience does not have a very refined taste. The other audience is the one that is interested in research and development. This is a very small group, but they are very important because they support people like me. These are people who come to hear contemporary folk music and are really interested, and know that they will experience surprises. The general audience, on the other hand, is influenced by clichés. It is easy because you can go to the performance and say you are going to play these pieces, and then you have a certain guarantee that you

²²⁸ Original German: “Am Anfang, vor 30 oder 40 Jahren, habe ich das Gefühl gehabt, ich müsse dem Publikum dienen, und ich müsse möglichst viele Auftritte machen und natürlich auch üben... und mit der Zeit hat sich das reduziert. Es hat sich geändert, so dass ich mir gesagt habe, eigentlich das Resultat von Musik machen ist, dass du kein Publikum mehr brauchst, dass du nur noch üben musst. Eigentlich eine Art Meditation, das klingt jetzt ein bisschen komisch, aber eigentlich ein Instrument spielen, kann auch eine Meditation sein—und einfach, dass du dich selber findest und dich selber besser kennen lernst über ein Instrument. Und für das braucht man eigentlich kein Publikum” (Alder 2013).

will have an income. If you play a certain style you know that people will come. You have a full room, and as a consequence the boss of the organization you are playing for is happy about the turnout. (Alder, A. 2013)²²⁹

Alder notes that most people are motivated by clichés for performing and listening to folk music, realizing that these choices are influenced by economics. He desires audiences that listen with an open mind:

I want to experience it once that nobody comes to one of my concerts. It needs to be publicized that nobody came...I want them to write in the newspaper that Noldi Alder performed a solo concert and nobody came. What will the result of this be? This will create interest. It does not mean that the general public is too stupid to understand my music or that I play bad music. You could find out why nobody came. You might say that the marketing was not effective or that nobody is interested in Noldi Alder anymore; he is already sixty and you cannot listen to him anymore. I like when people come to listen, but I do not want the people who go to concerts out of routine. I do not want that anymore. (Alder, A. 2013)²³⁰

Interestingly enough, with this emphasis that Alder only wants to play for an audience who understands him, he was asked to compose the music for a large theater piece that was commissioned by both Appenzell Innerrhoden and Ausserrhoden to commemorate Appenzell joining the Swiss nation in 1513. This piece, titled *Der Dreizehnte Ort* (The

²²⁹ Original German: “Das Einkommen zwingt die Leute, ein Publikum zu haben und zwar viele, eine Masse. Und die Masse ist eine grobe Plattform, auf dieser Ebene ist die Masse. Das andere ist die Forschung. Entwicklung, das ist eine kleine Gruppe des Publikums, das dann kommt—aber sehr eine wichtige, weil sie dich unterstützen im direktem Weg zu dir. Wenn irgendjemand kommt und du machst so klassisch zeitgemässe Volksmusik, dann weisst du, der interessiert sich jetzt...Der ist sich bewusst, dass er mit Überraschungen zu tun hat...Es ist einfach so, dass das andere Publikum durch Klischee bewegt werden kann. Ganz einfach kommen und sagen: ich spiele das Stück und dann hast du eine gewisse Garantie, dass mein Einkommen stimmt. Oder du spielst einen Stil Musik und die Leute kommen, du hast volle Säle, der Chef von der Organisation hat eine Riesenfreude, dass er einen vollen Saal hat” (Noldi Alder 2013).

²³⁰ Original German: “Ich will es mal erleben, dass niemand kommt zu einem Konzert. Es soll aber publiziert werden, dass niemand gekommen ist... In der Zeitung soll man publizieren, der Noldi Alder hat einen Solokonzert gegeben und es ist niemand gekommen. Was löst das aus? Das löst Interesse aus. Das heisst ja nicht, dass das Publikum zu blöd ist, um meine Musik zu hören. Das heisst auch nicht, dass ich schlechte Musik mache. Da könnte man eben herausfinden, wieso niemand kommt. Könntest sagen der Werbeeffekt stimmt nicht oder es hat wirklich niemand mehr Interesse am Noldi Alder, der ist ja 60 oder so, oder dem kann man nicht zuhören. Ich habe gern, dass Leute zum zuhören kommen, aber ich will nicht die Leute, die nur aus Routine ins Konzert gehen, das will ich nicht mehr” (Noldi Alder 2013).

Thirteenth Territory—since Appenzell was the thirteenth canton to join Switzerland), involved several hundred volunteer actors from both halves of the canton. Performances extended for several weeks of the summer of 2013, drawing a general audience. Clearly, being asked to be composer and music director shows that Alder is a valued and accepted member in the local community, even though he pushes the boundaries both musically and on a social level. Not only is this commission a great honor, it reflects that Alder's music is considered representative of the Appenzellerland. What does it mean when innovative musical practices become emblematic of the region? This opens the debate over what in actuality is authentic Appenzeller music. From the disparate examples in this chapter it can be concluded that both the “older” and the “newer” can be authentic.

Alder was also the artistic director of the *Experimentierfreudige Volksmusik Festival* on March 3rd, 2012 in the small town of Gais, Appenzell. Before the performance he remarked to the audience that since people surround themselves with modern technology such as laptops and cell phones they should also modernize their taste in music. I had interviewed him a few days prior, and he had ended up on a similar subject:

This situation happens in music: there are some individuals who only like to listen to yodeling. It does not matter what a terrible yodel it is, as long as it is a yodel. But these people have all the latest technology, cell phones, and computers. I say to them, music has evolved. Your mentality is one hundred and twenty years old, and so is the music you listen to. Why do you consider it acceptable to have a lazy technique, why do you not strive to better yourself and your music? (Alder, A. 2012)²³¹

²³¹ Original German: “Das gibt es im Fall in der Musik: da gibt es solche, die nur Jodeln hören. Es ist gleich, was fuer ein "himmeltrauriger" Jodel es ist, aber nur Jodel. Aber sie sind sehr gut "bewaffnet" mit Handy, Computer. Dann sag ich: ‘Musik hat sich im Fall entwickelt. Das, was Du denkst, ist 120 Jahren alt, das was Du hörst. Wieso hast Du eine Technik, übernimmst Du eine Technik die bequem ist, und wieso bildest Du Dich nicht weiter in der Musik?’” (Noldi Alder 2012).

Alder is vexed that the Appenzeller audiences are not open to what he considers progress in the *Streichmusik* tradition. He notes that the audience invites progress in other areas of their lives, for example, using electronics, but they do not update their musical taste.

When I asked Alder about this perspective the following year, he said he would prefer that his family was more open to newer styles and genres, including contemporary music and improvisation. His comments are his response to the phenomenon that his brothers and father strive to play *Streichmusik* the same way it was played four and five generations ago in their family (Alder, A. 2013). Alder believes that *Streichmusik* performers should take advantage of the availability of music instruction—which was not the case in the past, when his father learned violin—and improve their technique.

Similar to Noldi Alder, Peter Roth, creator of the *Klangwelt* and the individual responsible for reviving *Streichmusik* in the Toggenburg in the 1960s, has also had a unique trajectory in regard to *Streichmusik*. He spoke to me:

On the one hand it was the events, and on the other hand it was me—I could not imagine playing only *Streichmusik* my whole life. I was interested in Miles Davis and John Coltrane and in the blues and also really in classical music. It would have been a too-narrow existence for me and also for Noldi. He received a degree in music and with his ensemble *Klangcombi*, he began to combine *Streichmusik* with other styles and after a while he developed his own musical language. The *Alderbuebe* always stayed the *Alderbuebe*. With [the brothers] Noldi and Walter, you can see how differently it can develop. Walter now has a family and young people who make music, and Noldi has an artist's existence where he has created his own style but he does not have any children that can continue his work. (Roth 2012)²³²

²³² Original German: “Einerseits die Anlässe und andererseits bin ich es auch gewesen. Ich habe mir nicht vorstellen können, ein ganzes Leben einfach Streichmusik zu machen. Eben, ich habe mich für Miles Davis und John Coltrane und für die Blues und auch für klassische Musik brennend interessiert. Mir wär das zu eng gewesen und dem Noldi auch. Er hat dann ein Musikstudium gemacht und hat dann mit seinem "Klangcombi" angefangen, auch Streichmusik mit anderen Stilen zu kombinieren und so mit der Zeit eine eigene Sprache entwickelt. Und die *Alderbuebe* sind eigentlich immer die *Alderbuebe* geblieben. Beim Noldi und beim Walter sieht man es total schön, wie verschieden es laufen kann. Walter hat eine Familie

Peter Roth admires Noldi Alder for finding his own voice just as Roth found his in composition. Roth has composed several large works, the most well-known piece being the *Toggenburger Passion* for choir and chamber ensemble (including *Hackbrett*) and the *Jodlmesse* (Yodel Mass) for unaccompanied choir. Still, when it comes to *Streichmusik*, Roth expressed that he would rather listen to the old *Streichmusik*:

I still like to listen to the old music; it is somehow primordial, grounded. I find the other music interesting—the development, it is good that it is developing. However, I would rather play jazz with saxophone, drums, and bass—real jazz—than to attempt to make *Streichmusik* “jazzy.” I stick with what is typical. (Roth 2012)²³³

So, even though Roth is one of the innovators of the *Streichmusik* genre with his own compositions, when it comes to the older *Streichmusik* pieces, he prefers them played traditionally. The same individuals who are the most innovative—Noldi Alder in the Appenzell and Peter Roth in the Toggenburg—are also the most traditional. Clearly, the situation is complex as musicians vary along the purism-syncretism continuum in different situations.

