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UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, SAN DIEGO

It's Personal: Nostalgia and National Identity in Switzerland

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the requirements for the degree Doctor of Philosophy

in

Communication

by

Barbara Ann Bush

Committee in charge:

Professor Patrick Anderson, Chair
Professor Fatima El-Tayeb
Professor Gary Fields
Professor Patrick Patterson
Professor Elana Zilberg

2017

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Chair

University of California, San Diego

2017

DEDICATION

There are countless hours that make up the content of dissertation research, and a web of connections that make those countless hours worthwhile and productive. In my case, some of those hours were spent in Switzerland, likely one of the most expensive field sites a doctoral student could choose. Without the help of my family, Heidi Wyss, the Gerbers, the Rothenbühlers, the Streits, the Wüthrichs and the Feusis, I would not have been able to maintain any extended time in Switzerland nor have access to the many rich resources they were able to lead me to. I would especially like to thank Regina Rothenbühler, who was my unofficial and tireless assistant. Finally, I would be remiss in not mentioning my gratitude to those who gave of their precious time to be interviewed by me so that I could more concretely form my ideas on the relationship between nostalgia and nationalism.

In addition to the “ground support” I had in Switzerland, my family and friends here in the United States have been endlessly patient as I have pursued my higher education. With unflagging enthusiasm and generously traveling to see me when I could otherwise not do so, I never felt alone in this process. I would especially like to thank Christine Schelin, Bernard Bush, Melike Bitlis Bush, Chris and Audrey Bush, Pawan Singh, Louise Hickman, Laurel Friedman and Merrilee Margetts for never letting me flail, and for valuable feedback during my writing. And to my partner, David Simmons, I will be forever grateful and in awe of his loving support.

For my committee at University of California, San Diego, thank you for giving me the opportunity to find the tenacity within me to complete this work.

This dissertation is dedicated to my parents, Frank Bush and Dorothea Gerber Bush, without whom none of what I have accomplished would have been possible. While they were not physically here to see me through this process, they were here in so many tangible ways: my ability to translate documents and communicate in German and Swiss-German, my love of research, and the relationships available to me that made so much of my work possible. You are always with me and you are always missed. This is for you.

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VITA

1996	Bachelor of Fine Arts, University of Illinois at Champaign-Urbana
2003 – 2005	Graduate Assistant, California State University, Sacramento
2006	Masters of Arts, California State University, Sacramento
2006 – 2008	Lecturer, Augustana College, Sioux Falls, SD
2009 – 2017	Teaching Assistant, University of California, San Diego
2010 – 2017	Adjunct Professor, Miramar College, San Diego
2011	Lecturer, University of California, San Diego
2013	Lecturer, University of California, San Diego
2014	Lecturer, University of California, San Diego
2017	Lecturer, University of California, San Diego
2017	Doctor of Philosophy, University of California, San Diego

PUBLICATIONS

"Imagining Home as Epic Narrative and Practices of the Self: Essay on Virtual Homelands by Madhavi Mallapragada and Amar, Akbar, Anthony by William Elison, Christian Lee and Andy Rotman." South Asian Popular Cultural Journal, Summer 2017.

"Switzerland's Heroic Legacy." Forthcoming in Peter Meilander and Hans Rindisbacher (Eds.), Das Kalb vor der Gotthardpost: Swiss Culture, History, and Politics in the Work of Peter von Matt. (Peter Lang Verlag). 2017.

FIELDS OF STUDY

Major Field: Communication

ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

It's Personal: Nostalgia and National Identity in Switzerland

by

Barbara Ann Bush

Doctor of Philosophy in Communication

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Professor Patrick Anderson, Chair

The politics of nostalgia, exploiting fears of multi-culturalism and immigration, has come to dominate populist rhetoric of the last 15 years, both in the United States and abroad. The rise of restorative nostalgia is even found in societies that present as culturally diverse and progressive. To understand how such a politics of emotion gains traction, especially in diverse societies, it is important to unpack how people come to understand themselves as natural national subjects. Switzerland provides an excellent case study both in its long history of constitutional nationalism and its multi-cultural

nation-state structure. Studies on nationalism rarely account for how people personalize national identity, but this dissertation explores ways that familiar objects of everyday life convey collective sentiments of nationalism and nativist sentiments of belonging, and how interactions of individuals with these objects reinforce personal and collective attachment to the modern nation-state.

Chapter 1: An Introduction to Swiss Nationalism

Introduction and Background

On August 1, 2014, crowds of people thronged on ships to cross Lake Lucerne to the Rütli meadow, the mythic pastoral setting where in 1291, the story goes, three representatives of the modern-day Cantons of Uri, Unterwalden and Schweiz, swore an oath to form an alliance that would become the Helvetic Confederation, or Switzerland. The “Rütli Schwur” or the “swearing at the Rütli meadow” is hailed as the birth of Switzerland. The ship that delivered me to the shores of the Rütli was an old steamship named Wilhelm Tell. Aboard were those ready for the day’s festivities. From the young man representing himself as the female symbol of Switzerland (Image 1), Helvetia, happily attired in a bed sheet and carrying a cardboard sword and shield, to the women and men dressed in traditional clothing, called “Tracht”, everywhere you looked people carried flags and wore red and white, the nation’s colors. With thousands in attendance, the ceremony started with alphorn music, yodeling and flag throwing, a national sport in Switzerland and, for the national holiday, features the flag of every Canton. This celebration of Switzerland, a land of many nations and with four official languages, was a material enactment of a national Swissness. How do material culture and familiar objects of everyday life convey collective sentiments of nationalism and national belonging, and in what ways do the interactions of individuals with these objects reinforce personal and collective attachment to the modern nation-state? My project on Swiss nationalism attempts to answer these questions. But to situate the importance of this study as a part of literature on nationalism and identity, it is necessary I offer the

background that brought me to the questions that drove my research.

Image 1: Young man dressed as Helvetia on August 1, 2014 aboard the Wilhelm Tell

Early in my graduate school career the nationalist Swiss People's Party (SVP) were catapulted onto the international stage following their provocative and xenophobic referendums on immigrants in 2007 and 2008. Their rise countered popular ideas about Switzerland as a place seemingly cosmopolitan and ethnically diverse. The SVP's popularity and right wing trajectory can be traced to 1992, when they were the only party to mount a campaign challenging the Swiss government's determination to

join the European Economic Area (EEA). The SVP continued to gain momentum in the 1995, 1999, 2003 and 2007 elections, as seen in the increase of the number of seats they held in the National Council. In 2015 they gained an additional 11 seats and now stand at 65 seats out of 200, so making up nearly 30% of the National Council. This right-wing prominence in Swiss politics is not only a historical precedent, but seems to counter popular and academic wisdom of Switzerland as a nation with a minimal tradition of nationalist sentiment and a strong tradition of republicanism and cosmopolitan political ideologies that are conceptually and practically pan-ethnic and multi-cultural. Certainly, the trend of the SVP should be seen within the larger European post 9/11 social and political context, a context infused with anti-immigrant rhetoric that, though not exclusively focused on Muslims, has largely revolved around questions of political Islam and Muslims of Eastern European and Turkish descent becoming members and citizens of European societies. Nationalism has become an openly animating force in a nation known for its centrist politics, layered cultural construction and rational constitutional patriotism, and it has been the SVP at the helm.

It is the rise of the radical right and Romantic nationalism that led me to ask several questions. What is Switzerland? Who is Swiss? What is Swissness? How does such poly ethnic state, a state that has been considered variously as non-national, fractured, multi-national or even multi-ethnic, develop a robust, even vitriolic,

nationalism?[1] This is striking when one considers the government structure itself, a structure seen as providing stability and an integrative effect on radical elements because of the “magic formula”. This formula is based in a coalition of seven different party members that act as rotating presidents and ensures that no one party gains power. Also, there is the long-standing notion of a constitutional patriotism in Switzerland, a patriotism that has a cross-cutting effect across ethnocultural and linguistic regions. Given however that the SVP has tapped into a pan-nationalism, and in relatively short order, there clearly seems to be a misunderstanding of the Swiss case of national identity, or, and I believe this is less likely, we are witnessing an era of exception. I argue that the SVP’s success in creating a nationalist movement, during a time of economic prosperity in Switzerland, and in a nation that has confounded nationalism scholars for its inability to conform to any particular type of nationalism, relies on cultural and symbolic resources steeped in regionalized accounts that have been integrated into the fabric of the larger national story. Nationalism here is not a blanket ideology and a merely top down process, but is a public project with deeply held personal beliefs about home.

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[1] In 1936, Louis Wirth argued that Switzerland is a state that lacks a nation. Gellner In more recent work by nationalist scholar Antoine Chollet (2011) in his article on “Switzerland as a Fractured Nation” claims that Switzerland is a nation, non-nation and pre-nation. And Donald Ipperciel (2011) in an article for Nations and Nationalism, started off with the question, “Is Switzerland a nation-state or is it a multinational state?” (p. 794)

Given the lack of attention paid to Switzerland's hotter nationalism as well as the relatively understudied radical right, the SVP's rise is not well understood. It is important to address this briefly as it is precisely their rise that gave impetus to this study on formations of Swiss nationalism. The question of "Swissness", long debated in the academic literature on nationalism that focuses primarily on structural and cultural processes, can be most clearly seen in political narratives on several key topics. Namely naturalization, the free movement of persons agreement with the EU (Schengen Agreement), and asylum policy. But it is especially naturalization policy that has become a catalyst for discourses and narratives on a Swissness. The SVP, in debates on immigration and the question of EU membership (Switzerland is not a member) employs imagery and rhetoric creating a discursive regime of knowledge about Switzerland as agrarian, self-sufficient, radically democratic and modern, even as it is rooted in tradition. In taking up a culturally centered approach that also aligns with a voluntarist imagination of the nation-state, the SVP has aligned itself as anti-elitist, and localist as well as fundamentally nationalist and modern even as they have asserted themselves in opposition to a Switzerland as a European, international and cosmopolitan state.[2] In a relatively short time, over the course of two decades, the SVP has claimed legitimacy in these political debates by wielding a Swiss identity discourse that bridges the ethnic-

civic discourse found in more banal versions of Swiss nationalism. In other words, a true Swiss is shaped by heritage as well as through the rational, modern

[2] Interestingly, the SVP asserts a localist imagination of the nation-state even as its leaders engage in a global liberal capitalist agenda.

democratic process. Swissness here becomes historically contingent based on one's decision to be involved (and thus be self-sufficient) but also deeply rooted to traditional values that are seen within a long view of Swiss history. This approach to Swiss identity has proven to be especially effective among a large section of the Swiss-German voting public, in the way that the Republican Party in the United States holds the legitimate claim on nativist Americanism identity discourse among older, conservative White voters.

The traditional, even Romantic nationalism, embraced and circulated by the SVP made me reflect on the ways in which the affective dimensions of political nationalism are accessed. Switzerland offers an excellent case study given its complicated place in the literature on nationalism and what is widely understood as a comparatively weak and de-centralized state (a confederation) and, therefore, a weaker nationalistic fervor. My research shows that Switzerland's communal and cantonal affiliation are critical components of a larger national identity, but they are components that, by their very number and differences, are difficult at times to study. To this end, and for practical reasons based on language and access, I am mostly situating my analysis in the Swiss-German region. But it is critical to recognize, in order to understand that the rise of hot nationalism as not exceptional, many Swiss across the nation have deep ties to communes and therefore rooted identity claims. The Swiss legal and social structure of belonging emphasizes this.

In order of importance, Swiss belonging, as construed through citizenship, is asserted, in order of importance, in the following way: commune, the canton, and finally

the state. This is a central dimension of Swiss identity construction. Whether tied to blood belonging or naturalization, citizenship asserts Swissness as rooted in communal affiliation. In fact, it is the communal affiliation that is the last step in a three-step process in naturalizing to the nation. It is the communal affiliation that is passed down through blood ties or, if the potential member is being naturalized, is voted in. Without this final affiliation, one cannot be naturalized to the larger nation-state. In an overview of the historical development of citizenship in Switzerland, starting in 1798 with the establishment of the Helvetic Republic by Napoleon, Oliver Zimmer (2011), a Swiss historian who has written extensively on Swiss identity and nationalism, states:

> "Yet however prominent the rhetoric of local autonomy may have been in the Swiss case, regions and localities did not exist in isolation from the wider political and cultural sphere…it was only by engaging with national institutions and policies that sub-national communities could hope to defend their traditional status and to receive recognition for their contributions to the life of the 'wider fatherland'" (769)

Zimmer's work shows us that while the communal affiliations were important features of belonging the structural development of national citizenship helped to create an interface between the local and the national identity.

One material representation, a representation that becomes material enactment as one passes through borders, is, of course a passport. The Swiss passport clearly shows one's three community memberships: national (Swiss), cantonal (in my case Bern) and communal (such as Langnau in Emmental) and is issued in a red and white case. To be naturalized one must seek final approval for the application through cantonal and communal processes. The difficulty for the applicant depends on the

municipality being applied to and it is in this very material experience it becomes evident that some municipalities prefer a "very liberal conception of nationhood" whereas others prefer "an ethnic understanding of citizenship" (Helbling &Stojanovic, 2011, p. 714). National belonging in this way is imagined through the prism of cultural, ethnic, linguistic, and communal boundaries, a prism legitimized by the central power of the state.

SVP's political and popular success, in this context, suddenly begins to emerge as a direct outcome of Swiss political and socio-cultural structures. The pan-ethnic nature of the federalist Swiss Confederation, lends itself to a piecemeal approach to ethnic and mytho-historical appeals that can be asserted in a hodge-podge national character that appeals to specific popular cantonal and communal narratives. For example, in a 2010 SVP campaign in Wohlen Aargau, Muslim women were depicted dirtying the pristine water of popular Lake Zürich with the words "Switzerland 2030", next to an image of young, shapely white women in clean water and the words "Switzerland 2010". Such images target not only Muslim women as other, or even Lake Zürich as a specific location under threat, but offer a contrast to a widely held Swiss trope of cleanliness and beautiful natural landscapes. The underlying message is also one of homogeneity, the Swiss citizen as White and as exercising social and moral restraint in the natural environment by not smoking in the lake but also enacting the modern, liberated Swiss woman that bathes nude in public. In the wider culture, public bathing and mandatory swimming lessons in school have in fact been a matter of political scrutiny and popular debate. Most recently, in June 2016, two Muslim girls whose parents didn't allow them

to take school swimming lessons because boys were present, were denied citizenship. The European Court of Human Rights (ECHR) has upheld the Swiss decision in a ruling rejecting the appeal of the two Swiss citizens who did not want their daughter bathing with boys.[3]

Whether depicting immigrants as "black sheep" booted from Switzerland by white sheep, or as de-contextualized in a scene of a myriad of various colored hands grasping for a bright red and white (Swiss) passport, the material cultural objects represented in SVP posters act as short hand for objective (language, national character, territory) subjective (the act of being Swiss politically by voting and concerning oneself with the national project of Switzerland) criteria of Swissness. The salience of the referent images mentioned here, the passport as citizenship, swimming in the popular lake Zürich, the custom of women bathing topless (exaggerated in the case of the poster as the subject depicted are entirely nude) all depend on material dimensions seen as conveying social facts and acting as symbolic resources. What motivates the nationalist and nativist base in Switzerland is the local "home" writ large. In a nation-state such as Switzerland, with its cross-cutting ethnic, linguistic, cultural and even political model, material culture becomes the key means by which to do this. Material culture affords

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[3] This story (Osmanoğlu and Kocabaş v Switzerland) was covered in international media, ranging from Aljazeera, to CNN. The link to the decision by the court on 1/10/2017 can be found here: http://hudoc.echr.coe.int/eng#{"itemid": ["001-170346"]} Also it is important to note that while the parents are naturalized citizens, their children are not. Swiss citizenship is not conferred by birth but rather by lineage. One of the parents must be born Swiss. The children of naturalized citizens must apply for citizenship. The parents in this case are both dual Swiss-Turkish nationals, while their children are not.

intersecting dimensions of a politicized imagination that are both symbolic and concrete, local and national and can provide sites of knowledge formation through experiential meaning making.

The impetus for this study arose, as I've already mentioned, out of the concern of the surge of right wing politics Switzerland in the 2000s, and the contemporary models of nationalism that could not account for the affective dimension of these more volatile Swiss politics. The national subject's quotidian sense of the self, as related to the extraordinary project of the nation-state, comes up missing in other national contexts as well, but the evidence in the Swiss case is particularly stark given the 1) international reputation of Switzerland among nationalism scholars for being non-nationalistic and cosmopolitan and 2) the exceptionalism of Swiss national nostalgia for itself captured in tourist kitsch, films, children's stories, military lore and so on. But Switzerland is central to this project for several other reasons as well.

First, due to my long-standing relationship to Switzerland both as a child of a Swiss immigrant mother and as a grandchild of Swiss immigrant grandparents, but also as a citizen and frequent visitor, often for 2 -3 months at a time, I am familiar with Swiss culture, language and politics. Second, while growing up, Switzerland surrounded us in our home in the US, so much so that my first language is Swiss-German rather than English. It is such circumstances that reveal that "the family and home [in the immigrant space] lose their naturalness and reveal themselves not to be a priori sites; instead they are produced actively in the everyday practices of speaking the mother tongue, cooking and eating familiar foods, and raising children according to norms and values central to

an 'ethnic' imaginary" (Rudrappa, 2004, p. 63). In other words, I had an early awareness of the attention paid to the construction of Swissness. In this environment, personal objects and their associated narratives became important catalysts to access an ethnic imaginary. Our home was filled with countless objects from kitchen towels decorated with cows and cowherds to Volk music albums, cowbells and photographs of the family farm hanging on the wall, received from family and friends or handed down in the family. These artifacts were attached to themes and narratives of the Swiss nation, and became part of a personalized Swiss identity maintenance depending on experience and nostalgia. It is this kind of micro material experience and its intersection with larger discursive practices, that has remained marginal to studies of nationalism. Moreover, in the climate of current populist politics that focuses on a German-Swiss identity and the politicization of national identity, as well as draconian legal responses to refugee immigration of the past 20 years, it is important to investigate the particularities of "hot" Swiss nationalism[4].

General conceptual framework on nationalism

Literature on nationalism is, generally speaking, anchored in three varying accounts of the nation-state: 1) as an inevitable outcome of the rise of modernity, 2) as existing a priori (perennial perspective) or 3) a combination of these perspectives. In the

[4] "Hot nationalism" is a term that Michael Billig uses in juxtaposition to "banal" nationalism. He refers to "hot" nationalism as that kind of nationalism that is fervent and arises "in times of social disruption" and is "reflected in extreme social movements" (1995, p. 44). Banal nationalism is national identity "embedded in routines of life", such as the flag hanging, unnoticed outside of buildings (p. 38).

modernist approach to nationalism, the nation-state is born out of twin birth of the book and the rational bureaucrat. In this perspective, the modern iterations of nations are dependent on the particular economic, cultural and political conditions that were made possible during the Industrial Revolution. The nation, then, is deliberately constructed within an evolving political and civic community responding to the "…cluster of economic and scientific changes which have transformed the world since the seventeenth century" (Gellner, 1995). Here the nation (understood as representing an ethnic or cultural group) is arguably subordinate to and articulated through state apparatuses and is a more recent invention (Gellner, 1964). Ernest Gellner does not wholly dismiss the idea of the possibility of a nation as legitimately linked to an earlier or "original" ethnic group. In fact, he puts this in terms of a nation having a "navel". A nation's navel (or a pre-state imagined collective) is not however, according to Gellner, necessary to create a nation-state. Generally, theorists falling into (broadly speaking) the "modern school", recognize that there might be some cultural and social sense of community antecedent to the nation, but this is downplayed. In other words, the "navel" is inessential to having a "nation" because (Gellner gives Estonia as an example as originally lacking an ethnonym or ethno self-consciousness) culture is also be created by a "modernist process."

Benedict Anderson, also working from within the modernist paradigm, explicitly links the nation as an act of creation expressly as a result of the modern arrival of the state and the rise of literacy and the printing press. He documents the nation as a coalescing of a larger community consciousness or, an "imagined community", with a

distinct territory, distinct lingua franca and official culture. Whereas Gellner sees the nation as motivated by the demands of an industrialized state for labor and thus the nation as an invention of nationalists, Anderson analyzes state technologies that consolidate territories and exert control through administrative, economic and linguistic standardization so that previously local communities could begin to imagine a larger community. For Anderson, it is the resulting “imagined community” that is precisely the seed for the nation. Both Anderson and Gellner, foundational scholars on nationalism, see the nation as a recent and modern phenomenon born of industrialization and capitalism. Industrialization and capitalism also intersect with my own research on Swiss nationalism, especially in the last chapter where I analyze the ways in which tourism and industrialization come together to underpin Romantic nationalist discourses on the Alps and notions of an alpine character.