Conclusion

Baumann’s binary of purism and syncretism helps elucidate the various reactions to the “tourist gaze” among the *Streichmusik* performers. Some ensembles are more concerned with creating a “staged authenticity” than others. The “tourist gaze” affects ensembles to differing degrees, and thus has a varied response in repertoire choice and

und wieder Junge, die Musik machen und der Noldi hat so eine Künstlerexistenz, der wie etwas Eigenes geschaffen hat, aber keine Kinder, mit denen es weitergeht” (Roth 2012).

²³³ Original German: “Und ich höre die Alten immer noch gern, es hat so etwas ursprüngliches, bodennahes. Ich finde das andere ist interessant—die Weiterentwicklung, das ist auch gut, dass es sich entwickelt. Ich spiele jetzt lieber mit einem Saxophonist, Schlagzeug, und Bass—wirklich Jazz—als dass ich probiere, Streichmusik zu “verjazzen.” Ich bleibe eher beim typischen” (Roth 2012).

whether an ensemble falls in the purist or syncretic category. Ensembles shift their focus along the continuum of purism and syncretism, depending on their audience. Some ensembles, such as *Streichmusik Alder*, *Streichmusik Schmid*, and *Streichmusik Edelweiss* always present the traditional repertoire. However, even the *Hackbrett* player for *Streichmusik Alder* is supportive of other ensembles' innovation:

Then there are many young people who are searching for new ideas. Things have changed—the music, compositions, instrumentation, and also the repertoire. But it must be this way, the music must evolve. What does not move will die. (Freund 2013)²³⁴

The complex notion of authenticity shifts in its definition as the *Streichmusik* genre evolves as an emblem of Swissness. Each listener's constructive authenticity shapes how they perceive *Streichmusik*. Many factors determine how influential the “tourist gaze” and “staged authenticity” are on *Streichmusik*. Perhaps, because of this, Noldi Alder has this concern: “there are hardly any more living traditions—everything is staged” (Alder, A. 2012).

²³⁴ Original German: “Und dann hat es ja viele Junge, die Neues suchen wollen. Die haben sich schon verändert—in der Musik, in den neuen Kompositionen, in der Instrumentierung, und auch im Repertoire. Aber das muss sein, es muss sich entwickeln, was sich nicht bewegt, stirbt” (Freund 2013).

CHAPTER SIX: CONCLUSION

On June 23, 2013, a drizzly Sunday afternoon, my sister and I attended the *Gross Leu Alpstobete* (big lion alpine festival). I met my sister on the train to Wasserauen, Appenzell Innerrhoden, the end of the line that stops at the base of the mountains. We then took a Publicar (a form of taxi that is part of the public transportation system) that I had reserved earlier that day. The driver drove up a steep alpine road as the drizzle turned to rain and after twenty minutes stopped at a faintly marked footpath. From there we hiked up by foot to the *Gross Leu Alpstobete*. Usually this *Alpstobete* is held outside, but because it was raining, the organizers moved the *Alpstobete* inside a nearby barn. As we drew closer we could begin to hear the sound of the accordion. Stepping out of the rain, we entered a barn that was transformed into a dance hall and restaurant—people were dancing, eating and drinking. In the warm barn full of people, it seemed like everyone knew each other except us.

The *Gross Leu Alpstobete* is considered a local event, with alternating performances during the afternoon and evening of the ensemble called *Alphöttli* and a *Jodelchoir* (yodel choir). *Alphöttli* does not consist of true *Streichmusik* instrumentation. Even though the ensemble does not have a violinist, there is an accordion playing melody and a *Hackbrett* player. The repertoire was mostly *Stimmungsmusik* (dance music that literally means to create a good atmosphere, a good “*stimmung*”) that the Appenzeller people enjoy for dancing.

We finally found a space at a table and sat down next to a group of people in their early to mid-twenties. By chance, we had picked the only table with a *Fremde* (foreigner), a young woman from Tokyo. Even at this otherwise local event there was another audience member from halfway around the world. What does the presence of outsiders, including my sister and me, mean for localized practices such as Appenzeller folk music? Perhaps it is that the local becomes more clearly defined by its relationship to the global. Veit Erlmann finds that “the local, then, is not the historical antecedent of modernity, but essentially a myth produced by the growing differentiation of society” (1996, 479). The Appenzell and the Toggenburg hold on to their “specialness” as a locality and their notion of *Heimat* and place through calendrical customs and practices of which the *Alpstobete* we attended is one. There has been a recent folk music revival at a time of increased anxiety and social resistance to foreign nationals. Even though this music has a history intertwined with tourism, the relationships between performers, venues, tourist organizations and audiences are constantly shifting, creating new articulations of place.

1. Particularities of Place

Other cantons have to fight their own fights, but nowhere as in Appenzell is there such a deeply rooted defensive reflex against the “people up there” and against outside interference, coming from St. Gallen, Bern, or Brussels. (David Signer 2014)²³⁵

In the above article about Appenzell Innerrhoden, Swiss ethnologist and journalist David Signer relates the reluctance of the Appenzeller people to listen to guidelines from

²³⁵ Original German: “Auch andere Kantone mussten ihre Kämpfe ausfechten, aber nirgends ausser in Appenzell gibt es einen so tief verwurzelten Abwehrreflex gegen ‘die da oben’ und gegen äussere Einmischung, komme sie von St. Gallen, Bern oder Brüssel” (Signer 2014).

the federal government, in particular the resistance of the Appenzeller men to women's suffrage. This stubbornness by the Appenzeller men resulted in a federal mandate that resulted in the Appenzeller women's right to vote in 1991. Clearly, this region has regressive, conservative tendencies. Still, despite conservative politics and regressive tendencies towards women, the Appenzell and the neighboring Toggenburg have been successfully branded to conjure up an imaginary and past Switzerland, a *Heile Welt* (ideal or idyllic world).²³⁶ The complex and charged notion of *Heimat* is inspired by the landscape and customs practiced in the Appenzell and Toggenburg and has been used in rebranding the region and the nation with the term, Swissness.

The local and the global have often been defined in opposition: "The local seems to have been consistently figured in the last decade or so as a kind of supplement to globalization, as the lesser term of the asymmetrical binarism global/local" (Biddle and Whitely 2007, 2). In contrast, along with cultural ethnographer Doreen Massey, through ethnographic analysis of *Streichmusik*, I have argued in my dissertation that the local, national and global are all part of the same cultural fabric, even if they are not always recognized as such. The analogy by Signer illustrates this point: "Switzerland is to Europe as Appenzell Innerrhoden is to Switzerland: self-willed, ungovernable, conservative and prosperous. These are clichés, but they are true."²³⁷ The Appenzell is a miniature version of Switzerland, according to Signer. Just as Switzerland as a nation has

²³⁶ See chapter 4 for discussions of *Heile Welt*.

²³⁷ Signer, David. 2008. "Appenzell Innerrhoden: Der schöne, harte Kern." <http://www.weltwoche.ch/ausgaben/2008-23/artikel-2008-23-appenzell-innerr.html> (Accessed May 8th, 2014)

Original German: "Was die Schweiz für Europa ist Appenzell Innerrhoden für die Schweiz: Eigensinnig, obrigkeitsfeindlich, konservativ und prosperierend. Das sind Klischees, aber sie stimmen" (Signer).

insular and unique tendencies, so do the various parts of the nation. In order to understand Switzerland's identity, and that of the Appenzell and the Toggenburg within Switzerland, it is important to look at Switzerland's relationship to the rest of Europe, as I discuss in chapter 1. The place of Switzerland in the center of Europe causes it to be involved in European matters, even though the nation maintains its insularity.²³⁸

The definition of Europe is in flux. As Europe is redefining itself with the European Union and increased mobility between countries, the interactions between people have changed. There is a general shift

from a community-based existence (translates as *Gemeinschaft* in Tönnies' famous formulation), in which the units of organization of social life could be readily apprehended through face-to-face contacts, to an association or society (*Gesellschaft*) based social organization whose boundaries and leaders might be various and distant. (MacDonald 1997, 4)

Part of the allure of the Appenzell and Toggenburg is that these are places on the *Gemeinschaft* part of the spectrum—close-knit communities with face-to-face contact. The *Streichmusik* community is small and the performers know each other and the repertoire they each perform. Ethnomusicologist Philip Bohlman argues that there are two Europes—the cosmopolitan and the Europe of the fringes (2011). The Appenzellerland and the Toggenburg valley are the Europe of the fringes, the Europe not always mentioned in history books, the Europe that is not at the top of the list of international tourist destinations. Because this region has so-called “old values” of

²³⁸ An example of how the nation attempts to preserve its insularity is the vote on February 9th, 2014 that limited the number of foreign nationals, including those from EU countries. See chapter 1 for more on this vote.

rootedness (*bodenständig*) and connection to *Heimat*, it has come to represent Swissness in an endeavor to uphold the specialness of the nation.

2. Swissness: negotiating new meanings

As the world becomes more thoroughly interconnected, economically and politically, as people move about in unforeseen, only partially controllable, and increasingly massive, ways, and as new lines are drawn and old ones erased, the catalogue of available identifications expands, contracts, changes shape, ramifies, involutes, and develops. (Geertz 2000, 225)

My dissertation has shown how identities are renegotiated; Switzerland has undergone a rebranding effort using the concept of “Swissness,” through its products and culture, to reestablish itself on the international market and also to redefine itself internally. The results of this reinvention have had a mixed reception in the diverse Swiss nation. In particular, the Italian and French parts of Switzerland have not embraced Swissness in the same way as the Swiss-German part. *Streichmusik* signifies the Appenzell and Toggenburg region, and is an imagined heritage for the urban Swiss who travel there, and so has come to represent Swissness in broader terms. As I have shown, the Appenzellerland has aligned itself with a pastoral or rural version of Swissness, whereas the industry in the Toggenburg, which is a less well-known region nationwide, attempts to associate its products with a cosmopolitan construction of Swissness. The Appenzeller *Streichmusik* performers capitalize on their “Appenzellerness” and pastoral Swissness while the Toggenburg ensembles do not have the name recognition backing their ability to promote themselves.

Streichmusik has been historically used as an example of Swiss nationhood.

Violinist Noldi Alder recalls the anecdote of when his father, Ueli Alder (1922-2014) and

his ensemble were the first Swiss group to play abroad. The ensemble was collaborating with and promoting Swissair: “this began in approximately 1930—the first performance to promote Swissair in London. Swissair went to London and took along a Swiss ensemble—it had to be typically Swiss...Usually *Streichmusik Alder* went along” (Alder, A. 2012).²³⁹ As seen by this example, *Streichmusik*, in particular *Streichmusik Alder*, has for some time been equated with being typically Swiss. It is evident that the notion of Swissness is part of a cycle of reinventing the Swiss nation. As I have shown in chapter 2, Swissness is a new iteration of *Heimatverbundenheit* (connection to homeland) in a cycle of national reinvention. The sentiments that formed *Heimatverbundenheit* were a reverberation of the Second World War and the need for Switzerland to differentiate itself culturally from neighboring Germany. Swissness however, re-imagines the Swiss nation and aims to rebrand its uniqueness on an international level.

As *Streichmusik* and the region are re-imagined, one aspect that has changed is the inclusion of female performers. As women were not originally performers in this genre, for some the inclusion of women is a welcome reinvention of the past, by creating a present musical practice that involves women. For others, female *Streichmusik* performers contradict and are a transgressive move against the notion of Swissness. The fact that violinist Barbara Betschart took over the leadership of the ZAV on September 1, 2014 indicates a large shift in consciousness. Betschart is the first female in a leadership role for the center, a significant development for the region. Over time women’s

²³⁹ Original German: “Das begann ungefähr in 1930—einer der ersten Auftritte mit Swissair in London. Swissair flog, ich glaube, nach London und hat eine Schweizer Musik mitgenommen, Man hat gesagt, dass es typisch schweizerisch sein müsse...Meistens war es die *Streichmusik Alder*” (Alder, A. 2012).

involvement in *Streichmusik* will continue to expand, as they are increasingly involved in the *Streichmusik* community.

The *Streichmusik* tradition is strengthened by the increase in performers through the “*Hackbrett* boom” and the *Streichmusik* revival. It is the looking to the past that drives revivals. Restorative nostalgia drives cultural tourism in the Appenzell and the Toggenburg, as I discussed in chapter 2. Nostalgia is invoked by acclaiming a rural utopia, which the Appenzell and Toggenburg embody through their bucolic landscape and practice of calendrical agricultural customs. Part of the authentication process is defining identity, often through *Heimat* and a sense of belonging. The Appenzell in particular is successful in its use of “ethno-commodities” (Comaroff and Comaroff 2009) to distinguish and market the region, as I have shown in chapter 4. The Toggenburg is more reticent in its outward projections, which ultimately affects it economically.

3. Future Study Suggestions

To follow up on this project, I propose focusing on audience response to analyze more completely the tourist dynamics and expectations. For this future project, more in-depth interviews would be conducted with audience members. This kind of data is not collected by tourist organizations and would provide valuable insight into a variety of tourist motivations. This type of project would be of a broader and longer scope and require a different kind of Institutional Review Board (IRB) approval.

The shifting role of the Center for Appenzeller Folk Music (ZAV) on a local and national level, under new direction, should be examined in the future. In the last two years there have been large changes in leadership that have affected how the Appenzell

(and now the Toggenburg) are presented nationally and internationally. Joe Manser began the forerunner of the ZAV in his home in 2003, with his family's archival material. His father, Johann Manser (1917-1985), had already created a large collection of material on Appenzeller music to write the seminal book, *Heimatklang us Innerrhode* (1979). Joe Manser retired from the position of director of the ZAV in the fall of 2012. He had, in fact, exceeded the official retirement age in Switzerland of 65 years and after two extra years he retired, as he was legally required to do so. In the search to replace Manser, no Appenzeller people came forward. Florian Walser, clarinetist for the *Tonhalle-Orchester* in Zurich took over the directorship of the ZAV from the fall of 2012 until August 31, 2014. His chief residence was in Zurich and he would spend a few days a week in the Appenzell. The local population was skeptical about someone they felt was an outsider to take on this role. He played clarinet, but none of the typical *Streichmusik* instruments, which contributed to even greater alienation from the *Streichmusik* community. During his time at the ZAV Walser aided the center in creating a greater national presence in part through digitizing archival material. The logistics of his two employment situations made working at the ZAV unsustainable in the long term for Walser. As I mentioned previously, violinist Barbara Betschart, member of *Brandhölzler Streichmusik* in the Toggenburg in the last two years, took over the leadership of the ZAV on September 1, 2014. This has precipitated some significant changes for the Center. When I checked the ZAV website on December 20, 2014, the first two listening examples, were historical recordings from the Toggenburg: the "Amazonen-Schottisch" from 1908, and the "Frieda Mazurka" from 1922. That Toggenburger recordings are on the website, particularly at the top, point to

the new place that Toggenburger music has at the ZAV under the directorship of Betschart. As I describe in chapter 3, the newest change for the ZAV is that the name has changed to *Zentrum für Appenzeller and Toggenburger Volksmusik* as of January 1, 2015. That the Toggenburg is now included in the title is an incredible change for the region. The increasing inclusion of the Toggenburg in the Center needs to be investigated in order to examine this shifting articulation of place.

Another future study suggestion is to investigate what happened to the repertoire played in the Toggenburg before the 1960s. As I discussed in chapter 3, there are some field recordings that Albert Edelman of the *Ackerhaus* (museum of local customs) in Ebnat-Kappel, Toggenburg, conducted in the early twentieth century. Joe Manser, former director of the ZAV, and I attempted to find these recordings in 2012. At present they have not been located.

Although Swiss ethnomusicologist Margaret Engeler (1933-2010) and I have both incorporated aspects of the role of women in *Streichmusik* in our work, further study should be conducted that focuses exclusively on women and their increasing role in *Streichmusik*. Is it possible to argue that the increased presence of women is creating longevity for the *Streichmusik* tradition as it increases the number of performers? Or, do women perform a transgressive role in the reformulation of *Streichmusik* under the aegis of Swissness? Especially as the number of women performers has greatly increased in the last few decades, their evolving role in *Streichmusik* warrants further investigation.

4. Contributions to the literature

In the past, most data in tourism studies has been on a quantitative level. My dissertation contributes to the literature in tourism that focuses on the qualitative aspects. At the intersection of ethnomusicology and tourism studies, my project provides an ethnographic perspective on theorizing tourism.

As I have shown, *Streichmusik* and folk music in general have had a revival in the Appenzell. Swiss folk music can be used to represent an idealized past, and as ethnomusicologist Philip Bohlman notes:

There are various motivations for the explosion of musical revivalism in the New Europe, but it is the belief that music has the power to restore and to recover something lost that embodies almost all motivations. By extension, it is the belief that music contains some aspect of the nation prior to the divisive wars and ideologies of the twentieth century that transforms revivalism into such a widespread process of the new nationalism. (Bohlman 2011, 240)

There is the hope in Swiss folk music revivals that music can restore the past and perhaps a return to a more innocent way of life—traveling to the Appenzell or Toggenburg the tourist might experience a *Heile Welt* or “true Switzerland” of an imaginary past. The multiplicity of musical practices, as is seen in the broad continuum between Baumann’s purism and syncretism (1996), create a vibrant folk music scene in the Appenzell and the Toggenburg. *Streichmusik* has always borrowed from other traditions, and the range of borrowing keeps expanding as genres are increasingly accessed through the internet and a mobile, globalized world.

In Switzerland, there has historically been a correlation between folk music revival and conservative politics. Folk music revivals are seen as a reaction to globalization. However, this correlation could be reframed in a more positive way to

integrate the local and global. As I mentioned earlier, rather than placing the local and global in binary opposition, I suggest, along with Massey, that linkages can be found between the two by defining place as a “distinct *mixture* of wider and more local social relations” (Massey 1999, 156, italics in the original). Indeed, in any locality there are various mixtures present. The specificity of place is constantly redefined (ibid., 155). Similar polarizing political and cultural shifts are happening in other countries. I posit that my study can provide a model for examining the current state and political alignment of traditions in other nations.