The term “perennial” was introduced by Anthony Smith in order to talk about a “less radical version of primordialism” suggesting that nations can exist from “time immemorial” without having primordial ties (Ozkirimli, 2000, p. 68). The perennial view sees the nation as perpetual, underscoring the historically persistent record of sentiments surrounding cultural and ethnic ties in a community. Some nations are understood to be “old” nations dating back as far as the Middle Ages and others as “new” nations that emerge in the time of the 18th Century. The perennial framework falls apart in the Swiss case very quickly. While the official state narrative is that Switzerland was founded in 1291, thus a nation dating to the Middle Ages, the first attempt at centralizing state practices was at Napoleon’s insistence in 1798 and even so

the first constitution was only drawn up in 1848. In fact, until the 1880s, 1307 had been celebrated as the founding year and it wasn't until 1994 that August 1, 1291 became the official national holiday. In addition, there is no one ethnic community to which to create perennial ties. Even the Helvetians, for which the state is named (Confederation of Helvetica) is only one of several ethno-cultural groups in Switzerland. What however does arise in the Swiss context are core historical accounts with their relevant mythical heroes, such as Wilhelm Tell and the revolt against the Hapsburgs, that are familiar across Switzerland. Ultimately the perennialist view sees the nation as something that both ebbs and flows, that dies and can be regenerated and that, while ever emergent, has an identifiable national character that has been passed down over time.

While primordialism is overall considered to be a dated paradigm, it is also perhaps the most distinctive feature of hotter, nativist inspired nationalisms. In other words, primordialism has, on one hand, been discarded by academics and on the other hand has become re-situated within the more virulent nationalisms as well as part of popular ideas about various ethnic identities. Both the perennial and primordial perspectives on what constitutes a nation are rooted in a "bottom up" approach, or an approach that sees nations as having "navels". The ideology and narratives constructed in populist parties regarding the relationship of a people to its nation and state relies on this bottom up approach (as opposed to the modernist perspective that focuses on nation building as a constructed, state directed, or a top down, project). Primordialism frameworks narrate a retrospective that construes the nation as having a culturally historical precedent. This "Romantic nationalism", emphasizes a roots in in a common

ethnic, linguistic, territorial and cultural heritage. In comparison with the tradition that sees modernity (industrialism and capitalism) as the causal factor producing nation and nation-state, this kind of nationalism is a result of the "traditions of belief and action towards primordial objects such as biological factors and especially territorial location" (Gryosby, 1994, p. 168). It is in this long view of the nation, so to speak, that aids in forming a way in which to think about the affective dimensions of nationalism. Additionally, given the importance of the historical relationship between Romantic nationalism and the rise of modern industrialization, the importance of materiality is highlighted.

The three primary theorists on nationalism that influence this work are Oliver Zimmer, Eric Hobsbawm and Michael Billig. Hobsbawm conceptualization of "proto-nationalism" works well when thinking of a primordial nationalism as based in localized communal bonds. I am working with his intellectual "trash" so to speak, as Hobsbawm himself has claimed that proto- national bonds are not relevant[5]. Proto-nationalisms are acutely important to a broader Swiss nationalism. Local bonds according to language, geography, organizations, cultural narratives, religion, iconography and so forth are precisely those elements that are a part of the larger Swiss nationalism. Oliver Zimmer

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[5] Hobsbawm (1990) says that "proto-national" bonds are not relevant because "they had or have no necessary relation with the unit of territorial political organization which is a crucial criterion of what we understand as 'a nation' today" (1990, p. 47). This may be true for historians of nationalism, but for those experiencing the affective dimension of nationalism the idea of proto-national bonds seem to play an important role. Switzerland, as I mention in chapter two, in particular articulates narratives of proto-nationalism with strong social and political communal loyalties. My fieldwork along with historical and archival analysis supports this perspective.

explores this in his own work, though he does not use this terminology. Zimmer, a prolific thinker and writer on nationalism and Swiss nationalism, has concluded that Swiss nationalism is Heimat writ large. In other words, it is the local that lubricates the way the national is imagined. And it is the state structure that allows for these localized claims on the national. The nomenclature of the national center depends on a discursive materiality of the Cantonal periphery. Or, perhaps, the Cantonal centers provide the nomenclature for the national periphery.

It has also been useful to situation my understanding of nationalism as a process within the framework of Billig's "banal nationalism". Billig is a big break in the dominant "three paradigm" approach to nationalism I've laid out here and begins to help break down the ordinariness of day-to-day nationalisms that we barely take note of, but make up our field of view and become a key perspective in organizing how we understand the world around us. Much scholarly work on nationalism decenters culture in pursuits of political and institutional frameworks, the underpinning concern is in fact with the "cultivation of culture: language, folktales, "history, myths, and legends, proverbs, ancient tribal/legal antiquity, mythology, antique heirlooms, etc" (Leersen, 2006, p. 568). Additionally, and important to the Swiss context, proto-nationalism[6] re-situates identity claims to the local and suggests the ways in which claims on Heimat emerge as both constructs and practices, as well as public and private emotional claims. It is within

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[6] I am re-framing proto-nationalism in the Swiss case as existing outside of the teleology that Hobsbawm places it (as a pre-nationalism) and instead understand it as unfolding alongside larger, nation-state nationalism and, in some cases, playing a more vital role in identity practices.

the components of cultural nationalism and the localized dimensions of proto-nationalism, that narratives and everyday practices produce belonging. Modernists less concerned with an ethnic antecedent, working as they were against the irrationality of nationalism steeped in such claims during the two world wars of the 20th Century, have thus left the affective and personalized area of nationalism unsatisfactorily attended to. If there is a sense of an ethnos and it is a feature in nationalist discourse and is experienced at the individual level, then modernism does not tell the whole story. It is the perennial and primordial perspectives on nations and nationalism address more or less address this concern.

The nation-state thus, has been theorized through a number of frameworks but these perspectives still *assume* the personal connection between individuals and their associated nation-states. Less theorized are the ways in which people create the association between themselves and their nation. So, however useful the above conversations are on unpacking nationalism as a political ideology that obfuscates the workings of the state, what they miss are the affective dimensions that make the nation-state feel so very personal. Certainly, if the nation, or the idea of a connected body of people, is created by the political apparatus of the state, there must be some antecedent narratives or widely recognized symbol systems upon which the state relies to foster legitimacy for that story. This materially discursive terrain gives personal texture to memories, ideas and experiences having to do with the nation. In other words, at some point people must recognize themselves as located within and a part of the nation in order to confer legitimacy on the state. In my project, it isn't merely that

the state *creates* a nation, it is also the ways in which citizens materially take up these stories and create the nation. The very fact that material components (books, landscape, census ledgers, etc), for example, even enter Anderson's modernist theory of the imagined community are instructive here. It is through material culture, developed either via state mechanisms (national monuments, archeological sites, museums, mythologized founders, etc) or through inherited and coalesced localized processes (family heirlooms, unofficial landmarks, etc) that a sense for the reality of a nation-state narrative is given private dimension and enters people's daily lives. It is this material culture that gives shape to the center, or navel, the Swiss nation and nationalism.

Heimat, Heimweh and Nostalgia

Heimat

Carved into the eaves of my ancestral farmhouse, in a discreet and yet continuous pattern, is the Swiss cross. It is "barely there," part of the aged and dark brown wood, that moves above daily eyesight. In fact, I hadn't noticed it until far into my adulthood. The Swiss cross is everywhere present from flags to clothing to car hood paintings and pens. It becomes both the flagged and unflagged backdrop of the spaces and places people move through, work and live in. The flag as iconography of the Swiss nation is not alone however in its power to call up a representation of the nation-state. The "underived private" of Gayatri Spivak's nationalism that seems to be the opposite of the state's public sphere, is in fact the very thing that allows nationalism to work. Nationalism operates in the public sphere but the "affect where it finds its mobilizing is private" (2010) While Spivak claims that this underived private of Indian nationalism is

"very difficult for Europe to think", it is precisely this (love of the mother tongue, love of one's local geography, etc) that becomes the affective core of the "nation" in Switzerland as well. (p. 17) In German the word is Heimat. Heimat is at the heart of the affective dimension of Swiss nationalism and it is Heimat that is mediated by the material dimensions of home spaces or local places. Heimat, because of the way it is marked by materiality (local landscape, a home, objects, etc.), is particularly amenable to being taken up in political, economic and personal nostalgia. This is evident in the politics of the SVP, in the ways in which Swiss interviewees invoke a sense of Swissness as associated with landscape, and finally, is even evident in the material items for sale in tourist centers that often (though not always) traffic in kitsch referencing specific Heimats. Heimat is experienced through material effects that reference private home spaces that weave into a larger imagination of the national. To fully appreciate the importance of Heimat it is first important to define it within the Swiss context and its relationship to the concept of the English word "home".

Swiss author Max Frisch, when accepting his Grand Schiller Prize from the Swiss Schiller Foundation (awarded in 1973) in January of 1974, said Heimat is the landscape *and* the movement through that landscape as one *remembers* it[7]. He tells the audience

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[7] Max Frisch, a Swiss novelist and playwright, was known roundly criticizing the idealized public image of Switzerland reproduced at home as much as it was abroad in his work *Achtung: Die Schweiz!* (*Caution: Switzerland!)* written in 1955. In his two essays "Over Foreignization 1" and Over Foreignization 2", for example, he points out that even as Swiss state policies invite guest workers from other countries, namely Italy at this point, these policies and political rhetoric refuse the workers their humanity. He was also critical of the erasure of Switzerland's World War II record of Nazi sympathizers within political circles, and the subsequent re-drawing of this era of Swiss politics as resistant

it is the feeling that we don't own the land, but that land owns us. Heimat is a physical place as much as it is a feeling, shaped by our experiences, the memories of our experiences, a sense of shared history and, as in Spivak's *Nationalism and the Imagination* (2010), language, or what in Switzerland is called dialekt or *Mundart*. Frisch, in the 1974 speech, distinguishes Mundart from standard German as a marker of Heimat precisely because of its relationship to the material. He says that "Our dialects belong to Heimat. Many words, especially words that denote material objects; often I can find no German synonym for them. Already this marks my environment, at least the material environment, as more familiar, when I can talk about it in dialect". "Heimweh", or homesickness, is fundamentally tied to the material world as much as it is an emotional and imaginative landscape. It is material and immaterial. It is a memory articulated in thought, feeling and language (in the Swiss case, dialect) that interiorizes the material Heimat "out there". While dialect will not be my part of my analysis[8], it must fully be recognized central to a sense of Heimat, something I encountered in my fieldwork interviews. My focus however is the material space of Heimat, and the embodied

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and heroic against Hitler's Germany. His viewpoint is particularly notable given the post-World War II era when it was both unusual and highly unpopular to criticize the Swiss state. It is important to note that Swiss author Max Frisch was highly critical of Swiss nationalism and role of nostalgia in creating the basis for political and cultural belonging.

[8] Swiss dialect and national identity has been covered extensively, either as a set of case studies on language and identity, or as the focus of an individual studies, so I will not be including it here. For some examples of this kind of work, see Richard J. Watts, (1988), *Language, Dialect and National Identity in Switzerland*, *The Politics of Language: Conflict, Identity and Cultural Pluralism in Comparative Perspective* by Carol L. Schimd (2001), or *Language and Nationalism in Europe* (2002), edited by Stephen Barbour and Cathie Carmichael.

experience of that space, that creates the place of home. As Frisch points out, to access the *feeling* of Heimat one seeks the familiar fields, the old forest paths, or the same old shops that remain even if they have change

How does one experience being at home as part of a national identity? Swiss nationalism is deeply embedded in multiple and varied expressions of Heimat, the landscape of one's childhood or even ancestry The field of psychology has already tackled identity as a sense of being at home in one's body, in one's social worlds and, of course, in one's psychological worlds[9]. By analyzing how objects work in mediating the meaning of home, but also how they feature and are incorporated into affective dimensions of nationalism, it is possible to understand how nationalism operates, to some degree, on the individual level. This is an important and underdeveloped area of study when it comes to nationalism. To understand their salience in political deployment I turned to sites where these objects or images or expressions of a material dimension of Swissness are taken up in everyday practices. Unpacking their historical, social, economic, material and political dimensions allows for the possibility of seeing

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[9] In 1968 Erik H. Erikson, a German developmental psychologist, identified identity, for the first time as a psychosocial construct, rather than merely psychological or cognitive. He recognized the importance of the material world interfacing with an internal psychological process as organizing the development of the identity of a person in stages throughout their lives. It is also during this time that Soviet psychologist, Lev Vygotsky identified cultural artifacts as means of transacting identity with others applying, at some point, the cultural resource in question to oneself. This extends the idea of identity as something more than a development of the individuated and private self but also as a self that is attached to a larger social group. We see this in Vygotsky's Activity Theory that looks at the gap between social reality and the individual by studying the activity engendered by a mediating artifact.

the ways in which nationalism is a project of the self as much as it is a product of the nation-state. Just to reiterate, at the heart of my inquiry are the following questions: How do material culture and familiar objects of everyday life convey collective sentiments of nationalism and national belonging, and in what ways do the interactions of individuals with these objects reinforce personal and collective attachment to the modern nation-state?

While I am not thinking about "home" as a building or house, such as Hui's description of home and nostalgia in the chapter "Placing Nostalgia: The Process of Returning and Remaking Home" in the edited volume, *Ecologies of Affect: Placing Nostalgia, Desire and Hope* (2011)*,* her theoretical framing of home is pertinent here. She writes about home as constituted by the placement of material objects such as couches, beds and pictures. That the space of a house only becomes a "home" once people "have gone through the process of placing and ordering furniture and other objects". But it isn't just that the objects are there, but that we interact with them, create memories that are bound to our experience of them and an understanding of "people doing things" (p. 69). Hui argues however, that home is immaterial in that it can travel to different spaces through mental images and memories. I agree with this, however, I contend that Heimat is as material as it is immaterial. After all, it is the interaction with the material components of home, that create memories. We learn Heimat, in part, through our bodies. My framing of Heimat is as a site of embodied activities and memories, it is a site that embodies the personal past as an idealized place, as well as an ontological reality set in the present. And, in the Swiss case, Heimat

is also a political and geographical place, identified by the state via ancestral claims (heritage) as “home” for Swiss subjects.[10]

Heimat is important to conceptualizing the subjective personalization of nation-state identity because of the way in which it works politically as a claim to authenticity. In nativist political rhetoric, Heimat is represented as part of a natural tie to Swissness, and the people as it’s ever-threatened body. Material representations of Heimat, such as mountain vistas, fountains, farm animals, passports and mythical characters (e.g. Wilhelm Tell), function as evidence of an ideal past that has produced Swissness. The Swiss People’s Party taps into this personalization of the relationship to the nation-state by creating events around ordinary practices and familiar material objects, such as ringing cow bells, summer tent festivals or hiking in the Alps. This expressive political culture produced by the SVP encodes ordinary practices around material artifacts of Heimat, as evidence of belonging. Heimat marks Swissness as an emotional and embodied experience that transcends state recognition of citizenship. Citizenship is mythologized through these ordinary practices that are made political. This politicized Heimat memory system is both extraordinary and ordinary. It is traced through materiality as an archeological and biological claim, both celebrated and normativized.

Interestingly, the material culture of Swiss tourism mirrors the political discourse of the Swiss People’s Party on Heimat. In Switzerland, this sense of longing for a Heimat

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[10] Swiss citizenship is comprised of three components: place of origin (a city or town referred to as “Heimat”), cantonal affiliation, and finally national belonging.

and Volk (a national people) has long been for sale as an experience of Swissness dating back to the 19th century with the emergence of leisure travel and the health industry of mountain air cures. For being such a small nation-state, the amount of tourist paraphernalia that stand in as cultural exports is quite astounding. The cowbell, the Matterhorn, the ubiquitous Heidi longing, the Alps, blissful neutrality, cheese, knives, watches and so on, are tropes both within and outside of Switzerland. From Ballenberg, the open-air museum displaying houses from different regions of Switzerland, to the most unlikely of places, such as a Swiss amusement park in China[11], Swiss Heimat is codified through material objects. Heimat and Volk emerging from cultural, political and economic processes commoditize Swissness. Buildings, enactments of important dates in Swiss history, flags and much more signal for the tourist a certain experience of Swissness in bursts of Heimat and/or Volk through the lens of longing for the past. The landscape becomes saturated with historical meaning that is seen as part of an embodied and affective experience. Heimat is a place and the memory of a place. Heimat lives between the concrete and the conceptual, between the “then” and the “now”. The center for this historical meaning turns on the affect of nostalgia.

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[11] In Shenzhen, China in the Guandong province, the Overseas China Town East (OCT East) amusement park has a replica of Interlaken in its Tea Stream Valley section. Interlaken is one of the most famous of Swiss tourist destinations that is the gateway to the Alps near the Jungfrau.

Nostalgia and Heimweh

Practices of looking back inform present day political and cultural narratives of Swiss Heimat. Like other nations this practice of looking back has a longer history in the Swiss cultural landscape *and* political dialogue and especially accompanied the rise of professional historiography in the 19th Century. It was during this time that mytho-historical figures such as Wilhelm Tell and Heidi[12], and founding ideologies of Switzerland as a multi-cultural, cosmopolitan and democratic nation carved out of the Alpine landscape took hold and were given material shape. We find this idealized vision not just in the recesses of Swiss imagination, but in the international one as well. The nostalgia for a rugged and Alpine Switzerland with a simple but Democratic agrarian

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[12] There are varying accounts of the legend of Wilhelm Tell, but the accounts are merged into one in the play, *Wilhelm Tell*, by Friedrich Schiller written in 1804. Wilhelm Tell is considered to be the "father" of Switzerland in his overthrow of the occupation of Switzerland by the Hapsburgs and their local ruler Governor Gessler. The huntsman Tell, as the legend has it, was passing through Altdorf where he refused to bow to Governor Gessler's hat that was placed on a pole in the town square for precisely that purpose. Governor Gessler, hearing of Tell's insubordination, punished Tell by making him shoot an apple from his son's head. Tell succeeded in this shot and inspired a commoner revolt against Gessler. Gessler attempted to imprison Tell but Tell was able to escape from Gessler's boat in a storm on Lake Lucerne. In the end Tell kills the governor with the self-same crossbow with which he used to shoot an apple from his son's head. Tell's legend often stands in as the proto exemplar of the shepherd and commoner as the "true" Swiss. *Heidi*, the well-known story written by Johanna Spyri in 1881, details the journeys of a Swiss girl who lives in with her isolated and discontented grandfather in the Alps. Spyri's tale transforms the rugged Swiss Alps into a place of physical and psychological healing because of its, and Heidi's, unspoiled nature. This is particularly evident in the way that Heidi's trip to urban Frankfurt, Germany and her subsequent emotional and physical decline, is juxtaposed to her freedom and health in the Alps. The landscape in both of these stories become sites of transformation for freedom and health. In the former it is the health of the political nation that is transformed through native landscapes, and in the latter it is the health of the individual Swiss that is transformed by the landscape.

population, filled the annals of tourist propaganda of the 1800s. Romantic nationalism was able to serve the twin purposes of constructing a more central national myth that privileged a unique cultural heritage as well as the demand for a unique and exotic tourist market for the recently mobile.

The word nostalgia has its origins in Swiss history. “Heimweh” (homesickness), the original word for nostalgia, is traced back to 1688 when the physician Johannes Hofer used this word as a diagnosis for Swiss soldiers suffering a sense of displacement from home[13]. The symptoms of nostalgia could vary but might include any of the following: appetite loss, nervousness, fever, “gastric illness,” hallucinations, night sweats, convulsions, delirium and even schizophrenia (Niemeyer, 2014, p. 9, Naqvi, p.23). Hofer wrote that nostalgia was “the sad mood originating from the desire for the return to one’s native land” (Hofer, 1688/1934, p. 380-381). Nostalgia was thus considered to be a potentially fatal physiological as well as mental malady that emerged from a longing of “home.” According to Jean-Jacques Rousseau in his *Dictionary of Music*, published in 1867, the concern with this malady was so great that it was made

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[13] According to Peter Blickle, in *Heimat: A Critical Theory of the German Idea of Homeland*, by the end of the 18th Century nostalgia, or “Heimweh” was specifically considered to be a Swiss disease. Heimweh (homesickness) is a result of the loss of home (Heimat) and the forced process of individualization (p. 69-79). A wide range of authors and poets, (i.e. William Wordsworth, Erasmus Darwin, Emily Bronte, Theodore Zwinger, Jean-Jacque Rousseau, Svetlana Boym, etc) in the intervening centuries trace nostalgia to a particular Swiss expression of longing. The use of the term nostalgia as a mental and physical malady is traced to physician Joseph Hofer’s 1688 dissertation on the “illness” and his book “Naturgeschicte des Schweizerlandes” (1710), coining the term “mal du Suisse” or in German, “Schweizerheimweh” (Boym (2001), Herrmann (2014), Lowenthal (1985), Morris (2012), Niemeyer (2014), Umbach (2005), etc).

illegal for the "Kuhereihen"[14], an Alp folk melody sung while herding animals, to be played or sung by Swiss soldiers in Napoleon's campaigns because it reminded Swiss soldiers of home and would cause to fall ill or defect. During the course of the 19th Century however nostalgia transitioned from a diagnosable physical malady among soldiers and travelers to pining for an earlier time. As Diego Muro (2005) points out in his investigation of nostalgia in Basque nationalism, this is an important transition that meant nostalgia was no long felt only by those "far from the homeland in spatial terms but also in time". (p. 572). Nostalgia, Muro goes on to explain that nostalgia "was then felt by general displacement and 'provided lonesome stragglers a common refuge in history'…Nostalgia had become a state of mind." (pp. 572-573) Nostalgia, in other words, can be felt even securely located within Heimat.