5. Folk music in “new” contexts

Ethnomusicologist Philip Bohlman examines the Eurovision song contest to understand the implications of using regional folk music on a national and international level. Bohlman argues that “the moment folk music enters the national sphere, which it does with great frequency, it too loses the luster of authenticity” (Bohlman 2011, 9). When the Swiss rapper Bligg uses the music of *Streichmusik Alder*, he decontextualizes it out of the so-called traditional and localized performance practice into the transnational genre of hip-hop. What happens to the so-called authenticity of the *Streichmusik*? Music has an emotional context and connection to place. When music is performed in a different context, it takes on new meaning. It would be false to assume that *Streichmusik* is a static practice. Still, as Köbi Freund (*Hackbrett* player for *Streichmusik Alder*) maintained in an interview, his ensemble performs the traditional repertoire exclusively, except for the performances with Bligg (Freund 2013).²⁴⁰ Why would *Streichmusik Alder* make such an

²⁴⁰ See chapter 5 for more on the discussion with Freund on the collaboration with Bligg.

exception? Certainly, *Streichmusik Alder* and the *Streichmusik* genre gained greater visibility as it was performed for a much larger, and for the most part younger, audience but they have refrained from further similar collaborations since the “*Volksmusigg*” video in 2007. Freund indicated that taking *Streichmusik* out of its context decreases its authenticity (Freund 2013).

The notion of authenticity is why many individuals among the local *Streichmusik* community are concerned with performing *Streichmusik* historically. They are attempting to emulate and preserve *Streichmusik* the way it has always been played.²⁴¹ There is an irony in this desire for preservation of the seemingly authentic in that the *Streichmusik* has evolved through the years, often including the popular music of the time or folk music from other regions. As I explained in chapter 5, even what are considered the standard *Streichmusik* repertoire—Polka, Walzer, Ländler, and Mazurka—are all musical forms from other European regions. Also, the iconic instrument of *Streichmusik*, the *Hackbrett* did not originate in the Appenzell, but was imported. In other words, *Streichmusik* has always been a borrowed tradition. Violinist Noldi Alder describes that at the beginning of the twentieth century:

The Ausserrhoder musicians just played dance music, simple music, many *Ländlerli* and of course other things too, they also imported music from other places. In the past it was not frowned upon, so people borrowed from all genres—it did not matter if it was a German pop song, for example. (Alder, A. 2012)²⁴²

²⁴¹ See chapter 1 for a discussion of the parallels in approaches to authenticity in the *Streichmusik* and early music movement.

²⁴² Original German: “Die Ausserrhodner haben einfach so ein bisschen Tanzmusik gemacht, einfache Musik, sehr viel Ländlerli, natürlich andere Sachen auch, und haben auch importiert. Und früher ist man nicht abgeneigt gewesen, also früher hat man einfach alles genommen, was dazu geführt hat, dass man kann zum Musikmachen—es ist gleich gewesen, ob es ein deutscher Schlager ist, es hat keine Rolle gespielt” (Alder, A. 2012).

Over time, *Streichmusik* performance has been tuned into the zeitgeist. For example, Emil Walser (1909-1972), one of the most popular violinists in *Streichmusik* in the twentieth century, played pop music indiscriminately: “Emil Walser, he played two hundred pop hits, he was not concerned. He wrote everything down—the most important is that he could play music, make money” (Alder, A. 2012).²⁴³ I do not believe that Walser only played pop music for financial reasons, I believe he genuinely enjoyed performing in front of audiences and pop music had a good reception. Alder implies that in the present, some of the musicians are apprehensive about *Streichmusik* performers borrowing from other genres. However, the musicians who incorporate music that is typically outside the *Streichmusik* genre are ironically maintaining the *Streichmusik*, because they are amenable to assimilating other styles.

The locations of *Streichmusik* performances constantly expand as new performance opportunities are created. For example, the supermarket chain, Migros, sponsors a series of “*Stubete*” (traditional informal performances) in canton Bern. *Hackbrett* player Nicolas Senn performed with an Appenzeller ensemble on November 30, 2014 and *Streichmusik Alder* on January 25, 2015.²⁴⁴ A *Stubete*, originally an event held in the living room or “*Stube*,” takes on new meaning when it is sponsored by a large corporation. Since 2008 there has also been a *Stubete Am See* (informal performance at the lake) in Zurich. The *Stubete Am See* provides highly produced and orchestrated folk music performances for a mostly urban audience. This is along a similar vein of the “*Landidörfli*” that was built for

²⁴³ Original German: “Der Emil Walser, er hat 200 Schlager gespielt, das ist doch ihm gleich gewesen. Er hat alles aufgeschrieben—die Hauptsache ist, dass er Musik machen, Geld verdienen könnte” (Alder, A. 2012).

²⁴⁴ “Migros Pavillon-Stubete website” <http://www.migros.ch/de/ueber-die-migros/aare/kulturprozent/pavillon-stubete.html> (accessed December 15th, 2014).

the *Landesausstellung* (Swiss National Exhibit) in 1939—an imagined rurality in an urban setting.²⁴⁵ As is seen by the Migros “*Stubete*,” the *Stubete Am See* among others, *Streichmusik* is renewed through recent impulses.

While he was director, Joe Manser published the motto of the ZAV on the blog, blog-volkskultur.ch: “Das Feuer, nicht die Asche bewahren!” (keep the fire, not the ashes).²⁴⁶ Manser is concerned with maintaining a living *Streichmusik* tradition, and not just preserving it as an artifact in a museum. Every day during the seven months I spent at the ZAV, the employees Joe Manser and Matthias Weidmann would suggest we stop our work and play some *Streichmusik*. We put aside our researching and transcribing for at least a few moments. Whenever other musicians came by—usually on business of some kind, like transcription projects, archival work or even instrument donations—the directors gathered in the *Stube* (living room) of the ZAV to play *Streichmusik* with the visitors. This was also the case with the musicians I invited for interviews at the ZAV—Erwin Sager, Otto Schmid, Susanna Wettstein, and Nicolas Senn. Invariably the interview would end in a *Stobete*. Even though there is resistance among some circles, it is important for many performers that *Streichmusik* keeps evolving, that the syncretic model is supported (Baumann 1996). In this way, the “fire” that Joe Manser speaks of, can be maintained because the interest in *Streichmusik* persists, particularly among local audiences who enjoy the new directions of folk music.

²⁴⁵ See chapter 2 for more on the *Landesausstellung*.

²⁴⁶ “Volkskultur Blog” <http://www.blog-volkskultur.ch/?p=51>. September 7, 2007. (accessed December 15th, 2014).

Streichmusik had a moment of crystallization with the formation of the *Quintett Appenzell* in 1892 and the compositions of Anton and Hermann Moser.²⁴⁷ As events and individuals converged, this was the moment of the formation of the *Streichmusik* genre. Such intersections are termed “hybridity cycles” by ethnomusicologist Sarah Weiss. Weiss adapts the concept of “hybridity cycles” stemming from biology, to dissect the juncture when recognizable genres coalesce out of an agglomeration of musical expressions (Weiss 2014). Various hybrid styles merged in 1892 with *Quintett Appenzell* to form the quintessential *Streichmusik* repertoire. However, as time passes, the *Streichmusik* genre, just as other genres, continues to unfold and form more hybrid styles. By preserving the fire and not the ashes, as Manser states, the progression of *Streichmusik* as a genre is sustained.

²⁴⁷ See chapter 1 for more on the history of *Streichmusik*.

APPENDIX A: Sample interview questions

Where and when were you born?

Where did you grow up?

How did you first become involved with Appenzeller Streichmusik? How did you first learn this music? How did you become interested in Appenzeller Streichmusik?

What are your first memories of hearing/playing Appenzeller Streichmusik?

Is this music performed by other people in your family?

Was it expected of you that you play this music?

What would you consider the most typically or “authentic” Appenzeller Streichmusik piece? group?

How do you learn Appenzeller Streichmusik? How do you learn your repertoire?

How do you practice?

Where do you perform?

What is an appropriate space for an Appenzeller Streichmusik performance?

What music do you listen to?

What is the state of Appenzeller Streichmusik today? How does that compare with how it was when you started playing?

Who else knows about Appenzeller Streichmusik?

(How does Appenzeller Streichmusik compare between Innerrhoden and Ausserrhoden?)

(How did it happen that Appenzell has Appenzeller Streichmusik whereas in the rest of Switzerland there are Ländler formations?)

(What is your favorite Appenzeller Streichmusik group? Why?)

APPENDIX B: German Interview Questions

Wann und wo sind Sie geboren?

Wo sind Sie aufgewachsen?

Wie war Ihr erster Kontakt mit der Appenzeller Streichmusik?

Wie haben Sie diese Musik zuerst gelernt?

Wer war Ihr erster Lehrer?

Wie hat er unterrichtet? (Beschreibung der Unterrichtsform und Unterrichtsmethode)

Unterricht, privat oder Musikschule, Unterrichtsort?

Was hat Sie an der Appenzeller Streichmusik interessiert?

Was sind ihre ersten Erinnerungen an Appenzeller Streichmusik?

Wird diese Musik auch von anderen Personen in Ihrer Familie gespielt?

Welchen Einfluss hatte die Familientradition auf Ihre Ausbildung?

Ist es von Ihnen erwartet worden dass Sie diese Musik spielen?

Was ist ein Beispiel von einem typischen oder authentischen Appenzeller Streichmusik Stück?

Welche Gruppe würden Sie als typische Appenzeller Streichmusik bezeichnen??

Wie erklärt man das Wort “zick?”

Wie erklärt man das Wort “schläazig?”

Wie erklärt man das Wort “löpfig?”

Wie lernen Sie Appenzeller Streichmusik?