What is interesting about the European iteration[15] of the meaning of nostalgia is that even as it is recognized as a generalized homesickness, it has a history of being

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[14] The Kuhreihen, or the Ranz des Vaches, is a song that traditionally was used to call the cows home to milking. There are less than 12 songs that can be formally considered Kuhreihen, according to Fritz Frauchiger, who wrote about this specific genre of music in "The Journal of American Folklore" in 1941. These songs however were used to coax cows home for milking and were considered work songs that took on different forms of melody and words. They incorporated voice, names of the cows, the background sound of cowbells and even in some instances horns were played. When cow bells were deliberately rung by the herdsmen in order to deliberately integrate their sound as part of the coaxing homeward, the song is called a Loekler, a version of the Kuhreihen (p. 124). There are versions of the Kuhreihen found in other cattle raising cultures such as Austria, Norway, Germany and Belgium.

[15]While this longing for home has been in existence as part of the human emotional landscape long before 1688, and is certainly not an emotional state belonging to only the Swiss, it is the way in which Heimat and "Heimweh" have shaped an international imaginary about Switzerland, as well as the way in which the expression of this sentiment is widely available through everyday material practices that make Heimat a

documented as a Swiss malady tied to cows, cowbells and landscapes. Heimat, starting as far back as the 17th Century, has been central to producing narratives about Switzerland ranging from literature, art, science (especially botany), to geography and politics. This is especially true of the European Romantic era, the period in which nostalgia became a “state of mind”. A good example to start with is indeed the very song that is tied to the origination of the term nostalgia, the Swiss Kuhreihen. German author Friedrich Schiller’s play *Wilhelm Tell* of 1804 about the legendary beginning of the confederation, a play that is staged every summer in an open-air theater in Interlaken, opens with the Kuhreihen, the song, as legend has it, that was forbidden by Napoleon to be sung by Swiss mercenary soldiers. A passage from English novelist Emily Bronte’s poem *Loud without the Wind was Roaring* published in 1846 also points to the mythological power of Swiss nostalgia:

> But not the loved music whose waking
> Makes the soul of the Swiss die away
> Has a spell more adored and heart-breaking
> Then in it’s half-blighted bells (p. 370)

The bells she refers to are the “cowbells”, an important element to the Kuhreihen. This song is also referenced in Henry David Thoreau’s work for whom landscape and nostalgia were important elements to his own work. In his “The Wood Thrush’s Song” (1906), Thoreau compares the “infinite and eternal” song of the wood thrust to the “music of the cowbell”, saying that the bird’s song was a Ranz des Vaches (Kuhreihen)

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particularly salient aspect of Swiss nationalism. In addition, it is Heimweh that has become central to the affective dimension of Swiss right wing politics.

for him (p. 293). It is this Romantic era sentiment, a call to "home", that is found in the material culture that makes up the landscape of Swiss nationalism.

Nostalgia intermeshed around narratives of Heimat produce "Heimweh," a sense that the home is far off, displaced or perhaps disappearing all together. It is a sense of exile from the past to which one desires to return, but that past is enmeshed in the intimate scenes of one's earlier life or an ancestral home. This looking back is also a restorative turn that, through myths of heroes and sages, and through memories riveted by the senses, offer salvation to the nation and to the person who feels displaced. Return "marks an infinite number of daydreams, for the reason that human returning takes place in the great rhythm of human life, a rhythm that reaches back across the years and, through the dream, combats all absence." (1994, Bachelard, 1958/1994, p. 99, emphasis in original). I am considering nostalgia here as a kind of daydream, a return possible based on the memory of experiences, and the touchstone of material sites which are evidence of the past. These sites evoke, in their ability to elicit keen bodily memory, long ago experiences, such as the sound of cow bells in the passage above. Nostalgic daydreaming that revolves around Heimweh transcends time and marks spaces, with an intimacy of feeling for an idealized past. Nostalgia allows us to locate ourselves as emotional and connected beings to a surrounding world that is saturated with meaning about who we are, where we come from and where we are headed. It is the threatened, exalted, always remembered and "never will be again" sense of Heimat that is at the heart nativist discourse in Switzerland. Heimweh has played a prominent role in shaping national and private imaginaries of Heimat.

In a consumer research article *Nostalgia: A Neuropsychiatric Understanding* (1992), by Alan R. Hirsch, MD, a psychiatrist and neurologist that specializes in smell and taste, defined nostalgia as a generalized emotional state that idealizes past emotions and displaces them onto objects such as smells, sounds and tastes that were experienced at the time of the original emotions. This "displacement" of emotions when it exists in a "pathological state", is a means of driving destructive behaviors he argues, such as alcoholism or repetitive abusive relationship choices. I am also considering nostalgia as a kind of emotional and political pathology.

In fact, the invention of "homesickness" as a disease called nostalgia starting with Hofer in the 17th Century, can be seen as part of the Enlightenment and Modern era's "humanist effort to modernize the documentation of certain pathologies of the body and the brain" (Bolzinger, 2007, p. 13). At its most foundational, nostalgia has always been material. It began with the body. Considering then hot nationalism as a result of personal practices that invoke nostalgia, a memory system based on the sensory past, a past that is both idealized and possibly never really existed, it is not a big leap to consider nostalgia as a means of negotiating political and social outcomes as a kind of pathological state. Like Hirsch, Svetlana Boym, a key figure in Nostalgia Studies, has argued materiality as marking the experience of nostalgia itself. The artifacts that activate senses and memory are central to the experience of nostalgia. In the Swiss context, nationalist nostalgia centers on Heimat and revolves around a materiality that can be directly traced to 19th Century Romantic nationalism and the beginning of the modern global market.

As I've mentioned, European nostalgia is clearly linked to intellectual and artistic legacy of Romantic era, an era whose works are marked by concern with the loss of nature, the importance of identity *and* the dawn of modernity. This is vividly evident in the work of the 19th Century landscape artists such as Caspar David Friedrich, Joseph Mallord, George Turner, Albert Bierstadt, Ferdinand Hodler, Albert Anker, and John Constable. The work of these artists is marked by the era's emotive form and theme that featured dramatic lighting and often placed their subjects in relation to the landscape around them. Rather than standing apart from their environments, the figures are informed by and are an extension of the emotional and psychological force of nature. The human being here returns to the landscape, in all its idealized chaos, as subjectively encased in that experience and those details, rather than being produced from without. Landscape scenes of people and nature might depict a wild wood or the domestic countryside of a rural landscape, but regardless of the subject there is a sense of the deeply emotional and idealized tie to land. Albert Anker, a 19th Century painter of Switzerland, is a famous example of the kind of work that depicted idealized images of rural people going about their "everyday" lives in the countryside, depictions that obfuscated a period marked by industrialization and emigration due to entrenched poverty.

The rise of the European nation-state during this time is built on state rationality and primordial and Romantic narratives of belonging. On the one hand, the state is constituted through institutional and political practices developed in during the 19th century and on the other hand, it is also being constituted in the public culture found in

Swiss Volk art, music and literature. In both cases, material culture is at the heart of cementing a case for the "ancient" nation-state of Switzerland. The memory of the nation, even as it is constituted through a nostalgic materiality, is "contested" as Oliver Zimmer states, developing in a diffuse way across all spectrums of a society, from the perennial project of the Helvetic Society to the struggles of various regional, local and political actors for "status and recognition" (p. 14). What is also clear is that the nation and the state merge in the material during this critical time. Museums are erected, sites of cultural significance are being renovated, such as Chateau Chillon, public art is being incorporated into official narratives of the nation, sentimental kitsch depicting national myths enter the marketplace and sites of national significance are being identified and landscaped, such as the Rütli Meadow in Canton Schwyz. This retrospective project of the nation engendered in state practices of the 19th century is linked to the Romantic sentiment of nostalgia. Here individual's internal experience is highlighted as a result of the relationship one has to the external world.

The remnants of that "long ago" Heimat are often still present in the current Heimat animating claims of belonging through the personal relationship subjects claim to them. The fountain built in the time of one's grandmother, or the building that centers the nation-state subject geographically and emotionally to an urban landscape. Heimat objects mediate our memories that we perceive to be part of our own history, a history that is ticking by with every hour, every minute and every second. Heimweh is that affective dimension of Heimat that responds to this temporal slippage. Heimweh also occurs in geographic displacement, an ache caused by the dislocation from a sense

of an original Heimat that is lost or slipping away due to change or distance. Being "away", that central component that creates the affective response of Heimweh, is then not necessarily being physically separated from home, but rather being displaced *whether in time or space*. Heimweh in my work focuses on this dual sense of displacement. There is an erosion of the idealized home of the past, and as present practices continue to transform physical spaces and thus places, cultural materiality sharpens in its ability to mediate this affective dimension of nostalgia called Heimweh. Walter Benjamin once said that history is not a process of invented life but is a process of decay[16]. Heimweh, as a subjective and objective ordering of a history of "home", is seen here as always disappearing and decaying and thus requiring constant attention and re-structuring. Heimat works under the dialogical process of both this decay (temporality) and as a process of invented life (endurance).

Finally, it is important to distinguish between melancholy, nostalgia and Heimweh. Unlike the more personal and individual experience of melancholy, nostalgia is about the relationship between the individual biography and the biography of groups or nations" (Boym, 2001, p. 9). Heimweh is a blend of these two affective states.

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[16] Benjamin in writing about Baroque artwork in his *The Origin of German Tragic Drama* (1928) noted that it expressed a desire for longevity, or endurance, even as it suffered from decay, or temporality. This tension is what Benjamin argues produces history. While his work focused on materiality, which I do as well, I also contemplate the way that memory of, or about, a work decays, it's historical significance emerges in the fragment, or that which is left over. The actual physical fragment such as the re-designed piazza that has incorporated the older buildings with newer architectural aesthetics, or mythological fragments, such as the purpose of the cowbell or the origin story of a nation. In personalized nationalism these fragments become that upon which to build narrativized landscapes, to mediate memory and to access belonging.

Nostalgia is a generalized longing for a home that once was, perhaps is and will be, and yet also never was. Thus home is as much an emerging (and illusive) quest as a concrete reality. Melancholy is the private longing associated with personal memory of an idealized past. It is the It is this disjuncture that creates "Heimweh". We have a memory of a *place* that is made familiar through our senses. A generalized intimacy envelops and shrouds every contour and corner, the objects, landscapes, buildings and so on. Home is a kind of territorial home, but it is also a home of intimacy. It embodies the affective dimension of our relationships with places. Heimweh is precisely such an affective dimension and is one that marks the sense of home, whether more broadly speaking (homeland) or in a narrower framing such as a house, a town or a neighborhood. Heimweh experienced as a feeling of longing for what once was home, but it is the material ordering of that place that constitutes our memories.

Swiss Nationalism

Switzerland is a challenging case study on nationalism in that it confounds both traditional perspectives on nationalism and because it is popularly perceived, outside of Switzerland, as non-nationalistic (not "hot"). Because Switzerland is seen as having a historically weak nationalism there is little work outside of Swiss historians regarding 1) nationalism in Switzerland, and 2) what constitutes a national Swiss identity given its multi-cultural and multi-lingual components. Academics and researchers as far back as Renan and Weber, continuing through Gellner, Anderson, Deutsch and Kaufmann have struggled with the Swiss case. "For those who saw linguistic and cultural uniformity as a necessary ingredient of nationalism and the nation-state, most prominently Ernest

Gellner, Switzerland represents a major nuisance…For those such as Max Weber who emphasized shared political history as the fundament of national sentiment, Switzerland was welcomed as a crown witness before the tribunal of comparative scholarship." (2011, Wimmer). In both cases, as Wimmer points out, Switzerland's model of nationalism is perceived through the multi-cultural and de-centralized federalist structure, a perspective that ignores the ways in which nationalism actually works in Switzerland. This blind spot makes the right wing manifestations of hot nationalism that arise from time to time on Switzerland's political and cultural landscape, appear to be aberrations or as modern knee jerk responses to globalization in the form of xenophobia. This is a mistake.

Swiss nationalism turns on the historical and ongoing nostalgia for "Heimat", a conservative ideological stance steeped in personal experiences and a sense of a rooted identity. Heimweh is a critical component of Swiss nationalism because of the way in which Canton and communal identity is incorporated into the Swiss national story. These identities are what give Switzerland its pre-modern pedigree and the material objects are what become the "available evidence of that past". (2005, Muro, p. 575) Objects attached to historical narratives allow the past to become a personal experience and become part of the backbone of an affective identification with the nation as a site of longing. It is this specific dimension of nationalism, nostalgia for the past and for a specific place, that is also steeped in forgetting, a hallmark of Swiss nationalism. For example, the legacy of state sterilizations of the Roma people or removing their children into institutions and farm labor as recently as 1970 flies in the face of nostalgic

reconstructions of Heimat as bucolic Alpine farm life and a neutral, heroic and progressive Swiss state. Or the forced child labor system that took children, like my grandfather, from poor families and placed them on farms as free labor. The response of Blocher, former head of the SVP, to the criticism of this child labor system, reported widely by the popular and mainstream news tabloid Blick, was that the system of contract children in Swiss history was legal for its time and often considered benevolent[17]. It thus makes sense why such populist responses[18], find traction in public debates on cultural and political memory. This defensive sentiment is in dialogic relationship with the memory of such farm labor as a benevolent state system, a fact underscored by other public officials who declared no compensation to the victims was necessary and the lack of social will to deal with this legacy until nearly 40 years after it ended. So, historical unrest, injustice or larger state violence, such as the culture war (Kulturkampf) and resultant civil war (Sonderbund Krieg) of the 19th Century, resulting in

[17] In a June 5, 3013 Blick article Christoph Blocher was quoted as calling the children contract system (Verdingkindern), not only legal, but also often was perceived to be socially caring. ("ein System, welches früher nicht nur als rechtens, sondern manchmal gerade als besonders sozial und fürsorglich empfunden wurde"). Retrieved from the online Blick archive: http://www.blick.ch/news/schweiz/entschuldigung-reicht-uns-nicht-verdingkinder-wollen-geld-id2292868.html

[18] Christoph Blocher was the head of the Zürich SVP from 1977-2003, and one of the five vice presidents for the SVP nationally from 2008-2016. He also served as one of the sitting presidents of Switzerland, from 2003 – 2007 and headed up the Department of Justice and Police. In a widely publicized political scandal, in 2008, Blocher was forced from his seat on the presidential council by the Swiss parliament who had nominated moderate SVP Eveline Widmer-Schlumpf. The conservative Zürich faction of the SVP rebelled against this move by the Parliament and pushed Schlumpf to return the seat to Blocher. She refused to do so and, in a last minute move, along with other moderate members of the SVP, created the new BDP (Bürgerlich-Demokratische Partei) and accepted the nomination to sit on the Presidential cabinet.

the forced exile of various Roman Catholic groups, are subsumed by widely available cultural symbolic terrain[19]. Nostalgia for Heimat in the Swiss context, supports the feature of nationalism which affects an uncritical sentiment, obfuscating painful or contradicting memories.

Relating to the nation-state as an embodied experience that involves our senses and discourse, is at the heart of how I am investigating nationalism. It is the "cultivation of the senses" that informs nostalgia and gives it its potency. This is a key component in a nation that has been called "fractured" by traditional nationalist scholars, given the multi-cultural and diffuse structure of both the state and "ethnos" that I mentioned at

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[19] In *A Contested Nation: History, Memory and Nationalism in Switzerland, 1761 – 1891*, Oliver Zimmer painstakingly details the tensions between Catholic and Protestant Switzerland as not only religious but also as the collision between local and communal identity and a more centralized identity. The Catholic area of Switzerland was largely against the centralization of any power structure within the confederation and desire the ongoing looser affiliation in an effort to protect local culture as well as power structures. After the civil war in 1847 (Sonderbund Krieg) between conservative Catholics and liberal Protestants, there was a backlash against Catholicism, considered to be among the most severe in a wider anti-Catholic phenomenon in Europe. (Schmid, p. 70). In order to mitigate the fracturing of the newly organized and more centralized Swiss government of 1848, efforts were made to bring solidify a Swiss identity. Zimmer notes the 1851 Zürich festival that was organized to celebrate 500 years of Switzerland. This festival, according to Zimmer, becomes the first prominent site of contesting the identity of the modern state of Switzerland. While representatives of the Catholic Cantons of Uri, Schwyz and Unterwalden were invited to participate, they declined because of the way in which they felt the "new" Switzerland had written out the old confederation, a confederation that centrally located these Cantons as ideologically and genealogically important to the new Swiss nation. This public contestation over the meaning of the identity of Switzerland evolved so that by 1891, the first date that Switzerland's founding date is celebrated as being August 1st, central and Catholic Switzerland became the site of national celebrations at the Rütli meadow. These national celebrations helped forge a public national culture and also invited the former opposition into the fold.

the start of this chapter. What working model of nationalism best enables an analysis of a fragmented, non-homogenous nation-state? Precisely because of fragmented "Swissness", Swiss national identity is integrated into, and located *in*, local landscapes, activities, politics, and everyday practices. Heimat then becomes a *localized* way of both describing and relating to the root of identity claims that *incorporate* an elitist national myth. "The landscape does not belong to you, you belong to the landscape" (Frisch, 1974. Die Schweiz als Heimat, Schiller Memorial Prize, Baden-Württemberg). What Frisch's expression reminds us is that the sensibility associated with "belonging" in Switzerland, is perceived as outside of territory ownership in any capitalist or utilitarian sense, and even outside of any citizenship claims, but is rather is naturalized through the physiological arousal, or longing, that the landscape engenders between the perceived and the perceiver. In other words the particular subset of nostalgia called Heimweh, is woven through a sense of Heimat necessary for a hot Swiss nationalism.

Heimweh forgets the "contested" nation. Having physically locatable legacies flattens Swiss multi-cultural nationalism so that a differentiated and yet harmonious Swissness is available for political, social and economic work in the cultural landscape. This isn't just a storied world then, but a nationalism that is "out there". It is a "culture on the ground"[20] in which people move through signifying spaces creating and making

[20] Ingold in his chapter "Clearing the Ground" in his book, *Being Alive*, recounts the evolutionary advantage, expounded on by Darwin, of human beings becoming upright. In this process of upright mobility, it is theorized, hands became free to engage in work other than transport. It is this ability to work with the hands which, arguably, developed human intelligence. Here hands become associated with intellect and the feet with instinct. Nonetheless, as Ingold points out, feet and pedestrian mobility, are a kind of

meaning about who they are in relation to the nation-state. Materially representing contested historical terrain as unproblematic, is both a modern and ongoing contemporary project in Switzerland. In the years and decades after the French invasion, Switzerland began to constitute itself as a nation with deep historical roots. "The rise of professional historiography opened up the possibilities for 'building subjecthood' and 'thinking about one's life' in a historical and 'politically potential fashion' (Fritzsche 2004: 5). With the emergence of a variety of historical narratives, the past could become a personal experience." (Muro, 2005, 571) The key means by which to bring historical narratives to life, especially in a nation fragmented by religious, ethnic, linguistic and political divides, is through objects coinciding with wider historical narratives. This is especially evident in the attention paid to landscaping of memory that supports Swiss nationalism since the 19th Century.

Laws that dictate landscapes, homes and towns maintain localized and national character through Heimatschutz (homeland protection) both highlight and hide Swiss

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knowledge, regardless of the evolutionary advantage of upright mobility. There are different kinds of walking that are a result of terrain, tradition and even ritual, as in the case of military goose-stepping, for example. Walking is also a way of announcing oneself to the world, a way of relating to a public, a social activity. We are managed via city planning that provide (or don't) places to walk, but we also rebel against these environments. Walking isn't just about creating paths counter to state produced spaces, but also about perceiving the environment in a multi-dimensional way. We are able to approach environments through our various senses, but how we move is also how we perceive. Do we amble? Run? Meander? Bringing this into conversation with my work moves nationalism, something that is both a practice and kind of knowledge about a place, into relationship with the body. The things that make up nationalism, terrain, rituals, culturally salient architecture and so forth, are brought into contact with a "muscular consciousness" (Bachelard, 1964, p. 11). Landscapes, buildings and the world "out there" comes to life through walking.

cultural and political movement. So, while one moves through a culturally distinctive countryside in Switzerland, such as the Emmental[21], with localized architectural styles that construct an older and seemingly stable Heimat, these selfsame buildings might also be refugee housing centers or be facades for military bunkers. The entire nation, over 3000 points, according to McPhee's 1984 book *Place de la Concorde Suisse*, are wired to explode in the event of an invasion. When you start to look carefully at the landscape you see evidence of this militarization. The terrain is filled with driveways that suddenly stop at a mountain face, bunkers painted to look like traditional Swiss buildings or steel doors that appear out of nowhere[22]. There are carefully maintained bunkers and tunneled out areas, housing military ware such as tanks and airplanes. There are in fact so many bunkers built into the landscape, including under private homes, that until 2011, when the laws for bunker construction were loosened, nearly the entire population of Switzerland could be housed in the event of a "nuclear winter". But these bunkers, like the refugee centers, often so well disguised behind the wistful façade of an older, traditional Swiss landscape, they are difficult to spot. What are seen

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[21] The Emmental is a valley in Canton Bern made famous for its cheese of the same name and large and dramatic farm houses. It is also much of the center for my study for 2 reasons: 1) it is one of two regions that is intimately associated with the nationalist Swiss People's Party (the other region is Zürich) and 2) because of my personal connections that allowed me to conduct my research in a more in-depth and contextualized way.