Wie erarbeiten Sie ein neues Stück?

Mit Noten,
nach Gehör,
durch Nachspielen?

Wie pflegen Sie Ihr Repertoire?

Wie üben Sie?

(Auf was achten Sie besonders beim Üben?)

Allein:

In der Gruppe:

Wo machen Sie Auftritte?

Privat:

Öffentlich:

Wie beurteilen Sie den Zustand der Appenzeller Streichmusik heute?

Wie ist das im Vergleich mit dem Zeitpunkt als Sie angefangen haben zu spielen?
(Beschreiben Sie die Veränderungen)

Kennen Sie weitere Kontaktpersonen über Appenzeller Streichmusik?

Wie vergleicht die Appenzeller Streichmusik zwischen Innerrhoden und Ausserrhoden?
Erklären Sie die Unterschiede.

Was für Musik hören Sie gerne?

Was ist Ihre Lieblings Appenzeller Streichmusik Gruppe?
Wieso?

Was für Orte eignen sich für Auftritte mit Appenzeller Streichmusik?

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Abram, Simone, Jacqueline Waldren, and Donald Macleod, eds. 1997. *Tourists and Tourism: Identifying with People and Places*. Oxford, UK: Berg.
- Adorno, Theodor. 1964. *The Jargon of Authenticity*. Trans. Knut Tarnowski and Frederic Will. London: Routledge.
- Alder, Arnold. 1995. *Die Geige in der Appenzellermusik: Anleitung für den Gebrauch der Violine in der Appenzeller Streichmusik*. Zürich: Mülirad-Verlag.
- Alder, Arnold (Noldi). 2012. Interview by author. Urnäsch, Appenzell Ausserrhoden, Switzerland. February 29.
- Alder, Arnold (Noldi). 2013. Interview by author. Urnäsch, Appenzell Ausserrhoden, Switzerland. July 12.
- Alder, Walter. 2012. Interview by author. Urnäsch, Appenzell Ausserrhoden, Switzerland. April 4.
- Anderson, Benedict. 2006. *Imagined Communities*. Brooklyn, NY: Verso.
- Andraschke, Peter. 1978. Reviewed Work(s): *Musikfolklore und Musikfolklorismus: Eine ethnomusikologische Untersuchung zum Funktionswandel des Jodels* by Max Peter Baumann. *Jahrbuch für Volksliedforschung*, 23, 176-177.
- Appadurai, Arjun. 1990. "Disjuncture and Difference in the Global Cultural Economy," *Public Culture*, Vol. 2 (2): 1-24.
- . 1991. "Global Ethnoscapes: Notes and Queries for a Transnational Anthropology." In *Recapturing Anthropology*, edited by RG Fox, 191–210. Santa Fe, NM: School Am. Res. Press.
- . 1986. *The social life of things: Commodities in cultural perspective*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Appenzeller Brauchtumsmuseum*. 2004. *Gelebte Tradition: Brauchtum im Appenzellerland*. St.Gallen, Switzerland: Andreas Baumberger AG Film and Video Production.
- Appenzeller Brauchtumsmuseum Sonderausstellung: Öseri Tracht* (Appenzeller Museum of Customs: special exhibit: our traditional costume) from April 1, 2012 to January 13, 2013. <http://www.museum->

urnaesch.ch/download.php?f=5c55133117996e45ce1b65e75d8cf47b (accessed December 29, 2013).

50 Appenzeller Volkstänze, Band 1. 2000 [1915]. Teufen, Switzerland: Karl Aeschbacher.

45 Appenzeller Volkstänze, Band 2. 1982 [1920]. Teufen, Switzerland: Karl Aeschbacher.

Applegate, Celia. 1990. *A Nation of Provincials: The German Idea of Heimat*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Ashworth, Gregory. 1993. "Culture and Tourism: Conflict or Symbiosis in Europe." In *Tourism in Europe: Structures and Developments*, edited by Pompl, W. and Lavery, P. Wallingford, UK: CAB International.

"Asylgesuche 1986-2013" of Switzerland's *Bundesamt für Migration* (Federal Bureau for Immigration)
<https://www.bfm.admin.ch/content/dam/data/migration/statistik/asylstatistik/uebersichten/gesuche-nation-1986-2013-d.pdf> (accessed January 7th, 2013)

Atkinson, Connie. 1997. "Whose New Orleans? Music's Place in the Packaging of New Orleans for Tourism." In *Tourists and Tourism: Identifying with People and Places*. Oxford, UK: Berg.

Bachmann-Geiser, Brigitte. 2014. "Der Bauerngeiger." *Neue Zürcher Zeitung*. August 11.

Bachmann-Geiser, Brigitte, et al. 1985. *Volksmusik in der Schweiz*. Zurich, Switzerland: Ringier AG.

Baumann, Max Peter. 1976. *Musikfolklore und Musikfolklorismus: Eine ethnomuskologische Untersuchung zum Funktionswandel des Jodels*. Winterthur, Switzerland: Amadeus.

—. 1996. "Folk Music Revival: Concepts between Regression and Emancipation." *The World of Music* 38, no. 3 (January 1): 71–86.

The Bellagio Declaration. 1993. <http://www.cwru.edu/affil/sce/BellagioDec.html> (Accessed January 29, 2014).

Ben-Ari, Eyal. 1996. Review of *Discourses of the Vanishing*, by Marilyn Ivy. *Monumenta Nipponica* 51, no. 2 (July 1): 273–75.

- Bendix, Regina. 1997. *In Search of Authenticity : the Formation of Folklore Studies*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press.
- . 1985. *Progress and Nostalgia: Silvesterklause in Urnäsch, Switzerland*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.
- Benjamin, Walter. 1968 [1936]. Hannah Arendt, ed. "The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction", *Illuminations*. London: Fontana, 217-252.
- Bewes, Diccon. 2012. *Swiss Watching: Inside the Land of Milk and Money*. Nicholas Brealey Publishing. London, UK.
- Biddle, Ian and Vanessa Knights, eds. 2007. *Music, National Identity and the Politics of Location: Between the Global and the Local*. Burlington, VT: Ashgate.
- Bilby, Kenneth. 1999. "Indigenization and Cosmopolitanism in Contemporary Surinamese Popular Music," *Ethnomusicology*, Vol. 43, No. 2 (Spring-Summer): 256-296.
- Blankart, Franz. 1990. "Economic Status of Switzerland: Past, Present, and Future." *Atlantic Economic Journal* Volume 18, no. Issue 3 (September).
- Blickle, Peter. 2002. *Heimat: A Critical Theory of the German Idea of Homeland*. Rochester, NY: Camden House.
- Bodenheimer, Rebecca Marina. 2010. *Localizing Hybridity: The Politics of Place In Contemporary Cuban Rumba Performance*. Ph.D. Dissertation University of California, Berkeley.
- Bohlman, Philip V. 2011. *Music, Nationalism, and the Making of the New Europe*. New York: Routledge.
- . 2002. "World Music at the 'End of History'." *Ethnomusicology* 46, no. 1 (Winter):1-32.
- Bonjour, E., Offler H.S., and Potter, G.R. 1952. *A Short History of Switzerland*. Oxford, England: Clarendon Press.
- Boorstin, Daniel J. 1961/1992. *The Image: A Guide to Pseudo-Events in America*. New York: Vintage Books.
- Born, Georgina and David Hesmondhalgh, eds. 2000. *Western Music and Its Others: Difference, Representation, and Appropriation in Music*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.

- Boym, Svetlana. 2001. *The Future of Nostalgia*. New York: Basic Books.
- Bösch, Daniel. 2012. Interview by author. Appenzell, Appenzell Innerrhoden. July 24.
- Brumann, Christoph. 1998. "The Anthropological Study of Globalization: Towards an Agenda for the Second Phase." *Anthropos* 93, no. 4/6: 495–506.
- Bruner, Edward M. 2001. "The Maasai and the Lion King: Authenticity, Nationalism, and Globalization in African Tourism." *American Ethnologist* 28, no. 4 (November 1): 881–908.
- Brunner, Franco. 2010. "Interview: Bligg Mit Neuem Album: Traditionen Waren Für Mich Schon Immer Wichtig." *Obersee Nachrichten*, October 28.
- Butler, Richard W. 2006. "Review: Music and Tourism: On the Road Again." *Annals of Tourism Research* 33, no. 2: 583–585.
- Carson, Charles. 2004. "'Whole New Worlds': Music and the Disney Theme Park Experience." *British Forum for Ethnomusicology* 13, no. 2 (November): 228–235.
- Chakrabarty, Dipesh. 2008. *Provincializing Europe: postcolonial thought and historical difference*. Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press.
- Clifford, James. 1983. "On Ethnographic Authority." *Representations* No. 2. (Spring): 118-146.
- . 1988. *The Predicament of Culture: Twentieth-Century Ethnography, Literature, and Art*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Clifford, James and George E. Marcus, ed. 1986. *Writing Culture: The Poetics and Politics of Ethnography*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Cohen, Erik. 1984. "The Sociology of Tourism: Approaches, Issues, and Findings." *Annual Review of Sociology* 10 (January 1): 373–392.
- . 1979 "Rethinking the Sociology of Tourism." *Annals of Tourism Research* 6: 18-35.
- Cohen, Sara. 1997. "More Than the Beatles: Popular Music, Tourism and Urban Regeneration." In *Tourists and Tourism: Identifying with People and Places*. Oxford, UK: Berg.
- Comaroff, John L and Jean Comaroff. 2009. *Ethnicity, Inc*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

- Conle, Carola. 2003. "An Anatomy of Narrative Curricula." *Educational Researcher* 32, no. 3 (April): 3–15.
- Cook, Nicolas and Mark Everest. 1999. *Rethinking Music*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Culler, Jonathan. 1981. "Semiotics of Tourism." *The American Journal of Semiotics* 1, no. 1/2: 127–140.
- Cumming, Nick. 2009. "Swiss Ban on Minaret Building Meets Widespread Criticism." *New York Times*, December 1.
- Davidson, Joyce, Bondi, L., Smith, Mick. 2005. *Emotional Geographies*. Abingdon, Great Britain: Ashgate Publishing Group.
- Desmond, Jane. 1999. *Staging Tourism : Bodies on Display from Waikiki to Sea World*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Diène, Doudou. 2007. Report by Mr. Doudou Diène, Special Rapporteur on Contemporary Forms of Racism, Racial Discrimination, Xenophobia and Related Intolerance. Human Rights Council, United Nations, January 30.
- Dobler, Martin. 2012. Interview by author. Weissbad, Appenzell Innerrhoden. February 28.
- Eberle, Thomas. 2006. *Sonderfall Schweiz* (Special case Switzerland). Zurich, Switzerland: Seismo.
- Ebneter, Alois. 2010. *Echt Toggenburg: Die Gemeinde Wildhaus-Alt St. Johann*. Wattwil, St. Gallen, Switzerland: Toggenburger Verlag.
- Eisenhardt, Kathleen M., and Melissa E. Graebner. 2007. "Theory Building from Cases: Opportunities and Challenges," *Academy of Management Journal*, Vol. 50: 25-32.
- Engeler, Margaret 1984. *Das Beziehungsfeld zwischen Volksmusik, Volksmusiker und Volksmusikpflege, am Beispiel der Appenzeller Streichmusik*. Ph.D. Dissertation University of Zürich. Herisau Schläpfer & Co. AG.
- . 1979. *Das Musikleben im Lande Appenzell Anhand der Schriftlichen Quellen*. Lizentiatsarbeit University of Zurich, Switzerland.
- Erlanger, Steven. 2009. "A New Mosque's Symbolism Varies with the Beholder." *New York Times*: Dec 28.

- Erlmann, Veit. 1996. "The Aesthetics of Global Imagination: Reflections on World Music in the 1990s," *Public Culture* 8(3): 467 – 87.
- . 1999. *Music, Modernity, and the Global Imagination*. NY: Oxford University Press.
- Expo Official Website. <http://www.expo-archive.ch/eng/html/index.html@sitesect=221&sid=1151600&ckey=102141288000.htm> (Accessed December 10, 2013).
- Fabian, Johannes. 1983. *Time and the Other: How Anthropology Makes Its Other*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Faiola, Anthony. "Japanese Women catch the 'Korean Wave.'" *The Washington Post*. August 31, 2006.
- Forsyth, Meghan. 2012. "Performing Acadie: Marketing Pan-Acadian Identity in the Music of Vishtèn." *Journal of the Society for American Music* 6, no. 3 (August): 349–375.
- . 2014. "Staging *La Francophonie*: Tradition, Tourism and Acadian Musical Spaces on Prince Edward Island." *MUSICultures*, Volume 40, Number 2 (10 March).
- Frei, Niklaus. 2013. Interview by author. St. Gallen, Switzerland. July 5.
- Frei, Severin. 2013. *Schweizer Geist: Mythen, Klischees, Wahre Werte*. Switzerland: Sietemove.
- Freund, Jakob (Köbi). 2013. Interview by author. Bühler, Appenzell Ausserrhoden, Switzerland. July 1.
- Frow, John. 1991. "Tourism and the Semiotics of Nostalgia." *October* 57 (July 1): 123–151.
- Geertz, Clifford. 2000. *Available Light: Anthropological Reflections on Philosophical Topics*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Donald, Getz. 1991. *Festivals, Special Events, and Tourism*. New York: Van Nostrand Reinhold.
- Gibson, Chris and John Connell. 2005. *Music and Tourism: On the Road Again*. Buffalo: Channel View Publications.

- Giger, Barbara. 2012. Interview by author. Appenzell Ausserrhoden, Switzerland. June 23.
- Goffman, Erving. 1959. *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life*. Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday.
- “Goodbye Europe.” 2012. *The Economist*. December 8: 12.
- Goodman, L. A. 1961. “Snowball sampling.” *Annals of Mathematical Statistics* 32 (1): 148–170.
- Graf, Albert. 2012. Interview by author. Appenzell, AI, Switzerland. March 28.
- Guilbault, Jocelyne. 2006. “On Redefining the ‘Local’ through World Music.” In *Ethnomusicology: A Contemporary Reader*, edited by Jennifer Post, 137-146. New York: Routledge.
- Gupta, Akhil and James Ferguson. 1992. “Beyond ‘Culture’: Space, Identity, and the Politics of Difference,” *Cultural Anthropology*, 7(1): 6-23.
- Hall, Derek R., Melanie K. Smith, and Barbara Marciszewska. 2006. *Tourism in the New Europe: The Challenges and Opportunities of EU Enlargement*. Wallingford, UK: CABI Publishing Company.
- Hall, Stuart. 1996. *Questions of Cultural Identity*. London; Thousand Oaks, Calif.: Sage.
- Handler, Richard and Jocelyn Linnekin. 1984. “Tradition, Genuine or Spurious,” *Journal of American Folklore*, vol. 97, no. 385: 273-290.
- Herzfeld, Michael. 2005. *Cultural Intimacy: Social Poetics in the Nation-State*. 2nd ed. New York: Routledge.
- . 2013. “The European Crisis and Cultural Intimacy.” *Studies in Ethnicity and Nationalism* 13, no. 3: 491–97.
- Hobsbawm, Eric, ed. 1983. *The Invention of Tradition*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Hürlemann, Christa. 2009. “Heimat-Rapper erstuermt Gipfel der Hitparade.” *Anzeiger: Das Ostschweizer Wochenmagazin*. St. Gallen, July 1.

- Hürlemann, Hans and Amelia Margo. 1984. *Brummbaß, Geige, Hackbrett: 100 Jahre Appenzeller Streichmusik Alder*. St. Gallen, Switzerland: Verlagsgemeinschaft St. Gallen.
- Inauen, Roland. 2013. Interview by author. Appenzell, AI Switzerland. June 27.
- Institute for Marketing at the University of St. Gallen (*Institut für Marketing an der Universität St. Gallen*). 2013. "Marke 'Schweiz' genießt grosse Sympathie." August 29.
<http://www.unisg.ch/~media/sitecore/content/Internet/HSGServices/HSGMediacorner/Medienmitteilungen/Medienmitteilungen/2013/August/SwissnessWorldwide-29August2013.ashx?fl=de>.
- Ivy, Marilyn. 1995. *Discourses of the Vanishing*. University of Chicago Press.
- Jacobs-Huey, Lanita. 2002. "The Natives Are Gazing and Talking Back: Reviewing the Problematics of Positionality, Voice, and Accountability Among 'Native' Anthropologists." *American Anthropologist* 104, no. 3 (September): 791–804.
- Janett, Madlaina and Dorothe Zimmermann. 2014. *Ländlerstadt Züri: Alpen, Tracht und Volksmusik in der Limmatstadt*. Zürich, Switzerland: Elster Verlag.
- Johnson, Mark. 2010. "Aspiring to the 'Tourist Gaze': Selling the Past, Longing for the Future at the World Heritage Site of Hue, Vietnam." In *Heritage Tourism in Southeast Asia*, edited by Hitchcock, et al. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press.
- Joseph, Miranda. 2002. *Against the Romance of Community*. Minnesota: Minnesota Press.
- Kamm, Hugo and Vroni Kamm. 2012. Interview by author. Ebnat-Kappel, SG, Switzerland. July 20.
- Kaspar, Claude, and Christian Laesser. 1993. "Tourism in Non-EC Countries: The Case of Switzerland and Austria." In *Tourism in Europe: Structures and Developments*, edited by W. Pompl and P. Lavery. Wallingford, UK: CAB International: 324–340.
- Kaufmann, Eric. 2011. "Reflections on the Swiss Sonderfall." *Nations and Nationalism* 17, no. 4 (October 1): 815–820.
- Kearney, Michael. "The Local and the Global: The Anthropology of Globalization and Transnationalism," *Annual Review of Anthropology*, Vol. 24: 547-65.