[22] The well-documented, though coffee-table style books, *Fake Chalets*, by Christian Schwager and *Bunkers* by Leo Fabrizio released in 2004, provide a fascinating glimpse into the world of architectural trickery. I was also able to visit a number of bunkers, private and public, in my fieldwork of 2014.

are the common symbols that various linguistic and cultural groups across Switzerland recognize.

Switzerland is also an important case study on nationalism because both the home (Heimat) and nostalgia attending memory of that home, are currently being politicized in material and discursive expressions of the nation in populist material discourse. Cultural kitsch becomes a tool, a fascistic cultural weapon, with which to agitate sentimentality about belonging. Heimweh is at the heart of a nationalist agitation by the SVP. Switzerland, because of a complex proto-nationalist networks, a long tourist history attended by massively replicated cultural symbols, outsider status to the EU and diverse local cultural practices, the SVP is able to politicize home by managing salient symbols seen as threatened. This management of imagery in SVP's famous political posters is reminiscent of Bachelard (1958/1994) analysis of how it is we come to revere an image. "…we must lose our Paradise to live in it, to experience it in the reality of its images, in the absolute sublimation that transcends all passion." (p. 33) So, rather than framing my study within the general rise of "Islamaphbia" in Europe, though this certainly plays a role, or as a response to the forces of globalization, though this too plays a role, I am framing my study in "on the ground" accounts, through interactions with material culture, including landscape, as to how people make the national story, personal. Because it is precisely this process that provides insight as to how extremist nationalist claims work. The case of Switzerland is what has produced this approach and uncovers both the primordial sense of nation-state that Smith concerns himself with as well as the latency of nationalism that informs Billig's work. In

my case, however I am looking at how these conceptual and representational frameworks of nationalism are located in "real life" as part of a daily experience, and how these locations and experiences translate into a politicized Heimat.

The Material and the Encounter

A variety of images and symbols that reference national belonging are embedded in material objects that make up the daily landscapes of our routines and routines themselves. Nationalism in turn is made up of a material world – artifacts, landscapes, heirlooms and so on. My work sees nationalism as a practice of the self in relation to a "world out there", as much as it is the political dimension of nation-state formation. Though it is understood that nationalism is, in part, a material practice[23], as much as it is a state, political and social process, what is often left under-theorized is how nationalism is made personal, and the personal, national. In this work, I am re-thinking subjectivity, not so much by displacing anthropocentrism, but by organizing my thinking around the ways in which both people interact with and think about and

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[23] This is especially evident in literature on revolutionary nationalism, post-colonial nationalism and self-determination. For example, Frantz Fanon saw national consciousness as an outcome attached to a material reality. This is shown in "The Wretched of the Earth, Fanon's prescription for developing a social and political consciousness is that which arises out of a nationalism that is embedded in the reality of the daily lives of a people. The idea of nationalism as a daily practice is also found implicitly in the work of those engaged with constructionist perspectives such as Anderson (1983) or explicitly with those interested in the material symbolic landscapes of nations such as Billig (1995) and Kaufmann and Zimmer (1998/2004). What remains however is not just to investigate the role of this material reality in nationalism, but the way in which people incorporate this materiality into their memories and relationships as a way of understanding who they are as national subjects.

remember their world, and the ways in which material/non-human objects organize the experience and understandings of the actors involved. This is a critical area of investigation because it provides insight as to why the political exercise of nationalism resonates or gains traction in correlating individual affective responses but also because I am entering the gap between materialism and identity studies as they play out in political and social formations, such as the nation-state and nativist movements. Specifically, my work intersects with new materialism by focusing on how matter and meaning co-evolve.

To understand the how nationalism is part of the subjective and affective experience of belonging to a nation-state I attend to how particular kinds of material culture articulate a personalization of the relationship to the nation-state. Especially I pay attention to objects used in mediating memory and nostalgia, and how this evolves meaning about belongingness and about the object itself. Because I am interested in the personalization of the nation-state narrative through ordinary and everyday practices, material objects circulating within the scope of day-to-day living are especially useful. Thinking about nationalism as an ordinary practice, and in this case as mediated, expressed and understood by engaging with material objects, grounds the experience of nation-state subjectivity in. Materiality mediates the relationship we have between our interior and exterior lives, between our past and our present, and helps us make sense of the world “out there”.

Situating myself more squarely in new materialism, an ontological model that elides what we know about our worlds and what is outside of us in the physical world, I

claim that the world out there and our selves are constantly in conversation with one another through the entanglement of our experiences, history, language and memory. The human body is both bounded and unbounded in this orientation. One cannot deny the boundedness of human experience. The corporality of our experience so to speak. But also, the material self is not separate from the world around it. We experience trans-corporality in that we are continuously implicated in the agencies of the physical world, both in the way we act on them but are also acted upon. This happens in the way in which we take up the world around us as a technology of the self, creating identity, home, a social world and so forth. In “Sitting in Places” (1996) by Basso, a work arising out of the emergence of the neo-material turn in anthropology, remarks that the “close companion of heart and mind”, a “sense of place”, is a basic human experience that has been overlooked (p. 54). Spaces become places in this observation because of their unique particularities and the dwelling in spaces that create “lived relationships” with those spaces. And while Basso is thinking of place through the ways in which people “embrace the countryside and find the embrace returned”, this process of developing belonging and identity to a place can be extended to include all kinds of places where dwelling occurs. This is an especially sensible approach then to Swiss nationalism, a nationalism that is largely dependent on a sense of place that is deeply attached to the local.

Places are not just seized in their wholeness, but in the minutia, that provide them features upon which to attend and reflect. In this process, geographical spaces become places. They acquire meaning. The physical aspects of places can act as

reference points for a number of conscious and unconscious experiences. One might, for example, sense the number of steps it takes to cross a living room floor or where, in the dark, one needs to place one's hand on the wall to find the light switch. There is a kinesthetic awareness in these experiences that account for objects in relation to the body, to navigate spaces more conveniently. There are also times however where the objects available in an area are attended to self-consciously. It is in these instances, "of focused thought and quickened emotion that places are encountered most directly, experienced most robustly, and (in Heidegger's view) most fully brought into being. Sensing places, men and women become sharply aware of the complex attachments that link them to features of the physical world. Sensing places, they dwell, as it were, on aspects of dwelling" (Basso, 1996, p. 54-55). The sensing of the place, the experience of it, does not end there. Being involved in such explicit attention to space people must also "dwell on aspects of themselves, on sides and corners of their own evolving identity" (p. 56).

Dwelling was what Heidegger considered to be a living in a place with a kind of deliberate consciousness of the geographical details and an awareness of memory and experience that forces us to locate ourselves in that material world. Dwelling, in Heidegger's understanding, is about the manner in which people are engaged with a place so that they can withdraw into it. Dwelling is about preservation and orienting oneself in the world, a way of being that happens primarily through our phenomenological experiences. Heidegger's theory on dwelling was conceived as a cure to the existential homelessness of the modern person. This is an important point in

thinking about the way that one personalizes the nation as home. As I stated in the beginning, much of the debates around Swissness emerge in relation to questions of the perceived rootlessness of immigration, statelessness and it is in such debates that "home" becomes the nostalgic signal for belonging. This vantage point on home as an experience of dwelling, is a way of being-in-the-world that is reflective but not critical. The materiality central to the experience of dwelling provides a lens through which to understand how people interpret, and are interpreted by, their sense making. Just as Heidegger turned to phenomenology to counter homelessness and Marx turned to materialism to understand alienation, it stands to reason that the later turn in anthropology towards new materialist conceptions of the relationship of the self and body to the physical world, echoes theories in fields such as psychology and philosophy that consider the physical and social spaces in identity development and, in more recent developments, on the theory of mind in neuroscience. Objects constitute our worldview but they also become sites at which meaning and imagination are negotiated and take shape.

The objects that I attend to operate as symbols, as national aesthetic exemplars, as sites of memory and as practical tools within specific landscape and/or spaces. These objects here become identified as an extension and practice of the self because of the ways in which they work in "home" spaces and memory. Namely they mediate subjective and personal histories that enter into a relationship with the larger story of the nation-state. These practices are both conscious and unconscious, but even as the objects fade into the background as a kind of national subtext they enter into the

experience of our everyday lives. It is not merely the unnoticed flag hanging limply in the background, as Billig (1995) in *Banal Nationalism* points out, but it is the way in which these familiar assumptions enter into our daily lives in language as well. Nationhood, in this way, "is near the surface of contemporary life". (p. 93) It is the materiality of practicing belongingness that is central to understanding nationalism as a practice of the self because it re-frames the nation-state as more than historical and political. The nation is brought to life in the homes and work and play and memory of those implicated or interpolated by the objects themselves. This is a deep nationalism – the rituals, the narratives and the often overlooked and unseen practices that make the nation-state a concrete and personalized reality for subjects that seem themselves enacting that reality.

Cultural and political legitimacy are acquired through discrete material practices that produce possibilities for claiming and enacting belonging by inserting the self into narratives about the nation. Voting in a democratic state, for example, might be one such practice. In the case of Switzerland, where direct democracy is a vivid part of the national story, voting is a practice then that inserts the self into the story of the nation. Voting touches back on narratives that implicate the self as a national political subject with citizenship but also as someone who belongs to "a people" that are asserting their Swiss character through an act that is both individual and part of a larger traditional heritage. This character is grounded in stories about the founding of Switzerland as an alpine democracy with a tradition of popular assemblies. Furthermore, these stories that make up the mytho-historical complex of Switzerland's democratic roots are

materially available in the actual geographical locations where these historical events are marked as having taken place, in commemorative statues, in books, and in music. In turn these objects are visited, celebrated, used, bought and interacted with, becoming cultural sounding boards for personal mythologizing as well as populating individual memories. The national narratives, supported by attending material formations and embodied experiences, become evidence of the democratic impulse. The act of voting itself, in the case of the nationalist, animates the narrative of democracy as an ancient Swiss impulse and as becomes an act of belonging. Voting, however, is a less culturally constrained type of practice insofar as it is not necessarily dependent on access to claims of belonging in the ethno-cultural sense. Rather it is a practice that is conferred upon the individual by the state and its attendant institutions. The festivals, rituals and political dogma that are taken up around these material realities however serve to transform voting as an act of Swissness.

Material culture incorporated into everyday practices undergird nationalism. While, like Billig, I focus on the ways in which habits of nationalism are "embodied habits of social life" ubiquitous to an established nation-state, I am also investigating how public memory and nostalgia, is incorporated into the personalization of a relationship to the state. (p. 8) Billig leaves aside the personalization of nation-state as expressed in nationalism. Additionally, this project will suggest that while some of this "habit" of nationalism is left "unflagged," rendering it invisible, it is this unassuming nature of banal nationalism that reveals it to be more than a habit, but something that is at once a deeply private as well as a social process. Materiality legitimizes the national

imagination by the way in which it becomes, through its incorporation into practices of the self, part of discursive formations rendering the nation at once both public and personal. Looking at the role of material culture in everyday life is a rich area for formulating understandings of nationalism as 1) an ongoing and personal practice and 2) as co-constituted by political, social, historical, economic and institutional processes. This approach of thinking about the intersection of materiality and rhetorical practices in the personalization of nationalism incorporates the body into a phenomenon that is often viewed as external to material experiences, even as it is implicated within them.

My research shows that the nation-state is created through symbols of everyday life that act as place-holders for national culture, place-holders that people inhabit and use in order to make sense of "home" as both a local and national site of belonging. The Swiss cross carved into the eaves of my ancestral home, eaves that are in the backdrop, riddled with wood rot and cobwebs, enters into the private and banal domain of everyday life, even as it is signifies the nation-state of Switzerland. Home is private, local and contingent and interfaces with the national because "…the local is contingent, historicized, and never separable from larger, macro, social forces" it is important to recognize the ways in which people narrate and understand daily experiences as part of national identity (Kaplan, 1996, p. 18). Home is also material. It is possible to trace nostalgic discourses of belonging as constituting "at home" through material embodiments of memory as intimate experiences that both reify a national story as well as a personal one. These discourses and experiences provide the individual sheen that pushes against clean narratives of belonging. Home, as an expression of personalized

national belonging, lives between history and memory and between the public and private. I feel it important to emphasize that my project is not to reify nationalist ideologies or constructs, but rather to deconstruct this personalization of nationalism within the de-centralized, non-homogenous and federalist state of Switzerland. It is critical that this work happens in particular in the Swiss context given the extent to which nativist claims have taken root in current political and social practices.

Making the National, Personal

I follow up on Anthony Smith's challenge[24] in "History and National Destiny: Responses and Clarifications" (2004) that asks future scholarship to more keenly investigate the symbolic order of nationalism, especially the relationship between myths and symbols and nationalism. He calls for a "deeper study" of the relations between the "religious, political, social and linguistic myths, memories and traditions and nationalism" (p. 199). In order to meet this challenge, I am isolating political and social myths, but I am revising "linguistic myths" to "narratives" as well as adding the personal mythos of historical memory. It is here, in the recesses of one's own memory that, by attending to the ways in which the national myth intersects with the personal, we see the relationship between myths, symbols and nationalism. In my dissertation then, a material object connected with Heimat and Heimweh is personal and political, as much as it is material. For example, the cow bell, comes to embody the myth of the

[24] Anthony Smith's challenge to pay particular attention to the "myth-symbol" complex is a direct response to John Armstrong's self-same challenge laid out in "Nations before Nationalism".

democratic cowherd, the hardy, masculine and agrarian Swiss, and the everyday work of the timeless Swiss farmer. The cowbell is music, it is politics, it is familial legacy and it is art. Making the national, personal requires this material linkage.

Frantz Fanon's *The Wretched Earth* (1963) comes closest in describing the ways in which people invest themselves in a nation when prescribing a path for post-colonial Algeria. He advocated that the individual "…during the period of national construction ought to continue in his real, everyday activity to associate himself with the whole of the nation…" (p. 200.) In his chapter "On National Culture" Fanon explains the necessity of claims to a national past and a national culture, however he is careful to layout the importance of a day-to-day reality that national culture be imbued with so that it is legible to those outside of intellectual and elitist circles. While Frantz Fanon is far afield from my research on nostalgia, and though dealing with the complications of building a post-colonial nation-state, his writing on nationalism bears mentioning for the attention he pays to the importance of materiality in developing a national culture that feels personal rather than imposed. His approach details, to a degree, how people come to see themselves as part of a nation, something he calls "combat literature" that captures the struggle of a people. The work of the material culture that he is thinking about, in that it is there to rally people and develop national consciousness, ultimately serves a different function than what I am attending to. But that an individual's national consciousness is developed and their personal commitment to a nation-state is crystalized through material culture is the process that animates my work.

Whereas Fanon was thinking about ways to give birth to a "natural" national culture in a post-colonial state, the primary goal scholarship on nationalism is to, in some ways, overturn the naturalness associated with feelings of national belonging. So Fanon's approach to national culture was from a proscriptive standpoint, the approaches to studies on nationalism are "at a distance" and are theoretical and descriptive. Michael Billig's "Banal Nationalism" or Benedict Anderson's "Imagined Communities", for example, engage in analyses where the constructedness of national feeling is unpacked as attached to larger institutional practices. In order to unpack nationalism as an affective social and personal response it is essential for the relationship between the *personal* and the *national* be investigated. In other words, how does "being American", or any national identity, assume as natural a place in one's personal identity as say genetics and personal history? These are practices as much as they are states of being as we see very clearly in Fanon's work. There are a myriad of ways to approach this question, however one of the least explored is the affective response to the material experiences and practices that come to construe an understanding of "home" as essential to personalizing national belonging. I am not seeking a causal relationship between the organic material world and inorganic emotional one, but rather I am looking for a complex of relationships, including historical and political, that come together with and inform our material experiences.

While I will be using terms like nation-state, nationalism and identity, my main focus is how the national story is made personal through interaction with material culture. Sometimes this interaction might count as expressions of nationalism in the

more obvious sense and sometimes regarded as an extension of Billig's "banal nationalism". I understand nationalism as an active expression of identity as much as it is an outcome of the myths, legends, social and political arrangement that go into constructing a nation-state. Gellner, in "Nations and Nationalism", says that "nationalism uses the pre-existing, historically inherited proliferation of cultures or cultural wealth" and that nations use "as their raw material the cultural, historical and other inheritances from the pre-national world" (p. 49). Billig, in "Banal Nationalism", states that nationalism as the "ideological habits" that are part of everyday life and are an "endemic condition" (p. 6). I work between these definitions thinking both of the historical inheritance as well as the daily flagging of national identity that people draw on in order to think of themselves as national subjects. I am building on Oliver Zimmer's claim that Swiss national identity is the Heimat writ large.

Methodology

Because of the way national symbols are critical to the imagining and creation of a Swiss civil society and because Swiss policy nourishes 'individual characteristics of different regional and language groups' through the country", and finally because "pride in a local identity is "to some degree synonymous with loyalty to the larger state" I sought local objects that enter into the larger, national symbolic landscape as my focus of research. My archival and field work helped me to locate objects that consistently engage both Heimat and nation and evoke nostalgia as a homesickness for the past. These objects act to bridge the present with the past. In terms of age the objects are distributed over an approximately 150-year period coinciding roughly with 1848, the

founding year of modern Switzerland, a feature I only noticed after my work was finished. An interesting development considering the official narrative is that Switzerland's founding date is 1291, not 1848. In cataloguing the objects in over 1,000 images that I took during my fieldwork, I created categories, some of which had overlap, that helped identify repetitive themes. Some important material signifiers in nostalgic dimensions of Swiss nationalism emerged as monuments, protected buildings, fountains, cow bells and geographical features. My goal was a critical analysis of these objects to understand their role in making the national feel personal. To this end I analyze the language and representation surrounding the social and political life of the objects. I approached this work through a three-tiered research process, with no particular hierarchy, that included: personal experience with the object(s), archival research, and interviews.

By employing critical analysis to interpret objects and discourse, as well observing and engaging in embodied and interactive use of objects and landscapes, I attend to the everyday dimensionality of nationalism as it intersects taken for granted ideas about a larger Swissness. When I would reflect on these engagements at the end of a day, I would take note of the ways the objects helped people interpret the history, identity and memory of a community, and of themselves. While not invoking performance in the way that Diana Taylor (2003) does in *The Archive and the Repertoire*, the sense of the archive and the repertoire (embodiment) becomes relevant here. Archival data and the repertoire of Swiss embodied memory work together to create the sense of the longitudinal arc of the nation-state as well as the daily practice of the

nation. Embodiment here functions as "vital acts of transfer, transmitting social knowledge, memory, and a sense of identity" (p. 2). The material and transferable material of the archive, in this instance, is not necessarily being resisted by the repertoire (though of course embodiment offers this possibility as Taylor points out and which I will return to in my conclusion with the social space of the Reithalle in Bern). The archive of the state is curated so that it is sustains, underwrites and reflects back on the multi-cultural repertoire of the local. This is especially poignant in the chapter on personal objects. The discursive regimes that emerge around materiality (the archive), constructing Heimat and a personal Swissness, are at once intimately tied to historical mythology, material artifacts and everyday practices. My methodology is attempting to account for this. In other words, my methods insist that history is an object, a memory *and* a present, subjective experience.

I worked through an embodied epistemology, that focused on nationalism as a personal, situated practice as it related to experiences evoking identity claims and as experiences as operating within social, historical and political contexts. To this end, I include historical details, the thoughts and affective perceptions of people I interviewed, at times my own perceptions as a Swiss national, and thick descriptions of the objects themselves.

Throughout this project, alongside questions of the necessity of the sensorial experience of national identity, I am thinking about the way in which power enters the experiences of identity. Because objects become forms of social life, they enter into language and representation that help form their narrative and consequently a regime

of knowledge about social and cultural life in the nation. Stuart Hall argues that discourse, moving beyond words to include visual images, is not innocent but rather serves to (re)present for us a world view that articulates particular power structures. Language, here a material discourse, both represents and *is*, a social phenomenon that is the nation and a political phenomenon that is the state. Nationalist discourses depend on a particular kind of literacy. A discursive *regime* emerges through this language, created in daily activities, or a lived, embodied experience of its characters in a material reality situated in and across time. *Überfremdung (over-foreignization), for example,* is conceived through political discourse, images and material objects that highlight historical nativism as threatened. Critically analyzing language and object of the conservative right reveals the narrative of a Switzerland that is small and easily marginalized by outside demands[25]. While Switzerland, per official boundaries, is in undeniably a smaller nation but also the ninth richest in the world according to a 2014 Forbes report. What underpins this discourse of vulnerability? Activities and practices (such as language) are constructive of a "realm of interpretation". Ideal as well material cultural artifacts contain an intentionality, whose substance is embedded in the world of their use. Cultural artifacts are legible and stand in as both instrument and collective

[25] The word "Überfremdung" (over-foreignization) is a word that has historical currency in Switzerland. It is part of an ongoing narrative, first recorded, according to the Dictionary of Race, Ethnicity and Culture (2003), in Switzerland in the beginning of the 20th Century. This term implies cultural and economic vulnerability. Broadly xenophobic, historically the concern with over-foreignization is undifferentiated among immigrant groups.

remembrance and (re)present our world to us. In other words, environments and cultures are steeped in how these artifacts are used and talked about and displayed.