- Keil, Charles. 1987. "Participatory Discrepancies and the Power of Music." *Cultural Anthropology* 2, no. 3 (August 1): 275–83.
- . 1995. "The Theory of Participatory Discrepancies: A Progress Report." *Ethnomusicology* 39 (1): 1-19.
- Kerman, Joseph, Laurence Dreyfus, Joshua Kosman, John Rockwell, Ellen Rosand, Richard Taruskin, and Nicholas McGegan. 1992. "The Early Music Debate: Ancients, Moderns, Postmoderns." *The Journal of Musicology* 10, no. 1 (January 1): 113–30.
- Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, Barbara. 1998. *Destination culture : tourism, museums, and heritage*. Berkeley CA: University of California Press.
- . 1991. "Objects of Ethnography." In *Exhibiting Cultures: The Poetics and Politics of Museum Display*, edited by van Karp and Steven Lavine, 386–443. Washington, DC.
- Kölbener, Albert. 2012. Interview by author. Appenzell, AI, Switzerland. May 24.
- König, Christine. 1991. "Heimat Appenzellerland: Das Brauchtum in Appenzell Ausser- und Innerrhoden." *Appenzeller Magazin*.
- Knudsen, Britta, and Anne Waade, eds. 2010. *Re-investing Authenticity : Tourism, Place and Emotions*. Bristol, UK; Buffalo, NY: Channel View Publications.
- Krucker, Emanuel. 2011. *Hackbrett: Stimmungen-Herkunft und Entwicklung*. Gymnasium Friedberg Gossau. November 18.
- Kübler, Susanne. 2008. "Verpoentes Alphorn, importierter Jodel," *Tages-Anzeiger (Zurich)*, January 3rd.
- Küng, Josef. 2003. *Unser Innerrhoden*. Appenzell, Switzerland: Lehrmittelverlag Appenzell Innerrhoden.
- Lefebvre, Henri. 1991 [1974]. *The Production of Space*. Donald Nicholson-Smith, trans. Oxford: Basil Blackwell.
- Lerner, Marc, and Watt, Jeffrey. 2009. "Review: Historical Dictionary of Switzerland." *H-NET Reviews* (November).
- Linder, Wolf. 1994. *Swiss Democracy : Possible Solutions to Conflict in Multicultural Societies*. Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire; New York: Macmillan Press ; St. Martin's Press.

- Loetscher, Hugo. 2009. "Sind Wir Die 'Dorftrottel Europas'? Oder Sind Wir 'Niemandskinder'? Was Ist Eigentlich Ein Schweizer? Ein Essay Über Unsere Identität." *Die Zeit*, April 16.
- Luck, J. Murray, ed. 1978. *Modern Switzerland*. Palo Alto, CA: The Society for the Promotion of Science and Scholarship Inc.
- Lüchinger, Thomas. 2007. *Johle und Werche: Naturklangtradition im Toggenburg*. Eine Roses for You Production.
- MacCannell, Dean. 2002. "The Ego Factor in Tourism." *Journal of Consumer Research* 29, no. 1 (June 1): 146–151.
- . 1973. "Staged Authenticity: Arrangements of Social Space in Tourist Settings." *American Journal of Sociology* 79, no. 3 (November 1): 589–603.
- . 1996. *The Tourist: A New Theory of the Leisure Class*. 3rd ed. New York: Schocken Books.
- MacDonald, Sharon, ed. 1997. *Inside European Identities*. Oxford: Berg Publishers.
- "Maladie Suisse." 2009. *Neue Zürcher Zeitung*. April 14.
- Malm, Krister. 1993. "Music on the Move: Traditions and Mass Media." *Ethnomusicology* 37, no. 3 Autumn): 339–352.
- Manser, Joe. 2013 *Innerrhoden Dialekt: Mundartwörter und Redewendungen aus Appenzell Innerrhoden*. Appenzell, Switzerland: Innerrhoder Schriften, Kanton Appenzell Innerrhoden.
- . 2010. *Appenzellische Volksmusik*. Herisau, Switzerland: Appenzeller Verlag.
- . 2009. *Alpstobete im Alpstein: Geschichte und Gegenwart der beliebten Alpfeste im Appenzellerland*. Gonten, Switzerland: Zentrum für Appenzellische Volksmusik.
- Manser, Johann. 1979. *Heematklang us Innerrhode*. Appenzell, Switzerland: Genossenschafts-Buchdruckerei.
- Marcus, George and Michael Fischer. 1986. *Anthropology as Cultural Critique: An Experimental Moment in the Human Sciences* Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

- Martin, William. 1971. *Switzerland: from Roman times to the present*. New York: Praeger Publishers.
- Massey, Doreen. 1994. *Space, Place, and Gender*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- McGee, R. Jon and Richard L. Warms. 2008. *Anthropological Theory: An Introductory History*. New York: NY, McGraw-Hill.
- McGregor, Andrew. 2000. "Dynamic Texts and Tourist Gaze: Death, Bones and Buffalo." *Annals of Tourism Research* 27, no. 1 (January): 27–50.
- Meier, Brigitte. 2012. Interview by author. Stein, AR, Switzerland. May 2.
- Meier, Roger. 2013. Interview by author. Wildhaus, SG, Switzerland. July 10.
- Merker, Ingrid Adelheid. 1983. *The Appenzeller String Ensemble: Its History and Literature*. Master of Arts Thesis University of Southern California.
- Merriam, Alan P. 1964. *The Anthropology of Music*. Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press.
- "The Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Bauhaus 1919-1933 webpage." 2000-2014. http://www.metmuseum.org/toah/hd/bauh/hd_bauh.htm
- Mettler, Dölf. 2013. Interview by author. Appenzell, AI, Switzerland. July 1.
- Migration Information Source.
<http://www.migrationinformation.org/Feature/display.cfm?ID=731> (accessed January 7, 2013)
- Mock, Bruno. 2007. *Rugguusseli: Zur Tradierung der Naturjodelkunst in Appenzell Innerrhoden*. Ph.D. Dissertation European Graduate School EGS (EGS-Universität).
- Monson, Ingrid. 1999. "Riffs, Repetition, and Theories of Globalization," *Ethnomusicology*, Vol. 43, No. 1 (Winter): 31-65.
- Morgan, Nigel. 2004. *Destination Branding : Creating the Unique Destination Proposition*. Oxford: Elsevier Butterworth-Heinemann.
- Müller, Fabian. 1990. *Neue Hackbrettschule: Lehrgang für chromatisches Mittelsteghackbrett*. Zürich: Mülirad-Verlag.

- Narayan, Kirin. 1993. "How Native Is a 'Native' Anthropologist?" *American Anthropologist* 95, no. 3 (September): 671–686.
- Nick, Cumming. 2009. "Swiss Ban on Minaret Building Meets Widespread Criticism." *New York Times*: December 1.
- Neuman, Daniel M. 1990. *The Life of Music in North India: The Organization of an Artistic Tradition*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
- Nye, Joseph. 2004. *Soft Power: The Means to Success in World Politics*. New York: Public Affairs.
- Özyürek, Esra. 2006. *Nostalgia for the Modern: State Secularism and Everyday Politics in Turkey*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.
- Plantenga, Bart. 2004. *Yodel-Ay-Ee-OOoo: The Secret History of Yodeling Around the World*. New York: Routledge.
- Parker, Beverly Lewis. 2008. "Art, Culture and Authenticity in South African Music / Umjetnost, kultura i autentičnost u južnoafričkoj glazbi," *International Review of the Aesthetics and Sociology of Music*, Vol. 39: 57-71.
- Pecknold, Diane. 2007. *The Selling Sound: The Rise of the Country Music Industry*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.
- Peterson, Richard A. 1997. *Creating Country Music: Fabricating Authenticity*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
- Picard, David and Mike Robinson. 2006. *Festivals, Tourism and Social Change : Remaking Worlds*. Buffalo: Channel View Publications.
- Picard, Michel, and Diana Darling. 1996. Bali: cultural tourism and touristic culture. Singapore: Archipelago.
- Picard, Michel. 1990. "'Cultural Tourism' in Bali: Cultural Performances as Tourist Attraction." *Indonesia*, no. 49 (April 1): 37–74.
- The Pinocchio Theory: Benjamin, Warhol, and the Aura.
<http://www.shaviro.com/Blog/?p=453> (Accessed April 11th, 2014).
- Randal, Jonathan. 1970. "Swiss Voters Reject Curb on Foreign Workers." *Washington Post*, June 8.

- Rempfler, Josef. 2012. Interview by author. Appenzell, Appenzell Auserrhoden, Switzerland. April 12.
- Rice, Timothy, Porter, James and Goertzen, Chris, eds. 2000. *Garland Encyclopedia Volume 8: Europe, Switzerland*. New York: Routledge.
- Richards, Greg, ed. 1996. *Cultural Tourism in Europe*. CABI, Wallingford
- Ringli, Dieter. 2006. *Schweizer Volksmusik von den Anfängen um 1800 bis zur Gegenwart*. Altdorf, Switzerland: Mülirad-Verlag.
- Roth, Peter. 1983. "Die Streichmusik im oberen Toggenburg." *Toggenburger Annalen*. Bazenheid, Switzerland: E. Kalberer AG, Buch- und Offsetdruck, 11-22.
- . 2012. Interview by author. Alt St. Johann, June 18.
- Rühl, Johannes. 2011. *Innovative Strömungen in der Schweizer Volksmusik*. December 23. <http://norient.com/stories/innovativeschweizervolksmusik/> (Accessed May 29th 2012-April 30th 2014).
- Sager Erwin. 2012. Interview by author. Gonten, AI, Switzerland. February 16.
- Said, Edward W. 1978. *Orientalism*. New York: Vintage Books.
- Schelbert, Leo. 2007. *Historical Dictionary of Switzerland*. Lanham, Maryland: Scarecrow Press.
- Schiller, Nina Glick, Tsypylma Darieva, and Sandra Gruner-Domic. 2011. "Defining cosmopolitan sociability in a transnational age." *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, Vol.34 (3): 399-418.
- Scholz, Roland W., and Olaf Tietje. 2002. *Embedded Case Study Methods: Integrating Quantitative and Qualitative Knowledge*. Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications.
- Schwietert, Stefan. 2007. *Heimatklänge: Echoes of Home*. Switzerland: Pelican films GmbHs.
- Scott, Julie and Tom Selwyn. 2010. *Thinking Through Tourism*. Oxford, UK: Berg.
- Seiler, Christian. 1994. *Verkaufte Volksmusik: Die Heikle Gratwanderung der Schweizer Folklore*. Zurich, Switzerland: Weltwoche-ABC-Verlag.
- Senn, Nicolas. 2011. "Gastkommentar." *Alpenrosen: Die Folklore-Illustrierte der Schweiz*, vol. 4/2011 (July/August): 24.