Because I am attending to the materiality as a technology of the self as a national subject, I also consider language within my analysis. Language here is both an archive and a repertoire, it is recorded and it is an everyday practice. In his chapter "Discourse in the Novel" from *The Dialogic Imagination* (1981) Bakhtin argues for the "social life of discourses" (p. 269). "Utterances are understood in a broad semiotic sense as vehicles of meaning, including conversations, plays, novels, newspapers, or hypertext systems. The constituent sign of each of these communications may be said to acquire their meaning in relation to other signs, past as well present" (Jensen, 2002, 186). These signs are ideological as much as they are materially present and become sites of meaning making. Claims are made about Swissness when in the Swiss People's Party posters, or language inscribed on objects in public and private places such as fountains and statues. Language, here, merges with the materiality of representation and accounts for intersubjectivity, intervening on social processes. It is not just the clock that hangs in the farmhouse; it is the clock with family names and a date that creates its intersubjectivity. The materiality of an environment (institutions, landscapes, etc.) gains depth "beyond the immediate order of interaction" through the practices and activities that leave their mark (1998, Holland et al, p. 61). Objects and landscapes contain substance or residue through their ongoing use and aging which adds to their value as mediating the valued past.

Since my interest in how personal attachment to home is experienced and represented I will be including interviews that engage participants in answering these questions. I also investigate artwork, media accounts, public gatherings, Volk art, narratives of identity (just talk), and encounters with some of Switzerland's geographical landmarks like Jungfraujoch. Some of these discourses occur within frameworks of explicit nationalism while others will not necessarily adhere to such boundaries. This varied "data" will support my analytical approach that seeks to document and analyze the multiple ways people experience identity as a historical concept and as a practice of embodiment.[26] Auto-ethnographic details will be included as they pertain to or contrast to the narratives that engage with the experience of Swissness.

My analysis of cultural and political artifacts, situating them in their historical context, ideological and social systems and individual experiences, is an interpretive project. This requires moments where I insert the narrative of my own identity negotiations as well as the experience of being in the landscapes and the objects as tools of identity. This element in my work is the "…convergence of the 'autobiographic impulse' and the 'ethnographic moment'…interpreting culture through the self-reflexive and cultural refractions of identity" (Spry, 2006, p. 183). Auto-ethnographic elements open up my investment in this work and critically places the lens of analysis on where personal memory and national memory come together. It is precisely this juncture that is the kernel of my interest. At its base the ethnographic approach to my fieldwork

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[26] The location of the body as significant to experiencing "feeling" has its own extensive scholarship.

helped move my analysis beyond larger conclusions about identity construction and into the specifics constituting the *personal* act of living in and moving through spaces (i.e. historical buildings, fields, alp huts, tourist sites, etc.) that signify or refer to a relationship with a larger imagined community.

My reflexivity is a necessary component to 1) account for my own political and social position within Switzerland as well as a researcher and 2) for unpacking the dimension of affect that colors my identity as both an insider (a Swiss national) as well as an outsider (i.e. born in the US, etc.) Where appropriate, I will introduce my memories and/or experience of the artifacts as part the overall analysis. It is important to emphasize that I am not interested in the fact of the artifacts alone but the use and experience of them. In addition to dealing with the dimension of identity that "feels" personal, the inclusion of personalized accounts on experiencing national identity provides a more quotidian or "everyday" intervention on the development of individual interpretations of national identity. In other words, the "top down" approach is disrupted by this kind of accounting. Analyzing the "everyday" in discursive acts is facilitated through ethnographic, auto ethnographic accounts and critical discourse analysis.

It is not merely then how national identity is constructed and used through institutions, politics, and historical narratives, as much of the literature on nationalism focuses on, but also how one experiences that national identity through embodied practices, a much-neglected area of research. Because, while national identity is mediated through institutions and historical narratives, it is also an ongoing interpretive

project of the self. Unravelling the intersection of language, materiality, embodiment and memory uncovers the way narratives of nationalism escape scrutiny because of how national subjects naturalize the details of those narratives. Language, materiality and embodiment come together when interacting with objects imbued with a sensibility about the self as a historical subject. This complicated process is productive for atomizing and collectivizing a sense of belonging. Out of this process nostalgia emerges as a vehicle for reflection on belonging.

What my methodology attempts is both a structuralist and embodied approach to subjectivity. In the tradition of Heidegger, Merleau-Ponty, Stewart, Sedgwick, Anzaldua and Ingold I think through sensory experiences as a central aspect of turning spaces into places of meaning. I am also formulating a relationship *between* the archive and the repertoire that accounts for how we come to believe we are beings attached to a nation-state, to a world “out there”. My field work shows that this consciousness emerges from engagement with the world around us, the world that is “out there”, in other words, links us to an inner emotional and identity landscape. This maps onto work in other fields such as psychology and neurology that have already worked extensively in this area. Considering this subjective experience of the self includes the necessary objective reflection on those experiences. To this end I unpack local histories, ideological, economic and historical frameworks, nationalist narratives, and political discourse that help illuminate the experience of the self as a national subject. This work is not done within the epistemology of the ethnographer as stranger, but rather of the ethnographer as both stranger and local. To conduct my fieldwork then, I cast myself

both as an American doctoral researcher and as a Swiss-German, Swiss subject. This process is a matter of re-re-casting myself as coming from the outside, the stranger ethnographer in addition to the stranger Swiss, all the while maintaining intimate relationships in Switzerland. I am both on the outside, born in the United States, even as I am on the inside by speaking a dialect and having a family Heimat. I push my work through the lens of this tension by attempting to account for my position both here and at other places in the text.

The organization of this dissertation grew in part out of thinking about how objects might be categorized but also in how they are primarily used practically and symbolically. It seemed imperative to work through these objects from the outside – in, and then again from the inside back out. What I mean by this, is that the first chapter thinks through state objects that are official narratives about the nation-state occupying public space, the second chapter draws inward on the space of home where objects touching on the nation-state story implicate the private self, the third chapter once again turns outward toward the landscape which is both highly local and private even as it is public, and finally the fourth chapter which occupies the macro lens on national belongingness found within sites of commerce. Moving from the through the dissertation in this way allows me to trace nostalgia in the fashion of a "nesting egg" stack. Each chapter will unfold and lead to the next, but of course there will be overlaps. The final chapter on tourism will bring together objects, the built environment, and landscape as nostalgia in the experience of Jungfraujoch and the Rütli. My approach to understanding affective dimensions of personalized nationalism ultimately sees culture

and identity and the nation as embodied through daily sets of discursive practices and entanglement with the archival. I am ultimately exploring nationalism as both a construct of the Nation-State and as an everyday, situated practice that is productively mediated through material objects

Chapter 2: Objects and State Nostalgia: Fountains and Steamships

Introduction – The Material as an Everyday Technology for our Social and Private Selves

I will spend the next two chapter goings over the ways in which objects mediate the state and the nation, curate a national narrative and enter into a personalized nationalism. Given that these chapters are both about objects, with this chapter focusing on state objects and the next chapter focusing on personal objects, I will spend the introduction here defining what I mean by objects generally and their role in an embodied epistemology of the nation-state. I will then end the introduction by then refining my discussion to the objects of this chapter – official state objects.

It is not a collective experience that creates selfhood, but how one understands oneself in relationship to the collective. Nations are thus one of the resources people draw on to "formulate a sense of self". (Cohen, 1996, p. 803) The objects I include are representations of the state and the nation that act as a technology of the self by providing a means for us to reflect on, experience and even enact ourselves in relation to a sense of belonging. Material social facts and discourses as ways of enacting our selves has been seen in other academic arenas. In a study on music in 1999, researcher and scholar Tia DeNora interviewed participants about the way they used music. What she discovered was that music produced self-knowledge. She notes that for a few respondents "music was material" in that it provided a means of participants marking themselves through "interpretive appropriation" (p. 51). Participants felt that music reflected something about who they were. This process, as the study noted, is often

unconscious.[27] The state objects I study in this chapter and the personal objects of the next chapter, are another dimension of this kind of analysis. Just like music, other material dimensions of personhood are available for interpretive appropriation. This interpretive appropriation shapes social relationships and individuated accounts of the self but they also make tangible the thing they represent and create opportunities for embodying (and resisting) their meanings.

Like media scholar David Morely (2000) and Margaret Wood (2014), I am concerned with the exclusionary effects of place and the social and political implications of how people use material objects to define who they are (and consequently who is Other). Given the current surge of anti-immigration in Switzerland and the demand being made of those immigrants to integrate it is important to interrogate this task. How does one "integrate" into a highly articulated social and political sphere that aggregates around a nationalism based in Heimat and Heimweh? This realm of objects is useful because they offered concrete places where multiple definitions emerge and contestations arise over who gets to define Swissness and experience belonging. Which, while highly determined via state mechanisms, objects and places filled with meanings

[27] Tia deNora's 1999 study is highly relevant here, though it is music she is viewing as a generative practice, or technology of the self. The "magic mirror" of music allows the participant to perceive herself as "like the material to which she refers" (p. 51). The difference here, of course, is that musical tastes are chosen, as opposed to the gigantic objects I study here, which are already in place through historical and state processes. In this sense, then, they can be ignored or inaccessible for interpretive appropriation according to the individual nation-state subject. I am interested in when they are taken up as means of producing self-knowledge as reflecting various dimensions of the self as a nation-state subject, dimensions such as an insider or outsider to the place and narrative, and as a public and private subject.

are still up for grabs through the daily individual improvisations and social practices found in social spaces. It is important to continue to move the literature on nationalism beyond the vision that the state is experienced as a top-down intellectual and historical project, and focus on the ways in which people's daily practices instantiate national identity as personally meaningful construct that is also a public project. Because regional identities complicate understandings of Swiss nationalism as a uniform construct, gigantic state objects become a site at which it is possible to see how both a sense of the national and of local Heimat work together in personalizing nationalism.

Objects are part of an interpretive system that help us make sense of not only what is around us, but who we are in relation to what is around us. *On Longing* (1995/2003) by Susan Stewart, is constructive here in thinking about how some of this happens. Stewart argues, for example, that out of the relationship between objects and narratives, metaphors arise. She calls the "gigantic object", for example, a metaphor "for the abstract authority of the state and the collective, public life" (p. xii). It is precisely this metaphor that interests me. Specifically, I am interested in gigantic public objects that intertwine with narratives about the nation. They are, in short, immobile symbolic resources. Their size, their grandeur, their age, are reminders of the state's power and authority and a common past. Stewart however, does not account for how nation-state subjects and citizens, through their experience of the material representations of the nation-state[28], foster their own sense of belonging and identity.

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[28] In *On Longing*, Stewart conceives of narrative as nostalgia. Nostalgia for her is that which mourns for an original that never was, is ideological, and a "sadness without an

State sanctioned objects work because they are material sites that accumulate memory at once public and personal. They are representations, an idealized past made present even as they define modern spaces and are sites of social encounters. How do these objects "work" to enhance social identity[29]? How do people use these objects in negotiating an identity related to a larger group? In what ways do these symbolic resources contribute to the understanding of one's self as a national subject and as belonging?

Objects, in both this chapter and chapter 2, for my purposes are considered to be everyday technologies that act as signs and involve us in a kind of labor of signification that creates an affective relationship between the self and nation-state history/memory. Objects serve as a daily backdrop and can be "used within cultural practices" as signs that "locate the object within cultural parameters including time and space" (Dant, 1999, p. 54). They are items that are found in stores, museums, restaurants, sports centers, homes and public places. Sometimes I found them as part of

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object" (p. 23). I am also conceiving nostalgia as narrative, but it is a narrative of a longing for the past as much as it is a material practice in the present, mediated through language. It is a narrative that is both a physical experience as much as it is past with an ideological reality. In this chapter I analyze the state objects narratives alongside interacting with the artifact as a nation-state subject. What emerges is a localized iteration of nostalgia, or Heimweh (homesickness) that is an interiority based on an exterior world "out there".

[29] Though I think I belabor the point by including this footnote, I want to emphasize that my focus in on how the national is made personal. I fully recognize that objects and material culture can work to disenfranchise and create clear boundaries around belonging. It is this component, though not focused on in my dissertation, that all the more gives salience to those interpolated by the object in the first place. Objects create places, they have an agency, and people work to understand them and themselves through their own interpretations and meaning making.

a collection created by an enthusiast on a particular topic of Swissness, or are the accumulate detritus of a home site as in chapter 2, and other times they appear to be randomly associated in an open or public environment. Important in this chapter is the ways in which the publicly located state object configure spaces and becomes a place of signification for personal connections to larger meanings and a state history.

Landscapes embedded with official state objects curate the past, constituting a material discourse about that past that at once banal, meaning it lives in the background of day-to-day experiences and extraordinary because of the heroic legacies embedded in their meanings . They are also interventions on public spaces that assert the legitimacy of the state. This backward “looking” that the gigantic objects of the state allow for, encourage nostalgic retrospective. Stewart claims that what animates longing is the narrative that stitches the piece (the object) into the whole (an imagined past). I am not in disagreement with this assertion. Certainly, the narrative that stiches the piece to the whole is in part what animates longing, but her analysis forsakes the experience of the material, the object itself (the fountain and steamship in this chapter), and focuses on the narrative. But it is the physical experience of that object that allows subjects to create narratives that make claims about cultural and political citizenship, to lay claims to an imagined past and to experience an “out there” that relates to an inner landscape of the self. Nostalgia can for example, be pre-conscious, or a flood of feeling without an explicit narrative. We encounter such objects and note their age, their markings, their texture, our history with them, such that they come with emotional

debris that litter our narratives. They fade in and out of the foreground of our lives and we incorporate them into a practice of the self as a nation-state subject.

The Public as a Museum - State Objects in the Public

Much has been written on museum going as a place of discursive materiality where a larger collective story is seen as intersecting with an individual's own life. Museums curating national materials especially are part of "preserving" a past. This perspective understands objects as related to who we are, who "we" have been and where "we" are headed as part of an official history. Here the past is made present by museumgoers being able to talk about and interpret not only the objects, but how they represent a tie between a past and us. Such curated objects communicate our relationship to the community as well as access a collective memory and official history. In dialoging with popular and professional historians about the intersection of the past and present (1998, Rosenzweig & Thelen) D.D. Hilke, "director of audience research at the National Museum of American History, described …how museum visitors turned exhibits into things they recognized from their own experience" (p. 2). Personal (family) histories intersect with a larger community history and inform the way that these collected objects are understood and used in making the past, present, and the ways in which they negotiate memory as nostalgia, providing access to an originary or "authentic" past made present. But this doesn't just take place in the curated space of museums but also in public sites where there are available state collections of objects generating information about national identity and culture. In such spaces the flow of people is less formally constrained than say the space of a museum, however the spaces

are curated by the state in such a way so as to place visual, aesthetic and even practical demands upon the passerby.

The construct of discursive formations, when applied to a physical space such as a museum, is useful when talking about what people are *doing* in spaces that while less obviously curated are curated nonetheless. How are people living with, altering, and forming and re-categorizing official discursive formations around objects occurring in their everyday lives such as monuments or plaques narrating nation-state history? Thinking about objects as sites of discursive formations is very useful in my project, though it has little explanatory power in terms of thinking of everyday practices happening within places where official discursive formations are located. It is important than to extend the concept of discursive formations as beyond representation, but as site of appropriation that allows for a practice of the self. A practice that is dynamic and mutable as well as formal and productive. Foucault's "technologies of the self" gives me a way to think about objects as a means of creating the self, where the self is not being "discovered" but rather is emerging through practices. I move beyond Foucault by not only considering the role of the object itself as an objective fact but as a subjective experience that incorporates the phenomenological experience of that object. So, while the state object explicitly acts as an interface for the nation-state project and cultural identity in creating a sense of subjectivity, I take up the phenomenological thread and argue that there is no ontological split between subject and body such as Foucault would argue for. When nationalism is a nostalgic practice, such as found in Heimat and Heimweh, the body is less a site of discipline than it is immediately implicated in an

affective and immediate response. This process is a dynamic narrative, one that incorporates individual human agency as well as the way artifacts come attached with meanings and constitute subjectivity.

De Certeau (1988), in *Practices of Everyday Life* in his chapter "Walking in the City", pushes against systematized ways of knowing, in this case the city and its modern logic, through the phenomenological experience. DeCerteau celebrates the urban inhabitant's ability to move through a space and make new sense of it through "walking rhetorics" that like "ordinary language" sees the movement of people navigating a city as a source of stylistic choices beyond just walking. He says that style "involves a peculiar processing of the symbolic, while use refers to elements of a code. They intersect to form a style of use, a way of being and away of operating." (p. 100) What he asserts is that the logic of the city, its urban planning and edifices and official uses, are overturned or at least re-invented by every day uses. This is people making sense of themselves and their spaces despite top-down formal constraints invented by urban planners, city administrators and extensions of state power through structuring. While DeCerteau and Foucault were struggling with different problems, both offer ideas as to how people conceive of themselves within power structures that deliver constraining ideologies about who we are, and who we are in relation to constructs such as the city, madness, religion, and sexuality, to name a few. Foucault on the one hand accounts for a more or less instrumental order of knowledge that comes to hold power through historically constructed practices of subjectivity. DeCerteau, on the other hand, by incorporating the body into these official knowledges, the urban landscape, shows the

ongoing and individuated re-structuring of these knowledges because of everyday practices. My work moves between these perspectives. I am concerned with both the cultural DNA of objects and their layered meaning as well as the ways in which they work to produce subjective knowledge of the self when incorporated into everyday practices.

In other words, I am considering the ways in which public heritage objects mediate our relationship between an external order, such as the state and society, and us. We know from archeology alone that material culture is important to understanding social and political structures. Additionally, within material culture studies there is various and abundant literature on the role that material culture plays in informing and marking social identity (Chenoweth, Dant, Heidegger, Ingold, Marx, Miller, Sturken, etc). How, however, is this a process that is part of our subjective experience of who we are in relation to that social order? Objects decorate our environments, document the past, order our physical worlds and are sometimes used to interpret the past and even project into the future. “All objects are social agents in the limited sense that they *extend human action* and *mediate meanings* between human beings” and express “who” and “what we are” (Dant, 1999, pgs. 12-13). But they do not live in the limited confines of state imagination, but instead are taken up by the people in the banality of day-to-day meaning making.

In material culture produced by the state, both official and informal discursive formations come together in ways that manage public and private national memory. Thinking of, for example, the centrality of flags in protests or rallies, or in public events,

such as the start of games, that provide anchors for meaning making about the self, about the event and about the self in relation to the event. The flag, in my example, is a material manifestation of the nation-state. But it is not just an object packed with symbolic meaning, but rather it is also associated with memories layered in personal experiences of the flag. The object mediates cultural memories and personal narratives as much as it allows subjects to reflect on themselves in what the object symbolizes. So, when one views the flag there might be feelings of pride coupled with a sense of membership to a community of people and memories of past experiences. On the other hand, as in the case of the wife of a Swiss chef in Bern, who immigrated to Switzerland from Turkey, the Swiss flag had no positive appeal. For her it was a reminder of her outsider status. In either case the flag as a representation of the nation-state is viewed and experienced within a set of over-arching narratives and experiences. Our bodies are inserted and interpolated into the flag-produced narrative and we draw conclusions about ourselves (and others). State objects in public spaces produce places rich for opportunities to reflect on the self as subjects of nation-state that is politically and culturally unique, and personally relevant.

In my case study on the centrality of material object to political and personal identity, I have chosen state objects that commonly populate public spaces throughout larger urban areas of Switzerland, and are explicitly connecting to official or state narratives on Swissness. In particular, I have focused on objects found in Bern and the surrounding German speaking part of Switzerland. This is for several reasons. First, my fieldwork was primarily conducted on those areas in the interest of time and access.

Second, in the recent surge of “hot” nationalism in Switzerland, and the domination of the Zürich- centered populist Swiss People’s Party in Swiss politics, it is the German speaking part of Switzerland has been become the place from which Swiss political iconicity has been drawn into national relief. Lastly, I have chosen objects that while not directly “patriotic” (such as the national flag or the parliament building in Bern), are marked and preserved as “historic” or are prolific in kind throughout Switzerland because of their connection to the national founding mythology. It is their specific iterations (adornments, size, associated narratives, use, age, etc) that vary. The ubiquity of fountains and mountain lake steamships in not only their general visual aesthetic but also in their ongoing use value (and therefore their accessibility), means that people are drawn into a direct relationship with their materiality. In other words these are not objects set aside as tourist or historic monuments, though of course tourists are drawn to these objects as well, but rather are integrated into the daily ebb and flow of urban and rural life.

Just as objects have a documentary power they also possess an exclusionary power, and both are integral to understanding the role they play in constructing and narrating nationalism. This is especially true of the public object constituted as it is through official memory and then through and private memory and experience. These objects carry and mediate history in that they act as symbolic resources and by, in some cases, the virtue of their age. The state public objects, folded into official state narratives, are often considered as de facto proof of the history they represent. When state owned objects curate public environments so that they tell the story of the nation,

the components represented are can be made more immediate and meaningful to those for whom they are legible, as well as being more available for appropriation into personalized landscapes. In this way the objects become a means to access history as an official narrative and as a daily observable and lived phenomenon enters into the daily exercises that make up the private self. Public objects, such as explored in this chapter, are cultural property, cared for and erected within the domain of the state, and are part of a collection and preservation of an authentic domain of identity. At the same time, they are also state collections “tied up with nationalist politics, with restrictive law, and with contested encodings of past and future.” (Clifford, 1994, 259) These collections are sometimes completely ensconced within the purview of the state, such as the public urban fountains, while others, such as the steamship, are a mix of private ownership and public stewardship but are nonetheless officially considered as “heritage objects”. Discursive formations of nationality are not stable because the meaning and inflections made via these objects are drawn into a narrower field of nostalgic self-construction that presupposes nation-state subjectivity, or exclusion from that subjectivity. Objects are one of the key ways, drawn in by the values and hierarchies and cultural rules embedded in their materiality, in which people come to understand themselves as national subjects and as outsiders.

That official state objects are the keepers of Heimat as both a local place and a national space is evident in the governmental and civil structures used to uphold them as part of Swiss heritage. As I’ve said, this materiality is meaningful both to an individuated sense of self and as a nation-state subject as they allow for a “sort of

'gathering' around the self and the group – the assemblage of a material 'world', the marking-off of a subjective domain that is not 'other'." (Clifford, 1994, 259) The protection of objects in the landscape, as well as the landscape itself, is enshrined in what is called "Denkmalschutz" (monument protection) and "Heimatschutz" (Swiss Heritage protection), respectively. While I do not include architecture in this chapter, (because of their explicit relationship to landscape protection, so rather I include it in the chapter on landscape), they receive much of the same attention as do the state objects I focus on here. The protection of monuments, buildings and landscapes falls to the local, civil and federal authorities through a national framework of the "Natur und Heimatschutzgestz" or NHG (Nature and Heritage Protection Act). In fact, cantons and/or communes can apply for federal grants in the protection of monuments and buildings. So, while a larger realm of objects could personally be considered to make up features of Heimat (local streams, old hotels, farmhouses, etc), not all objects that mediate the past are *officially* Heimat features. Two primary distinctions of Heimat objects from other historical objects are their power of nostalgic signification in tying to the communal and national story. As objects of signification they allow us to tell stories about ourselves as historical beings connected to a local community and national body. They are part of an interpretive framework that nation-state subjects appropriate for meaning making. As objects of nostalgia they enter into a landscape of "longing" and are to act as techniques of the self as a national subject.

In the interests of a deeper exploration of state material culture, I only review two specific kinds of Heimat objects in depth: steamships and public fountains. While

what I am thinking about is applicable to things like the Wilhelm Tell monument in Altdorf, the nostalgic trams of Basel, symbolic sites such as the bear pits of Bern, Chateau Chillon (Castile Chillon on the shores of Lake Geneva) and even public gardens, such as the Rose Garden, in Bern. Objects, as markers of official state and public discursive formations, draw explicit attention to narratives of national identity and implicit affective dimensions of understandings of belonging by "hailing" our sense of locality and home. It is also these objects that become sites of interpolation for Swiss subjects. I've chosen public fountains maintained by Canton Bern in the city of Bern, and the steamship "*Blümlisalp*" located on Lake Thun in the Bernese Oberland, for their public availability, well-documented state narratives, their official location within state "protected cultural artifacts" and because of their regional iconicity. Additionally, these objects, in particular fountains, are ubiquitous to Switzerland. In other words, they are found in all the regions of Switzerland and, just as the objects here, many fall under "monument protection" or "Swiss heritage protection".

This chapter will 1) explore how people use material objects in order to "forge, assert, impose, transform and resist definitions of cultural citizenship and a shared national identity"[30] . (Wood, 2014, p. 273) 2) the role of nostalgia in linking the political

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[30] Unlike Margaret Ford's work however I will not be centering my discussion on how groups take up material culture as a means of imposing a primary view of a unified culture. Where she is taking up material culture as a tool for group cohesion around a singular national identity, I am taking up material culture as a tool of the self that extends a person's private identity into that of the nation-state through the experience of nostalgia, particularly Heimweh. Her work is relevant however in that she centers material culture in the experience of nationalism and her framing of objects as marking national identity.

with the personal, and 3) the material discursiveness of Switzerland and Swissness embedded in the object as a symbolic resource. This particular class of objects, state sanctioned, are also those objects that constitute a local Heimat by the dual way in which they mark the space as particular and national. This is part of the "spatial turn" just emerging in studies on Heimat, where Heimat is "a particular manifestation of place". While I focus on the more "conservative and regressive connotations of the concept" I am focusing on Heimat as more than just a space populated by objects, but as a project. What emerged in my fieldwork interviews was how Swiss citizens understand themselves as 1) national subjects through material objects because 2) of emotional belonging and attachment in towns, valleys and cantons.

It is important to note that some of these objects could rightly be considered in other chapters because the categories here do crossover (i.e. objects are found in landscapes and are part of those landscapes such as the landscapes considered in chapter three, in addition to the merging of public and private such as the public protection of privately owned buildings or sites of home, the objects considered in chapter 2). In analyzing the gigantic state heritage objects, I will consider where they can be found, who uses them, how they are used, and the object's perceived intersection with history as either a relic and/or (re)presentation of history and official memory. I will incorporate descriptive and historical analysis of the object, as well as provide instances of narratives and practices that help illustrate objects as discursive formations and practices of the self and citizenship. Material culture here will be seen as a site at which people make sense of a personal link with 1) national identity and 2) Heimat.

The activities and talk surrounding the objects presented here, as well as the objects themselves, enter a practice of preserving and documenting our connection to the past, aesthetically, practically and emotionally. The objects come with a history and then personal sense is made of those objects by experiencing their location, their texture, their smell, their sound and so forth. Objects as technologies of the self as a national subject, act as memory systems within the national project and are part of an emergent and ongoing relationship that puts our bodies, our sensorial selves, to work in mediating identity as an experience as much as it is an intellectual construal. The act of engaging with the public heritage objects is an act of longing This “work” can be as unconscious as it might be deliberate. We touch and are touched by the objects by virtue of their material presence and our experience of their presence. There is an understanding of what the state-derived object demands of us, and the references that can be made between ourselves and a larger narrative, by virtue of the object’s personal salience. These objects also have the power to bring the past into the present offering trans-temporality to the subject. Some places we are able to observe this phenomenon in Switzerland is in the presence of public fountains and steamship transportation. Here we find nostalgia and the social world intricately bound up in narratives of Swissness as produced through state material culture.

Heimat refracted through fountains, and steamships

Fountains as state nostalgia

The fountains found throughout Switzerland are a source of public water that commemorate, decorate, quench thirsts, act as a space for social interaction, offer

moral lessons, and serve as landmarks and, sometimes, as playgrounds. They are ubiquitous to the Swiss rural areas, as they are to urban centers. In fact, Zürich alone has over 1,200 such fountains and Bern, Switzerland's capital, is known as the "City of Fountains", eleven of which date back to medieval times. To get a sense of the presence of fountains as public objects, according to Herr Matthias Freiburnhaus, the technical water advisor (Technische Berater Wasser) from the Swiss Society of Gas and Water (Schweizer Verein Gas und Wasser, or SVGW) one only need look at the 2013 statistics. These statistics show approximately 21,400 public fountains exist throughout Switzerland[31]. While a splash fountain (such as the fountain located in the Parliament Square in front of the Federal Parliament building – see image 1) invites a deliberately interactive play approach or a source for quiet repose, most public drinking fountains serve a variety of more mundane interactions ranging from being a source of aesthetic pleasure, as a place to stop and rest, as a social gathering point, as a means to slake thirst or to a place where one might even clean or wash up. The utility of these public fountains carries over to some extent, both in urban and rural places, to those located on private land. Signaling this wide use of fountains as public sources of water one can find, when the water is not potable, a sign on the fountain reading "non-potable" or "Kein Trinkwasser". Their availability and use, and signaling at times as not useful, highlights an implicit understanding of water as a public good. Access then, in the case of the fountains with non-potable water, is in not restricted but re-directed. These

[31] I interviewed Mr. Matthias Freiburghuas of the Swiss Society of Gas and Water on September 1, 2016.

public fountains are ubiquitous backdrops and foregrounds as people work, play, rest and travel. In each of the following cases the fountains serve as technologies for the national self by their uniform availability in Switzerland, and Heimat because of their unique features. Using fountains in this way is a reflective project that is “appropriated into social lives with a variety of non-economic effects; they are used and lived with” (Dant, 1999, p. 38). These objects reflect a nostalgia for an earlier, and utopic time and invite contemplation rather than scrutiny. Regardless of the outcome, the objects become touchstones for the narrative of the nation-state.

Image 2: Bern, Parliament House Fountain

Ranging from the grand Jet d’Eau in Lake Geneva, to the fountains located in the middle of town squares, in side streets and in courtyards, these water sources both fade

into the background by their common presence while simultaneously demanding attention as cultural artifacts and historical objects. Looking in any tourist pamphlet, at the Swiss Society for the Protection of Cultural Property's (Schweizerisch Gesellschaft für Kulturegüterschutz) website where material cultural goods are listed as protected, or reading about these objects on tourist web blogs, materiality that connects to the narrative of the nation-state emerges most readily as artifacts of "Swiss culture"[32]. Bern, for example, is marketed as the "City of Fountains". What is considered to be the oldest fountain, the Lenbrunnen, is only available via guided tour because it is housed in the basement of the state chancellery. However, despite their official flagging as a component of Swiss material culture, many of these fountains are mundane facts of public life as much as they are historical relics, cultural artifacts and tourist attractions.

In a radio broadcast (2011) on Swiss Radio and Television (SRF), "When Fountains Have a Story to Tell"[33] we find all of these elements present in reflecting on

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[32] According to the tourist offices of the following cities Zürich, has over 1,200 fountains, Bern has over 100 fountains, and the village Chur has around 20 fountains. While cities, towns and villages will often have a central fountain or a fountain of note, like the Jet d'Eau, there are many other, though far less spectacular fountains. I will be focusing on the more spectacular or "gigantic" fountain for the purposes of a clearer analysis, though I believe it is entirely possible to conduct an in depth analysis of any single fountain, spectacular or not, and show how it meaningfully intersects with personal mappings of Heimat and nation.

[33] The interview begins by offering a broad contextualization of Swiss fountains as ubiquitously located historical landmarks and narrows to discussing the fountain prize Malan is receiving for its central fountain. The interview discusses it is the village's efforts in maintaining their historical links to the past, by the way in which the fountain is looked after and preserved, and its ongoing social role. It is these qualities that brings about the awarding of the prize to Malan. The interview details not only the historical significance of fountains in general, but also of their current social and personal importance as seen in the case of this particular fountain in Malan. The radio broadcast

fountains located in Malan, Graubünden. Fountain historian Urs Kalberer of Malan in Graubünden is being interviewed because the annual fountain prize, awarded by the Ernst and Hanna Hauenstein Foundation[34], was awarded to Malan in 2010. That the prize recognizes historically and culturally significant fountains in Switzerland constitutes a self-conscious marking of this particular material culture as part of communal social life and national identity. In the radio interview, with the fountain water heard in the background, Kalberer directs the listener's attention to the cultural significance of fountains found in Swiss town as sites of social gathering where historically workers would meet up, where farmers would water their animals, or as a place where women in their daily chores would come to retrieve water. Kalberer also notes that in addition to the aesthetic appeal of both the look and the sound of the fountain, there is the desire to keep the fountains in their most original state. He notes, for example, the importance of keeping the wooden pipes that run from the underground springs to the fountains rather than switching to a more modern water

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can be found at this link (retrieved August 31, 2016): Bern, Historisch Brunnen. (n.d.). Retrieved August 31, 2016, from http://www.sgkgs.ch/de/Kulturgueter-1/Hist-Bauten--Baudenkmaeler/Bern/Bern-Historische-Brunnen

[34] The Ernst and Hanna Hauenstein Foundation every year rewards a municipality a check of Fr. 20,000 for their work in the preservation of local wells and fountains. The 1996 guideline set down by the foundation's board of trustees is as follows: "Promote the revitalization of the historical developed townscapes in Switzerland by inspiring communities to preserve and design fountains in keeping with their local surroundings" (Original Text: "Fördern der Belebung historisch gewachsener Ortsbilder in der Schweiz durch Anspornen der Gemeinden zum Erhalten und Gestalten von Brunnenanlagen samt ihrer näheren Umgebung". Retrieved on August 31, 2016 from: http://www.hauenstein-stiftung.ch/ziel-zweck/

delivery system. The fountain is able to mediate the past as meaningful by via physical properties that provide the townscape with a sense of trans-temporal stability.

The interview with Kalberer produces a narrative about fountains as both historical objects and as important to the contemporary social and cultural landscape. An individual sense making of Heimat is invoked because of aesthetic features (the sound of the water), the way in which they become embedded in daily routines of townspeople and their connection to a past that is made present. Heimat is marked, through this fountain, by its age, connection to local lore, and the way in which it helps map the village geographically. The interview of local residents in the radio broadcast reveals that residents feel invited to active engagement with the fountain because it serves as a central point of contact for town events as well as providing a practical source of water. One interviewee talks about how it is important to her because it is there she is able to fill up her watering can and also stop and talk with others who are using the fountain. This practice she talks merges with Kalberer's narrative together that fountains have served Swiss as historical social gathering places. A practice of belonging emerges based on the ways in which people are invested in the features of the fountain as well as the ways in which it is practically useful. The fountain becomes a technology to remember the past as well as act in self-interest (quenching one's thirst, filling a watering can, as a meeting point with friends, etc.).

Fountains such as the officially cared for public fountain in Malan, act as placeholders of "Swissness" because not only are they ubiquitous to the urban and townscapes found throughout Switzerland, but because they become monuments to a

public past. By virtue of their age, dates often etched into their surfaces, accessible locations and their place within official and widely circulated historical narratives they both hold meaning and become places to make meanings. They become sites of nostalgia for Heimat because of the ways in which they document a passage of time in a shared public memory, as well as the ways in which they are informally engaged and enter into personal memory scapes. Interestingly this public fountain works on two historical registers. One is accounting for a very local sense of material culture belonging to people living in Graubünden while simultaneously maintaining the connection to a larger Swissness because, as mentioned earlier, of the presence of such fountains throughout Switzerland. Because such a fountain is a site of activities ranging from ceremonies to children's games, fetching water, filling water bottles, gathering points, and so forth this historical relic refuses the dust of history and instead enters the practices of everyday life relevant to a sense of sociality and self as a historical connected Swiss subject.

Who uses these fountains? To some degree this question can only be answered by the kind of fountain in question. Some of these are deliberate aesthetic and cultural artifacts (monuments) and some are built into the landscape as a matter of course for practical public use. Some emerge as a confluence of these features, like the fountain in the interview above. Interestingly fountains throughout Switzerland are primarily publicly accessible whether a monument or located on the side of one's home. In other words, fountains merge the private with the public, the personal and the social. This is a key feature of Swiss nationalism. In urban areas such as Bern and Zürich the fountains

are located in courtyards, piazzas and alongside buildings and are generally available to the public (unless they are under construction). It is highly unusual to find rules posted next to the fountains, even ones that are replicas or actually date back to the medieval era, regarding their use, except to declare, “Kein Trinkwasser”. We can thus say that fountains that are featured as historical remnants, such as the one in Malan, Graubünden, are both monuments to the past even as they are widely available for public use.

Practicing belonging here is a deliberate interaction with fountains that highlights the way in which objects work as technologies to access stories about identity. While the fountain in Malan is primarily accessing identity of a locality, other fountains act as markers of both a local Heimat and a larger, national identity. This is especially true of the famous urban centers such as Geneva and Bern. In walking through Bern, you encounter three iconic fountains that stand in as examples as technologies for practicing belonging relating to the national narrative of Switzerland: the fountain in front of the Federal Parliament (Bundeshaus) in Bern (image two above), the fountain in front of city hall, the Lischetti Fountain and the Kindlifresserbrunnen (Child Eater Fountain). While the fountain in front of the Bundeshaus and the Lischetti Fountain are examples of fountains in Bern that are built as utopic representations of Swiss democracy, the Kinderfresserbrunnen is an example of a technology of self that most closely could be linked with Foucault’s idea of ethics as a technology of the self in that it relates to a morality tale of discipline of the social and personal self. These fountains are sites of social interaction, they provide the practical function of delivering

fresh water to the public and social and cultural signification that produces knowledge about the social world in which they occur. In addition to linking to the larger national story, these fountains are also famous landmarks of the Berner Heimat and help negotiate mapping the city when giving or receiving directions.

Given their age and relatively well known presence in Bern, I will briefly trace the histories of these fountains, and the some of the ways in which they are encountered and used in their urban spaces. Throughout I will provide descriptive details in keeping with an interpretive practice of giving meaning to raw data, and to engage the historical and cultural details found within the objects that provide one way to understand their social and political legibility in producing "Heimat" as both local and national. The descriptions below are from my fieldwork in Switzerland in the summers of 2012 and 2014. It is important to mention that while I am considering "fountains" as objects, they are located within landscapes and that at times, it is imperative to include landscape as part of the analysis, even if landscape is not the focus in this chapter.

Platz als Platz

In image one above we see the fountain in the parliamentary square in front of the Federal Parliament in Bern, Switzerland. The fountain has been in place since August 1, 2004, as a result of a competition in 1991 to re-design the area in front of the Federal Parliament. 1991 was also marked nationally as the 700th year of the Swiss Confederation and locally as the 800th year of Bern (officially celebrated founding dates of 1291 and 1191 respectively). The "Platz als Platz" ("space as place") design, by Swiss architect Stephan Mundwiler, replaced a parking lot that had been in the area for

approximately 100 years and was intended to not only update the plaza, but also symbolize a unified "Swissness". The splash fountain design features stone from the Alps in Grisons (Graubünden) and 26 individual fountains jets embedded in the ground representing the 26 cantons[35]. The fountain foregrounds the Bundeshaus (Federal Parliament) and is placed in a large plaza surrounded by older, imposing buildings on all sides. The sounds in the plaza (traffic and human voices) enter from all sides as well as emanating from the center. The water spouts splashing at different rates and volumes are visible from many angles both in the plaza, from the surrounding buildings and cars passing nearby. In the evenings in-ground lighting illuminates the 26 fountain jets.

Upon encountering the fountain during the summer months, one will immediately notice the scores of individuals, families and children in and surrounding the area actively engaging with the fountain or lounging in its presence. The spouts of water shooting from the jets embedded in the stone ground in varying heights and times. There is rumor of choreography to the 26 jets, but this is indiscernible to the naked eye. The effect is one of random synchronicity that produces a dance of water that is both consistent and yet spontaneous. People can be found in bathing suits, especially children, taking advantage of the cooling splashes of water in the summertime. The plaza is a large space open to foot traffic consisting of a regular flow of passersby who do not always interface with the fountain directly. Politicians moving

[35] In my November 28, 2014 telephone interview with Mundwiler he explained that the design of the fountain was such that it should include a way of representing the Swiss nation. He accomplished this by including the stone from the Alps (which was also a practical and aesthetic choice) and using the jets to symbolize all of the cantons.

in and out of the Bundeshaus, when the government is in session, are also a common sight. It is in fact not unusual to see the more famous members of the Presidential Cabinet. I've passed by this fountain and observed it on numerous occasions, however I stopped more deliberately on, Wednesday, June 25, 2014, to think about how people encounter this fountain here in front of the Bundeshaus.

The expanded field notes from that day are as follows. The day, rather cool, perhaps around 70 degrees isn't preventing people from taking advantage of the sun's rays, and sunbathing on the stone in the surrounding plaza however the area is not as crowded as it normally is. Likely because it is the middle of the week and so at most there are 5 or 6 people actively in the fountain with one or two people, including myself, in the area immediately around the fountain. There is a kind of intimacy to this experience because of this. In the middle of Bern, and you virtually have the fountain to yourself. On hotter days, especially on weekends, the fountain and the immediate vicinity can become quite crowded with sunbathers, picnickers and people playing in the spray. On this day 2 children, lean down over a jet that is "silent" for the moment, a man and a young girl of about 5 or 6, walk among the fountains spraying around them and on the edges of the fountain area a young woman strolls looking down intently at the ground. Others, people move across the plaza without stopping, or those entering and leaving the Bundeshaus, presumably government employees, pay less attention to the fountain's presence. The scene playing out before me is quite different than the one in the winter, when the water jets go quiet and a skating rink occupies the area, or at other times when political protests are being staged. The object of the fountain

occupies a malleable space, as was the intent of the design, open to many possibilities: play, contemplation, occupation for voicing political concerns, as a meeting point and as an aesthetic center. It is both a political space and personal place.

The plaza, or piazza, with the fountains was originally conceived as being an open and neutral space for the public according to Stephan Mundwiler[36], the architect for the piazza. He imagined the design as something that would create a space that was large and free of any objects (in fact the jets were a later addition) so that people could gather to protest, to relax or engage in public events or festivals orchestrated by the government or other institutions. The idea was to symbolically represent the neutrality and accessibility of the Swiss government to the citizens of Switzerland via the openness of the plaza located at the doors of the Federal Parliament. Just as the title of the design indicates, “Platz als Platz” or “Space as Place”, space is turned into a recognizable and habitable grid on the map. The fountain has created a place out of a space is the result of a state sponsored design contest as well as the narrative about Swiss democracy through which Mundwiler was working, but this becomes part of organizing the political and social life of the public. This is evident not only in the explicit components of the design itself but also in the fountain’s building.