- . 2013. Interview by author. Gonten, AI, Switzerland. June 20.
- Seremetakis, C. Nadia. 1994. *The Senses Still : Perception and Memory as Material Culture in Modernity*. Boulder: Westview Press.
- Sharp, Daniel B. 2014. *Between Nostalgia and Apocalypse: Popular Music and the Staging of Brazil*. Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press.
- Shelemay, Kay Kaufman. 2001. "Toward an Ethnomusicology of the Early Music Movement: Thoughts on Bridging Disciplines and Musical Worlds." *Ethnomusicology* 45, no. 1 (January 1): 1–29.
- Signer, David. 2008. "Appenzell Innerrhoden: Der Schöne, harte kern." <http://www.weltwoche.ch/ausgaben/2008-23/artikel-2008-23-appenzell-innerr.html> (Accessed May 8th, 2014)
- Sigrist, Patrick. 2010. "Bligg Im Bierhuebeli: Weniger Swissness, Mehr Rock." *Berner Zeitung*. Bern, Switzerland, October 18.
- Slobin, Mark. 1993. *Subcultural Sounds: Micromusics of the West*. Hanover, NH: University Press of New England.
- Smith, Mick, ed. 2009. *Emotion, Place and Culture*. Burlington, VT: Ashgate.
- Sonderegger, Stefan. 2013 [1958]. *Die Orts- und Flurnamen des Landes Appenzell: Herkunft und Bedeutung der Orts- und Flurnamen des Landes Appenzell*. Frauenfeld, Switzerland: Verlag Huber.
- "A Special Case." 2004. *The Economist*. February 14.
- Steinberg, Jonathan. 1996. *Why Switzerland?* Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Stokes, Martin, ed. 1997. *Ethnicity, Identity and Music: The Musical Construction of Place*. Oxford: Berg Publishers.
- . 2004. "Music and the Global Order," *Annual Review of Anthropology*, Vol. 33: 47-72.
- . 1999. "Music, Travel and Tourism: An Afterword." *The World of Music* 41, no. 3: 141–155.

- Summermatter, Stefania and Armando Mombelli. 2014. "Immigration: One Vote, Many Questions." February 20.
http://www.swissinfo.ch/eng/swiss_news/Immigration:one_vote_many_questions.html?cid=38007016 (Accessed February 26, 2014).
- Swiss Federal Institute of Intellectual Property (*Eidgenössische Institut für Geistiges Eigentum*). 2006. "Use of the 'Swiss Made' Indication of Source (Origin): General Information." <http://www.zena-swiss.com/en/world-of-zena/philosophy/swissmade.pdf>.
- Swiss Federal Office for Immigration (*Bundesamt für Migration*)
<https://www.bfm.admin.ch/content/dam/data/migration/statistik/asylstatistik/uebersichten/gesuche-nation-1986-2013-d.pdf> (accessed January 7th, 2013)
- Switzerland's Four National Languages website. 2005-2010. <http://official-swiss-national-languages.all-about-switzerland.info>.
- Taruskin, Richard. 1992. "Tradition and Authority." *Early Music* 20, no. 2 (May 1): 311–25.
- Thürer, Georg. 1971. *Free and Swiss: The Story of Switzerland*. Adapted and translated from the German by R. P. Heller and E. Long. Coral Gables, Florida: University of Miami Press.
- Tralci, Lisa. 2011. "Landliebe." *Appenzeller Magazin*, September.
- Trollinger, Susan L. 2012. *Selling the Amish: The Tourism of Nostalgia*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Tunger, Albrecht. 1993. *Geschichte der Musik in Appenzell Außerrhoden*. Herisau, Appenzell: Schläpfer & Co. AG.
- Turino, Thomas. 2000. *Nationalists, Cosmopolitans, and Popular Music in Zimbabwe*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Turner, Bryan S. 1994. *Orientalism, Postmodernism, and Globalism*. London; New York: Routledge.
- Turner, Victor. 1995. *The Ritual Process: Structure and Anti-structure*. New York: Aldine de Gruyter.
- Umbach, Maiken, and Bernd-Rüdiger Hüppauf. 2005. *Vernacular Modernism: Heimat, Globalization, and the Built Environment*. Stanford, Calif: Stanford University Press.

- Urry, John. 1995. *Consuming Places*. London: Routledge.
- Urry, John, and Jonas Larsen. 2011. *The Tourist Gaze 3.0*. London: SAGE.
- Vogel-Misicka, Susan. "Defining Swissness is a tricky task." October 26, 2010. http://www.swissinfo.ch/eng/swiss_news/Defining_Swissness_is_a_tricky_task.html?cid=28585888 (accessed February 25, 2014).
- Volkman, Toby Alice. 1990. "Visions and Revisions: Toraja Culture and the Tourist Gaze." *American Ethnologist* 17, no. 1 (February 1): 91–110.
- Wang, Ning. 1999. "Rethinking authenticity in tourism experience." *Annals of Tourism Research*, 26(2), 349–370.
- Wearing, Stephen, Stevenson, Deborah, and Young, Tamara. 2010. *Tourist Cultures: Identity, Place and the Traveller*. London, UK: Sage Publications.
- Weber, Max. 1978 [1921/1968]. Günter Roth and Claus Wittich, eds. *Economy and Society*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.
- Weisethaunet, Hans, and Ulf Lindberg. 2010. "Authenticity Revisited: The Rock Critic and the Changing Real." *Popular Music & Society* 33, no. 4 (October): 465–485.
- Weiss, Sarah. 2014. "Listening to the World but Hearing Ourselves: Hybridity and Perceptions of Authenticity in World Music." *Ethnomusicology* 58, no. 3 (October 17): 506–25.
- Whiteley, Sheila, Andy Bennett, and Stan Hawkins, eds. 2004. *Music, Space and Place: Popular Music and Cultural Identity*. Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publishing Company.
- Widmer, Géraldine. 1998. "'Appenzeller Frauestriichmusig'—Premiere." *Appenzeller Zeitung*. June 4.
- Widmer, Paul. 2007. *Die Schweiz als Sonderfall: Grundlagen, Geschichte, Gestaltung*. Zürich: Neue Zürcher Zeitung.
- Yin, Robert. 1994. *Case Study Research: Design and Methods*. Beverly Hills: Sage Publishing.
- Yúdice, George. 2003. *The Expediency of Culture: Uses of Culture in the Global Era*. Durham: Duke University Press.

Zhu, Yujie. 2012. "Performing Heritage: Rethinking Authenticity in Tourism." *Annals of Tourism Research* 39, no. 3: 1495–1513.

CURRICULUM VITAE

Andrea Lieberherr Douglass

29 Richard Ave, Cambridge, MA, 02140

andrea.lieberherr@gmail.com

(617) 818 5906

Education

- 2004 M.F.A. □ Flute and Violin Performance, California Institute of the Arts, Valencia, CA
- 2001 B.A. □ Music Literature and Performance/Chemistry, Northeastern University, Boston, MA

Professional Appointments

- 2007- Boston University, Instructor, Teaching Assistant, Online Facilitator
- 2007- The Waldorf School of Lexington, Flute and Violin Instructor
- 2006 The Suzuki Institute of Boston, Instructor
- 2004-2006 Renaissance Arts Academy, Los Angeles, CA □, Instructor
- 2001-2004 California Institute of the Arts □, Violin Instructor
- 1999-2000 A Note to You, WGBH FM, Production Assistant
- 2000 Northeastern University, Instructor

Conference Presentations

“Staging Swissness: Local and Academic Discourses of Authenticity in the Cultural Tourism of Appenzell, Switzerland”, Annual Meeting of the Society for Ethnomusicology, 2014

“The performance of cultural tourism in the Appenzell, Switzerland”, Annual Meeting of the Society for Ethnomusicology, 2013

“‘Swissness’ and the revival of *Streichmusik* in Appenzell, Switzerland”, Northeast Chapter of the Society for Ethnomusicology, 2013

Recordings

- 2008 Adam Rudolph and Go: Organic Orchestra, “Though Forms,” Meta Records
- 2005 Mark Applebaum, “20-Agitprop-Sum=Parts,” Innova
- 2004 “Absolution” by Tiaraju Aronovich, nationally distributed in Brazil by Quem magazine
- 2003 Calarts jazz CD, Capitol Records

Language Proficiency

Swiss German and German (fluent); Spanish (speaking and writing).

Awards and Fellowships

Graduate Research Abroad Fellowship, Boston University (2013)

Graduate Fellowship, Boston University (2007-2014)□

California Institute of the Arts Music Scholarship (2002-2004)

Awards at Northeastern:

Northeastern University Music Department Award (2001), Hodgkinson Award (2001)
 Condit Award (2001), □Coolidge (2000, 1999, 1998),□ Chemistry Department Award
 (1999),□ Northeastern University Band Scholarship (1996-97)