During the construction of the Platz als Platz fountain, an excavation was done of the site by archeologists to preserve any possible evidence of historical settlements in the area. The site for Mundweiler’s fountain revealed historical foundations dating back

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[36] I interviewed Stephen Mundweiler, via telephone, on November 28, 2014.

to medieval Bern. Some of what was uncovered was the old sewage canal that ran through Bern and the city's old protective walls[37]. Layers were identified, named and numbered and before the stone of the fountain could be laid over the site, the area was preserved. An extensively documented process shows that special encasings were made protect the various archeological layers. There was also incorporated into the new design the older purpose of creating a site for public gatherings, such as an open air market twice a week. People gather here by virtue of its central design, the unique features of the fountain as interactive and its public accessibility. Its location as well as the materiality that is incorporated into the design, underscores a utopic representation of Swiss governance, politics and unity.

How does the Platz als Platz fountain work to produce a sense of both nostalgia and historical belonging to those identifying as both Bernese and Swiss? How is the national made personal here? Place in Heimat is clearly then more than just a sum of geographical data. Place is the materialization of utopia (De Certeau) in urban designs in a geographical space and it is the ability to elide notions of time. So, while space is the geography and location, place is the coming together of its material expression. Place is also where "imagination, social practice and material orders can be used for political pedagogy" (Mukerji, 2012, p. 509). The fountain is the object that becomes part of the

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[37] This can be seen in the book on the project called "Bundesplatz: Neugestaltung Bundesplatz in Bern 2004" (2004). There were only 8000 printings of this publication however it is possible to gain access to a copy through the city archives and the library at the University of Bern.

material ordering of the space that "teaches" Swiss subject-hood as embedded in historical symbolism and material fact.

As we move into and through the plaza we experience the effect of the deliberately designed utopia, underfoot and surrounding the area, however we decide to interact. It is a large and open area. The fountain is placed so we are at the center of 19th Century buildings that date to the political founding of Switzerland. If we play in the fountain spouts coming up out of the ground, we do so directly in front of the imposing and "serious" structure of the parliamentary building. The newness of the sleek plaza offers direct contrast to the older architecture and yet continuity with official renderings of the national mythos surrounding democracy, a thriving civil society and multiculturalism. This trans-temporal relationship that the plaza invokes knits together the past and the present as belonging to the universal Swiss citizen, the individual passerby and lingerer. The formal structures of the 200-year-old buildings, these well-kept edifices, are no longer out of reach but become the foundation for the legible symbolism of the plaza.

The plaza's design has been created, through the designer and the state-supported act of building the fountain, as well as being "re-created" through the daily, myriad of ways in which people interact with it. The inaccessible national center is publically accessible and personal site of recreation. The space is made a place through its physical manifestation that deliberately engages our senses through the sound of water, the sight of the fountain spouts and the open area surrounded by antique architecture. It is also made a place by its deliberate incorporation of symbolic meaning.

It becomes a place of Heimat in the way that produces trans-temporatlity, locality and inimacy. The old and the new come together here. The buildings and the framework of open public spaces evoke nostalgia and yet the fountain itself is modern as evident through its technology and its contrast in age to the older surroundings. Nostalgia is enhanced by the intimacy of experiencing the place. Of course, there are limits in how we can interact with the fountain. We don't have the ability to turn it off, we cannot change the ways in which the fountain plaza operates mechanically, and if we spray paint the stone in the area there will be legal consequences and so forth. The fountain also "covers" up the parking lot that earlier was there and the older foundations of the medieval Bern. This covering up is also part of Heimat. Forgetting the utilitarian nature of the earlier parking lot while remembering the old city.

The practice of belonging in the Bundeshaus fountain is both symbolic, by virtue of the location and history of the fountain, and cultural. Nostalgia here is both a turning back and an orientation towards the future. Nostalgia is usually considered a turning back that is a longing for home and a kind of temporal experience, but through practices of belonging happening in the here and now we create a bridge between ourselves and the material history in front of us. The fountain that we interact with, in this case, is supposed to reminds us, by virtue not only of its aesthetics and location, but of the possibility of social practices built into its design, of a particular kind of belonging that is historical and personal. Just as with the Mukerji's gardens of Versailles, the design of the fountain has a mute and yet political pedagogy and become a means of "learning culture". This learning is visceral in that we can make personal use of the state-

determined space. There is also “productive nostalgia”, a nostalgia that is oriented towards the here and now, and the future. (Blunt, 2003, p. 717). By interacting with the fountain is to engage in a fantasy of political accessibility by replicating an object that is culturally salient, in this case a fountain. The modern iteration of the fountain produces nostalgia for the old by engaging continuity in a Swiss cultural domain (fountains) as still historically relevant. The object cannot be seen apart from its placement in front of the Bundeshaus, the seat of national governance, nor the other historical and iconic buildings surrounding the plaza: Café Federal, the National Bank of Switzerland, and the Bernese Canton Bank.

Through a “walking rhetorics” the Bundesplatz fountain intersects at the point of politics, sociality and national nostalgia. While “walking rhetorics” usually refers to the process of encoding, decolonizing and inhabiting an urban landscape outside of its intended design, it is useful here in terms of thinking about how we come to construct knowledge about ourselves as we undergo an experience with the external world as filled with object sites designed to interpolate, or “call out” to us in an affective way. We move through urban spaces at the ground level and we interact with objects embedded in these urban spaces in particular when we are pedestrians. Standing near the fountain there is really no “front”, it is a fountain that, open on all sides and at ground level, is accessible to pedestrian traffic. The space is an invitation to play within the highly conceptualized terrain of the nation-state. It is, in effect, a kind of public playground opening up interaction to move beyond and within networks of human relationships in specific ways. Not that these interactions are entirely disciplined by Mundweiler’s

symbolic intentions, but that reflection as an aspect of the nostalgic intervention inherent to the fountain's design, is encouraged.

Platz als Platz is a kind of recreation of the medieval town center, which would have been located exactly where the Bundesuas fountain is today. As an object it "takes up" historical meaning both in its design but then again in the ways in which people incorporate it into their social practices. In fact, I would like to take up Svetlana's Boym's restorative nostalgia and the "off-modern" here, in thinking about nostalgia as both a revival of the past as well as a critique of the modern. Restorative nostalgia is that nostalgia that doesn't only involve the moments held within memory, but also the symbols associated with that past. It is a nostalgia of restoration and revival that "reconstructs emblems and rituals of home and homeland in an attempt to conquer and specialize time…Restorative nostalgia takes itself dead seriously". This kind of nostalgia Boym notes is part of national revivals. This is striking when considering the how and when it is the fountain (and the plaza) were created.

The design was picked out of a contest of designs for the plaza on August 1, 1991, in time for the celebration of Switzerland's 700th year. In addition, the design was finally implemented in 2004, also on August 1st. Interestingly it is also during this time that the Swiss People's Party (SVP) was gaining in popularity under the guidance of Christoph Blocher. "The object can never revive the experience, it can only evoke or rekindle the memory of an event or experience" (Benson, 2001, chap 1, para. 33). The Platz als Platz fountain evokes a particular iteration of Swissness that is at the heart of German speaking Switzerland, though it is also the capital of the nation. As the 1990s

advanced and the rise of the SVP catapulted, this kind of restorative nostalgia would become increasingly prevalent. The fountain is part of a historical moment in Switzerland where a longing for "Heimat" is politicized by the SVP however, it is also part of a history of social practices where objects of "Swissness" become artifacts that are techniques of the self to produce an identity as related to national belonging. The Platz als Platz fountain is a symbol of the larger Swiss Heimat and the local Heimat of Bern.

Ultimately Mundwiler's design was taken up by politicians as echoing not only culturally salient expressions of Swiss democratic participation, but also as echoing the narrative of Swiss origins, starting in 1291, at the Rütli meadow[38]. While modern Swiss historians contest the veracity of the Rütli story, it is nonetheless taken up annually by politicians and the public alike, throughout the summer in the yearly staging of Schiler's *Wilhelm Tell* in Interlaken, and on August 1st, Switzerland's independence day, when the meadow becomes crowded with celebrants and speech makers. In 2004, the year the Platz als Platz fountain was inaugurated, then President Joseph Deiss in fact called it the

[38] The Rütli narrative is the founding legend for Switzerland. The story claims that 1291 3 representatives from the respective areas of Unterwalden, Uri and Schwyz came together to swear an oath that they would protect each other from the threat of the Hapsburgs. The legend of Wilhelm Tell merges with this story, largely due to Schiller's play Wilhelm Tell, written in 1804. It is this work that famously chronicles Tell's resistance to Hansberger rule by defying and, later, assassinating Governor Gessler. This Rütli meadow myth is the basis for the August 1st celebration date, a date that has only been officially recognized since 1994. The myth itself also has a relatively short official political history, primarily gaining traction in World War II when General Guisan, the general of the Swiss military, in 1940 gathered his top officials at this very meadow and gave a speech declaring resistance to any attempt by the Nazis to invade. The meadow is accessible by boat from the nearby towns of Brunnen or Flüelen.

Rütli of the 21st Century. It is easy to see how the fountain plaza echoes the historical narrative of the Rütli on a number of levels. It is open to the public, it is centrally located to the local, it is devoid of any monuments, water is an important feature and it is located at a geographical juncture that is both political and historical. Mundweiler, though having created a design pregnant with national symbolism having to do with neutrality, democracy and transparent governance, admitted to me that he did not in fact make this connection himself. Since the design's inauguration however, the sense of it as a gathering place for Swiss as a politically and socially connected place has continued, and the narrative remains that it is the second Rütli. In my interview with Mundweiler he explicitly refutes having had this in mind, which makes it all the more interesting that this Rütli narrative has been integrated into and, in some ways, supersede the plaza's original conceptual design.

Like the reflecting pool in Washington D.C. in the Washington Mall in the US, the fountain of the Bundesplatz has built into its conceptual design political ideals. These conceptual designs are then transformed into the built environment of the lived world and materially expressed. In the case of the fountain in Bern, the 26 jets are there, according to Mundwiler, for the politicians to remember that they receive their authority from the 26 cantons they represent. Additionally, according to Mundweiler, the Vals Granite, from the Valser Valley in Graubünden, the stone used in the plaza, served a threefold purpose: the aesthetic and practical considerations of the stone itself and its symbolic weight as representing in particular Canton Graubünden, because that

canton is not represented inside of the Bundeshaus[39]. In addition, the Vals Granite is renowned for its heightened beauty when in wet by the way in which it "reflects" color. In its use in the plaza it reflects the color of the surrounding buildings. Both are a green-gray color. The overall effect is meditative.

The most obvious feature of the fountain, and the plaza in which it is located, is that it is open to public use. It is designed as a public space and the site of national imagining. This is achieved not only in the open plaza design but also by virtue of its freedom from commercial enterprise, which is also true of the Rütli, as well- known as it is in Switzerland. According to Stephan Mundwiler, the idea was to allow people to use the place in an infinite number of ways so that people felt as if the cite in front of the center of state governance belonged to them. In other words, according to the designer an inherent part of the design was to enable possibilities of social practices that would inform both people's relationship to the state as well as an opportunity to reflect on the state's relationship to them. Much as the Rütli meadow in Canton Uri functions as a public space, rather than disciplined by commercial or capital enterprise, it functions as a *place* of social practices that are physically and materially engaging both personal narratives and the narrative of the national imagination. And while this place has a sense of openness, it becomes obvious that it is a technical object of the state. It is highly administered, from the initial design contest, to the design process and on through to its dedication ceremony and finally in its everyday function. In the fountain's

[39] The apex of the dome of the Bundeshaus has incorporated into its stain glass design the flags of the cantons. Graubünden is not represented.

inaugural ceremony of August 1st 2004, National Council President Max Binder told the listening crowd that the new design placed emphasis on the hidden symbolism of the plaza. It is this hidden symbolism that provides a framework of nostalgia about Swissness that combines the contemporary fountain, the older buildings in the immediate vicinity and a public plaza in the town's medieval center.

The Lischetti Fountain

Like the Platz als Platz fountain, the Lischetti fountain is a more recently built fountain. It was designed by Carlo Lischetti in 1992, a year after the Platz als Platz fountain was implemented and realized, in honor of the 800th "birthday" of Bern (founding date is said to be 1191, 100 years prior to the officially celebrated date for Switzerland, 1291). Unlike the Platz als Platz fountain however, the Carlo Lischetti's work was designed in order to question and provoke conservative elements in the Swiss government. This fountain fits well into Stewart's (2005) explanation of the two-faced nature of the giant object. The fountain operates on two registers, one that is vernacular, secular, profane and local, and the other as the "symbol of the institutions of centralized state religion (p. 81). There is no attempt at "neutrality" or providing a utopian urbanized ethos, the sacred and the profane merge in the fountain's design. Yet, just as with the Platz als Platz, "emptiness" is an important aspect of the fountain's design. The idea behind the fountain was to topple the "figure" found in most fountains and is called "the no figure fountain" and this is done so by leaving the area where the figure would be, empty (Bucher, 2010, para. 2). A staircase leading to the top of the fountain reaches an empty landing where anybody may stand. The "figure" of the

Lischettis fountain then symbolically changes as people climb the staircase to the landing and then once again climb down to be replaced by other people. Despite its criticism of valorizing cultural myths and figures, like Mundwiler's design, the Lischetti folds into its symbolic register the utopian idea of responsive democracy. This fountain, after all, is a place where anybody can come to speak. There is an ironic twist however as the fountain is located in a somewhat empty alley, that while with enough open area to accommodate spectators, is out of the way from the main hustle and bustle of Bern and the Bundeshaus. Both fountain designs however are encoded with messages about the past, present and future of Switzerland's, in particular Bern's, political landscape.

Where the *Platz als Platz* design can be seen as echoing a nostalgia for a peasant past that saw the founding of a democratic nation on the scenic rural meadow of the Rütli, the Lischetti fountain complicates this narrative. The fountain interrupts the usual morality tale of the Swiss heritage of direct democracy by reminding the viewer that despite the features of such a democracy (i.e. voting and open structures of participation), there remains in Bern an inaccessibility, as well as a kind of provincial and static quality. The emptiness of the scaffold, except for the photo opportunities taken up by locals and tourists, is a testament to the Lishetti's words, "The past catches up with us. The future drags us forward. The present shapes us from every direction" (Bucher, 2010, para. 6). The lack of a monument within the fountain's design opens the present to a dismantling of earlier configurations of Swiss mythology. There is no Tell, there is no Rütli and there is no pure ideal. Heimat here becomes marked by the materiality of the fountain, by its presence and by the way unique way it shapes the

movement and use of the space around it, but the nostalgia is more bitter than sweet. Heimat is neither part of a restorative nor reflective pedagogy, but is rather about the way the fountain landscapes Bern with its particularity.

The critique inherent in the design of the fountain was not lost on the public. In 1992, the year the fountain was erected, a committee called “Take care of Bern” took a stance against the fountain, but unlike other Lischetti projects that conservatives rallied against, this work was finally erected (Cassens-Stoain, 2012). Interestingly, even though Carlo Lischetti is remembered as a controversial artist, and the fountain’s inherent design as a critique of Swiss, and in particular Bern’s, politics, it has nonetheless been re-incorporated into narratives about Swiss democracy as accessible and open where anybody can be a “fountain figure”. Nostalgia about Swissness began to transform the emptiness of that platform. We see this even in articles and public statements of the fountain that articulate the fountain’s auspices as a site of political performance against conservative Bernese elements. The “Der Bund” article of the Lischetti fountain rhapsodizes on the fountain’s accessibility and “The Art Cellar” in Bern on its webpage states “Anybody and everybody can climb up and declare loudly what he thinks” and then asks if perhaps Carlos didn’t utilize this fountain enough himself (retrieved from http://www.kunstkellerbern.ch/, section May 26, 2012). Moving between the criticisms inherent in Lischetti’s work regarding the state of German-Swiss politics in Bern as inaccessible and stubbornly bogged down, to a system of transparent democracy, the fountain’s unique appearance is open for interpretation and use.

The archived “100X Bern Alive!” publication (2011) from the municipal council of the city of Bern’s Abteilung Stadt Enwtwicklung (city development office), shows clearly that the Lischetti Fountain, has been re-interpreted within the Swiss democracy narrative, described as a place where “anybody can take a stand”, emphasizing the benches in the area for an attentive audience. The picture included celebrates the Lischetti Fountain as one of 100 greatest things to do and see in Bern. Included in the article is an image of two men, one adorned in the Swiss flag and the other wearing a shirt with the Swiss flag, standing atop and near the fountain in what appears to be a gesture that aligns with a sense of national pride. And yet, experiencing the fountain in person, we are left wondering what it is we are supposed to understand about Bern, and ourselves as we insert our actual bodies into the fountain’s presence and/or structure, if in fact we are supposed to understand anything.

The Lischetti fountain is clearly a work of art playing on the age-old theme of the Swiss fountain. These fountains make up the larger Swiss Heimat and the local Heimat because of their practicality. Like the other uniquely designed fountains of found throughout Switzerland it functions as a source of water. Additionally, like the Jet d’Eau in Geneva and the Platz als Platz, the design it is at once playful and austere. There is something both familiar and strange about the Lischetti fountain. The fountain becomes a tool to imagine how the landscape of the city works and one’s relationship to the city and the people in that city. It is a place where people can gather at a focal point and yet, located as it is in an old alley in the medieval part of Bern, the aesthetic is localized. What ties the Platz als Platz and the Lischetti is a sense of emptiness. Whereas the

emptiness in the Platz als Platz design resembles the features of a large plaza, the emptiness of the Lischetti fountain is confusing. Why is there no monument? Where does the staircase lead? What does it mean? The story of the fountain, and the process of its design and implementation, weaves through the landscape, through the way in which it is used and conceptualizations of Bern and the nation of Switzerland.

And yet, the fountain itself comes with its own sets of “specialities” not only because of the ideas embedded in the design, but in the way in which these fountains intersect with historical moments. In the year of 1991 celebrations throughout Switzerland mark this year as the 700th anniversary of the nation’s foundation. This, despite the fact that 1848 is in fact the creation of the modern Swiss nation-state, and that the year of 1291 is disputed as historically accurate. Nonetheless, this narrative of 1291 stands and if nothing else says more about the broader cultural and political claim of antiquity as part of Swiss identity. Then in 1992 we also see the beginnings of the meteoric rise of Christoph Blocher, Switzerland’s most famous right wing politician as well as the rejection by Swiss voters in December of that year to join the EEA. The problem we encounter deCerteau’s utopic understanding of “official narratives” as clean cross cutting positions of power embedded in the material forgets that the material itself is a historically embedded fact. The Platz als Platz fountain was erected in time for the 1991 anniversary celebrations and the Lischettis fountain, born of an artist critical of Swiss politics, is erected the very year Switzerland rejects the EEU. The result than is that the pedestrian experience of the fountains do not merely “overflow” the speciality they carry, but also merge with and against them. These two fountains then act as sites

of nostalgia about the Swiss state both in the ways in which their forms are interpreted and presented, but also emerge as sites of creativity where people are brought into an interpretive modality about how they wish to proceed and then, as the fountain enters sensational and actual memory, how they are interpreted and remembered.

In both the Lischetti fountain and the Platz als Platz interactive "play" fountain, we are invited to insert ourselves into the features of the familiar – publicly available sources of water found in any Swiss urban and rural space. We become "tourists of history" in that we peruse the remarkable space of the fountain as a place of significance that reflects on who we are, but here the effect is one of non-economic value[40]. We are brought to the fountains in our casual daily meanderings and deliberate explorations just as the fountains are brought to us born out of the political-historical moment of the early 1990s in Bern and in Switzerland with the rise of right wing populism and rejection of the European Economic Union (EEU) and the celebration of the 700th anniversary of the Swiss state. Walking around and by these fountains deploys a rhetoric that pushes against and embeds the pedestrian within the official narratives of the fountain and, by proxy, the nation-state. The banal footsteps that we don't think about, but that move us around and past the fountain "overflows speciality" of the formal fountain (deCerteau, 1984, p. 4). For example, when climbing the metal steps to the platform on the Lischetti Fountain, do we assert ourselves as a "figure" or as

[40] In Tourists of History (2007), by Marita Sturken, the link between national mourning and consumerism is explored. Being a tourist in Sturken's conception is linked directly to the economic implications of tourism. I am uncoupling that link here as a way to emphasize the shallow reading of history through sites of nostalgia

audience member watching the pedestrians or street scene below? In this case what we can find on the official documents and discourses of the fountains is overshadowed by their daily uses. The fountains become places to meet, or cites of productive work or perhaps casually mark a memory attached to some experience near or with that fountain.

Kinderfresser or "Chindlifresser" Fountain (Fountain of the Child Eater)

As a child I stood in awe of this fountain. I remember my parents telling me that if children misbehaved the "Chindlifresser" would eat them[41]. A medieval fountain, dating back nearly 600 years, the Chindlifresser is perhaps one of Bern's most famous fountains, located in the Kornhausplatz. It is one of 11 historic fountains located in Old Town Bern. The fountain has as its monument an ogre eating a baby while carrying more crying babies in its arms and a sack slung over its shoulder, towering above a base where figures of armed bears dressed as knights wear the banner associated with the Swiss state (white crosses on a red background). The red geraniums located just above

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[41] According to the Chindlifresserbrunen (Kindlifresserbrunnen) or the "child eater fountain", was created in approximately 1546 by Hans Gieng. The fountain is thought to have arisen out of the conceptualization of the deity Saturn, a god that was often depicted as eating children. The relationship between Saturn as the "god of the Jews" can be traced to a woodcut in 1492 by Peter Wagner that depicted a Jewish man eating a child, with another in hand. This anti-Semitic propaganda was familiar to European of the Middle Ages, where rumors swirled around the Jewish community was stealing Christian children to eat their blood. It is likely then that the statue is an outgrowth of the combination of the Saturn myth bound together with anti-Semitic ideologies. (Zafran, 1979) The purpose of the fountain, a kind of public morality tale, was to frighten children so that they don't disobey or venture away from the folds of their families. The practice of using the Chindlifresser (child eater) as a morality tale in order to discipline children surrounds the lore of the fountain but is one that has no real beginning, no date, even as it is a commonly known narrative. (Green, 2014, p. 46)

the water and below the fountains in the summer months, do not lesson, but emphasize, the ferocity and bizarre spectacle of the ogre at the center devouring screaming babies. There are a variety of explanations for the theme of this fountain ranging from the Ogre representing a Jew (based on the shape of the triangular hat the ogre wears, a hat that Jewish men from that period were forced to wear) eating children in order to incense feelings against these residents in the city, as a warning to children to beware of running away from home, or is thought to represent Schmutzli (or Père Fouettard in the French part of Switzerland), a figure thought to punish disobedient children during the Christmas season. It is the first theory however, that has received the widest speculation and the fountain's erection date coincides with a period of virulent anti-Semitism in Switzerland and larger Europe. Swiss Jews were expelled from areas throughout Switzerland, specifically in Bern in 1408 and 1427. (Baron, 1965, p. 16)

The various interpretations that can be brought to bear on this fountain are tangled in the personal and social memory about ways to use, look at and reflect on the fountain, as well as inherent in the history of the fountain itself in relation to state practices of power. Given the representation of babies it is perhaps not unusual that the fountain is well known in its use by adults to mediate narratives of morality to children. In my case, there is not a single specific memory, but rather a social one in which knowledge of the fountain circulated and was spoken about with others, and in these re-tellings a personalized sense of the fountain's meaning emerges. I carried within me the lesson about the dire consequences of disobedience as that which could result in harm. The fountain was being used to mediate my behavior within a social and personal

context. The narrative of the ogre and the material manifestation of that narrative was transformed into a technology of the self. So, even as the fountain documents a connection to a past and the landscape of the city as sharing that past, it enters an interior web of meaning. According to Swiss author, Max Frisch, Heimat is that which is composed of objects from childhood and the way that objects mediate reflections on that childhood[42]. Here is it the child eating ogre then becomes part of that narrative. The fear we once entertained is laughable now, but the uniqueness of the fountain distinguishes this locality as a part of how we learned to behave and learned about who we are. The Chindlifresser operates as a technology of the self in relation to a larger social whole, part of the internal logic that shapes self-discipline based on a sense of being connected to a larger social whole. But it does not end here. The fountain, embedded as it is in personal and social memory, also serves to obfuscate the political memory found in its material embodiment.

The fountain is more than just a myth of a child-eating ogre. We see this in the material expression of the fountain as well as the context in which it was erected. The tri-fold hat and the time of the fountain's construction, the myth of blood-libel that circulated in that same era, as well as the actual expulsion of Jews during this time period from Switzerland, are all clues of an alternative and brutal history that, when remembered, denies or subverts longing and nostalgia. The statue seen in this light becomes evidence of the power localized ways of knowing have in creating

[42] Max Frisch, when accepting the Schiller Prize in 1974, reflected on Switzerland as home/homeland (Heimat).

mythologized histories that over-ride this other history. As we acquire knowledge of the history of the state and Bern's, and by extension Switzerland's, anti-Semitic past which included expulsion and murder of Jews, we are forced to re-examine the myth of the fountain and, by extension, its more colloquial lessons. Where before we might have related with other Swiss and laughed at our parent's attempt to turn us into "good Swiss children", the story turns on its head and instead becomes the hidden terror of the medieval state as well as a longer history of such terror. We are drawn into narratives about who we are, what the nation-state Switzerland is, and our stance in relation to those narratives and structures. History moves backwards and forward in this relationship to the object. The fountain is a "form of history" that "can account for the constitution of knowledges" about who we are in relation to what it represents (Foucault, 1980, p. 117). The fountain acts as a mediator of the past (the tradition of telling other children the same tale through multiple generations). It is transcendental and exceeds temporality, as much as it is material and static, because of the way the antiquated allegory of the ogre is used to discipline in the present.

Heimat is complicated in layers of personal and historical nostalgia that marks this object as a free-floating signifier for experiencing Swissness that forgets anti-Semitism. The complication here is the silenced function of the object as productive of state power and it is in this we find the politicized kernel of Heimat. Because, despite the statue's significance within a historical discursive framework of anti-Semitism in Switzerland, there remains the *experience* of the fountain in the domain of the personal and the efforts to maintain such experiences restoring us to our past as, in this case, an

transcendental cultural code of obedience. The fountain's fearsome features mediate ideas about publically available discourses on morality, as much as it stands in for a history of anti-Semitism, but the socially and personally derived meanings and memories are privileged over the original context. Morality becomes a public and social discourse, as much as a personal one, as the Chindlifresser's importance is appropriate within discussions of Bern as a "city of fountains" or the fountain as a cite of morality play, etc. Its physical imposition on our senses, the storytelling that occurs and that it measures time in a two-fold fashion: 1) the time frame of our knowing of the object and 2) the time frame the object represents (in this case a relic from the 1500s), situates the fountain within a scaffolding of longing.

We are complicit in silencing the fountain's ability to mediate a history of dislocation and of a nation-state with policies that resulted in the murder and expulsion of thousands of Jews. This is because "the antique as souvenir always bears the burden of nostalgia for experience impossibly distant in time: the experience of the family, the village, the firsthand community" (Stewart, 1993, p. 140). We do push against state embedded narrative here, a narrative that served a purpose for the "Old Regime", but in doing so in everyday practice the ordinary and the poetic merge. A state that draws from a history replete with worry over überfremdung (over foreignization) and the associated state apparatuses to keep such a "worry" in check, is a dichotomy from a discourse in which Switzerland is celebrated as "quaint" and has fountains that become part of a bland discussion of their historical importance. "The conservatism of everyday life arises from its emphasis upon convention, repetitions, and the necessity of

maintaining a predictable social reality" except in times of revolutionary change (Stewart, 1993, p. 18-19).

The fountains are texts beyond our experience of them. They are objects in and of themselves, and they are objects that make reference to the subject of Switzerland and Swissness. This "text", the fountain, is the concrete "realization of abstract forms of knowledge" (Martin & Wodak, 2003, p. 6). And yet as we personalize the experience of the Ogre as part of a personalized narrative of values or traditions, we over-write the alternative narrative that the Ogre was instead a warning to Christians about the fantasy of Jewish blood libel thus justifying their ill treatment. Nostalgia through objects embedded in state practices leave us in the gap between memory and history and we draw our own conclusions, but the experience of the fountain remains, and our interpretation we take with us, and pass on. So while the text is encoded with meaning steeped in the anti-Semitism of the Middle Ages the resultant decoding becomes layered in the personal experience of the aesthetic and folk culture narrative of the fountain. There is a public domain of knowledge about its meaning that emerges, or unfolds, over time, but this meaning is inherently a part of documenting a sense or aspect of a personalized Heimat. We relate to it in profoundly mundane ways (i.e. childhood memories) and map our place within these contingent co-founding ideas and memories. The material world attempts to officiate our place within the nation-state, a local landscape and Heimat becomes the memory of that physical and discursive experience. Heimat in this way is put into discussion with historical memory and these

objects help us tell and create narratives about ourselves, and our relationship to the world around us.

Steamships

If you wish to travel along the scenic landscapes of shores and Alpine waters, it is possible to climb aboard an old steamship that chugs along the green-blue surfaces of these lakes. These steamships can be found on all the major bodies of water throughout Switzerland[43]. Their slow progress and chugging-churning sound, their structures meticulously cared for and restored, seem to reach us from another time. Found on the edges of large cities and smaller metropolises, they attract crowds, and not just holiday goers or tourists, but families that are out for the day, school children on an excursion and people that opted for the ship instead of the inevitable bus route that takes the longer and often congested path around the lake's edge. These relics of a bygone era exist within the "temporality of everyday life" that are both about reverie and an instrumentality of modern movement. Each one of these steam ships has been meticulously restored to their 19th Century aesthetic, but are not static museum pieces removed from the flow of the present. Once aboard, one notices that the ships are impressively detailed. From the polished bells at their bows, to the varnished rails and gold leaf paint for edging, they are visual feasts. Their large paddles and antiquated design extend to us a bygone era before massive train and car transportation, but it is not their designs alone that tell a story. Their function is to "envelop the present within

[43] There are paddlewheel steamships on Lake Geneva, Lake Lucerne, Lake Thun, Lake Zürich, and Lake Brienz.

the past" and the past within the present (Stewart, 1993, p. 151). They do this within the structures of official state narratives by utilizing names from within the canon of Swiss history and mythology, by their incorporation into modern public transportation, there representation of the Belle Epoque[44], their official and revered status as protected cultural heritage objects. They become a way to navigate official national narratives as personal through the experience of the ship as a "living" historical artifact.

The *Schiller*, *La Suisse*, *Blümlisalp*, *Uri*, *Lötschberg*, *DS Zürich*, *Stadt Luzern*, *La Suisse, Stadt Rapperswil, Montreux, Rhone, Simplon, Vevey, Gallia*, *Savoie* and *Unterwalden*, are the 15 paddlewheel steamships found on Swiss lakes. On the website for the *Blümlisalp* advertising the 2015 winter season for the steamship, you are invited aboard the "nostalgic steamship". The *Blümlisalp* and other steamships embody a national social identity because of the way the ships stand in for an idealized national past that can be read as a time of technological innovation, growing internal transportation networks and technological innovation. The ships bear the names of local and national heroes, geographic landmarks and are associated with the locality within which they occur.

[44] The Belle Epoque commonly refers to the time after the end of the Franco-Prussian War in 1871, through to the start of World War I in 1914. The era is significantly tied to the city of Paris, though these years in Switzerland are also often referred to in this way. Coinciding with the industrial revolution, this era is often characterized as a time of peace, prosperity and technological innovation. Some of the most notable aspects that mediate this nostalgic view of that era is in the art, fashion, and objects from that time. (Wires, 1977p. 60-72)

The access people have to these steamships in an ordinary and everyday way reinforces the ways in which social identity is related to a golden past as well as local and national symbolic resources. The passenger who has a sense of belonging to the national narrative experiences themselves within a system of cultural objects that bring together official, personalized and biographical accounts. The oldest steamship, *Uri*, as well as *Stadt Luzern*, *Gallia*, *Unterwalden*, *Blümlisalp* and *Schiller* are officially "cultural goods with national meaning" and are listed by the Swiss government in their list of objects deemed as part of cultural heritage.[45] The names of these ships are important designations for landscape, especially Alps, (*Blümlisalp*), famous cities (*Stadt Luzern*), the nation-state itself (*La Suisse*), and Swiss historical myths (*Schiller – who wrote Whilelm Tell)*. These names act as signifiers for the local referents, referents that still populate Swiss historical and physical geography and come with their own histories. Additionally, as in the case of the *Blümlisalp that I document here*, these ships intersect with history as a personally meaningful construct.

The *Blümlisalp* I was always told, was "born" the year of my grandmother, Frieda Gerber, in 1906. Once it was restored it became a traditional excursion for our family to embark on the old "dampfer" (steamship) that makes its rounds on Lake Thun in the Bernese Oberland, as a form of embodied reminiscence. We were there, along with holiday goers and others merely trying to move between points on a map. It certainly is

[45] The following website offers the list I am referring to: http://www.bevoelkerungsschutz.admin.ch/internet/bs/fr/home/themen/kgs/kgs_inventar/a-objekte.parsys.000114.DownloadFile.tmp/lu2015.pdf.

the case that a number of passengers, Swiss and non-Swiss, located in the material aesthetic and technical expression of a salon steamship from the turn of the last century, felt captured by the age of the ship. My mother would reminisce about the first time she took her mother (Frida Gerber) on the ship because she had never experienced such an excursion, locked away as she was in the end of the small valley of Emmental with no transportation available except for by foot, or a cart pulled by the family's dairy cows (for some time our family had been too poor for horses, tractors and cars, though this changed over time). The nexus of both the ship's building year and my grandmother's birth year became a prism through which we viewed not only her own life as a child but as farmer's wife from a remote area. Her life was in dialogic relationship to an era that the ship represented, a time of peace and idyllic simplicity. After her death, the ship, still running, mediates our own lives in relation to both it and her. This process of connections traces how Heimat is formed.

The ship becomes of site of memory not only in the way it is "read" from shore as "historical", but also in the way it is experienced as personal. What is experienced here is both the scale of the ship as well as the imagined world of the ship. The way in which the ship is understood and perceived emerges from practices that directly relate the embodied experience of the ship and how it is this experience keeps us in touch with an ahistorical, heroic past. The experience is ahistorical in that, while touching back on a specific era, neglects to embed the object within other conflicting narratives of Switzerland of that time. Most especially relevant was the extreme poverty and mass emigration taking place, especially from inner Switzerland.

In the popular book "Scherbenhaufen: Fellers drittel Fall" (Haenni, 2011) the following passage from chapter 15, describes the experience of the *Blümlisalp* as a historical object reflecting on personal identity:

> The nostalgic two-deck salon steamship from the Belle era, is completely packed. After two ear penetrating blasts of the horn, the imposing boat punctually sets sail. In majestic serenity she glides through the canal in the direction of the lake. Most of the passengers already have their seats secured. On board one waits in happy anticipation. The round trip promises five hours of culinary diversity, views of chalets and villas, shore parties and a great deal of fresh lake air.

The boat here is romantically drawn as hearkening from another time and as a place where one can exist both in peace and in anticipation. The Belle Epoque is a dreamscape, embodied by the paddlewheel steamer, of rich nostalgic experience. The element of the lake air, in this description, moves beyond the experience of the boat ride itself and in fact informs the very health of the passangers. This nostalgic vision of immersing oneself experientially in a Swiss landscape, here via the object of the boat, as a way to breathe healthy air, is an age-old trope. The story of Heidi's adventure in Frankfurt is a famous literary example of this. In the story she ventures away from the alp where she lives with her grandfather, this time via a train, and travels to the unhealthy air of the urban center of Frankfurt, Germany far from the idyllic Alpine atmosphere. This, along with other urban aspects of her experience in Frankfurt results in a general physical malaise for the Swiss mountain girl.

Heimat is further captured by the way objects placed within, or are integrated into, the landscape and living memory of a place. *Blümlisalp* is named after the famous mountain in the Bernese Alps. On the conjoined Urnersee and Vierwaldstättersee (Lake

Lucerne) where the paddle steamers *Uri*, *Schiller*, *Stadt Luzern*, *Unterwalden* and *Gallia* ply the waters, the story of Wilhelm Tell and the founding of Switzerland is dramatically etched into the monuments and hiking paths of the area. On the Urnersee you pass the "Schiller rock", memorializing the German author who wrote his widely reproduced version of Wilhelm Tell. There is also the rock on which Tell is said to have been able to make his escape, after jumping from a boat, where he was being held by Gessler, during a storm on the Lake of Lucerne. The boat and the water and the surrounding Alps of the "urKantone" (ancient canton) are directly woven into the national mythology. The steamboats tap into these narratives even as they have nationalist and local narratives of their own whether the Belle Epoque or the locality reflected in their names or the personalized memories come from interacting with these relics of the past. They connect like a neural network across time and across Switzerland.

The problem here is that a paradox develops, just as with the fountains, as we are limited by our experience of the ship and the imagination of it. The ship is more real than the history it purportedly represents and so an invisible historical silence yawns between us and our experience of the ship. What is omitted is that the ships were built and named in the height of Swiss political maneuverings in creating the modern iteration of Switzerland in 1848. The "Belle Epoque" and the steamships obfuscate the demand by the Protestant cantons, in 1844, for the expulsion of Jesuits and the resultant civil war of 1847, a civil war that resulted from the "urkantonen" rebelling against the Protestant based liberals and radicals who were also eager to centralize powers. We are instead drawn into a nostalgic experience that both creates a longing

for an idealized national past as well as claiming the "now" lived experience of the object as belonging to an authentic present. History becomes the subject of nostalgia and the gap between historicity and memory is closed. Here I am reminded of Susan Stewart's notion of nostalgia as authentic when engaging with the kind of embodiment expressed in the experience that the paddle steamers offer. She says that "sadness without an object, a sadness which creates a longing that of necessity is inauthentic because it does not partake in lived experience." (Stewart, 1993, p. 23). Rather than seeing this experience of nostalgia as inauthentic, and folding it into the affective response to ideological trickery, it is perhaps more compelling to consider nostalgia here as an embodied experience through which people create knowledge about themselves in relation to their national past. It *feels* authentic in other words, but authenticity is in fact not recoverable. Nostalgia mediates the relationship between nationalism and narratives of the self.

Conclusion

What I am proposing is that much of national material culture moves beyond the constituent experience of its expression as official "flagging" of identity and melts into daily productive practices that go unnoticed. This object "shape-shifting" allows the object to appear and disappear, refracting the metaphor of abstract state-power so what emerges is the concrete experience of "the national subject as at home in the world" and, in the Swiss case, in a public and private Heimat. The objects are "metonymic signifiers" that simultaneously give and deny us communication and/or a connection with the past. The "work" that they do is not neutral but constitutes a

narrative that is "always ideological" (Pollock, 1998, p. 280). This is a narrative of nostalgia, a narrative that specifically seeks a connection to the nation-state as a historical object and as a natural entity embodying identity that is personally meaningful. These metonymic signifiers act as a bridge encouraging "the desire to possess lost performances, the ephemeral, affective, and embodied aspects of the past that leave only partial traces of having been." (Pollock, 1998, p. 280). It is not however, as in Pollock's work, just in museum collections that material representations of the past offer a connection. The past is found in the way in which we embody stories through these metonymic signifiers occurring in our daily walks, meanderings and runs. We navigate our way through and around these state produced signifiers that daily "flag" the nation-state's past as it relates to our present, and to us.

The signification that occurs in contact with the object allows for narratives and memories about the past that reflect on the present. Nostalgia however can be ruptured by other rememberings or claims on the objects and there emerges a struggle over meaning. For example, while the fountain in Platz als Platz might be the result of a state competition for a space in front of the Bundeshaus, and the result of a team of artists that wished to signify neutrality and Swiss democracy, it has also become a second Ruthli meadow, an area of play, an empty plaza and has been incorporated into a site of protests. Various claims are made on Platz als Platz and the interpretive public memory work exceeds the original design. In this way places wherein the objects occur become sites of discursive formation, or co-existing sets of discourse that make visible the idea of self as related to some larger community.

As technologies of the self, objects situate our bodies within a landscape intersecting with some understanding of "history". They become the means by which we produce ourselves as having citizenship and belonging by having the experience of the object "out there" as an objective fact, but also, in the recalling and experiencing of the object, by making it a part of our own subjective narrative. In the examples explored in this chapter, the objects situate us within a landscape of nostalgia and are the means by which we produce ourselves as subjects within a larger narrative while simultaneously seeing the narrative as something "out there" and exterior to us. In the space of the object we are transformed both as subject and object.

We "live with and through things" (Dant, 1999, p. 7). Our subjectivity emerges in our contact with the object. The object might be old and thus seen as a hold over from another time and other people, or it might be newer and yet contains the symbolic referents to how we understand ourselves within the larger group but also roots us in a pre-history, an unremembered past about which we can no longer know but we sense contains sees for who we are. Gaston Bachelard in his "The Poetics of Space" (1958/1994) break down of Lithuanian poet O.V. de Milosz's interpretation of how objects work as part of memory and part of self is instructive here. He writes:

> …these souvenir-objects set the past in order, associating condensed motionlessness with far distant voyages into a world that is no more. With Milosz, the dream penetrates so deeply into the past that it seems to attain to a region beyond memory: 'All these things are far, far away, they no longer exist, they never did exist, the Past has lost all recollection of them…Look, seek, wonder, tremble…Already you yourself no longer have a past' (p. 245). Meditating upon certain passages of this work, one feels carried away into a sort of antecedent of bing… Even things become crystallizations of sadness, regret or nostalgia. (143)

State sanctioned objects serve to both “authenticate a past or otherwise remote experience and, at the same time, to discredit the present…The nostalgia of the souvenir plays in the distance between the present and an imagined…experience as it might be ‘directly lived’” (Stewart, 1993, p. 139). This discrediting of the present is experienced as a longing for Heimat. The ability to sense “Heimat” and to locate an authenticity in the material world as linking to some original, produces intimacy with that nostalgic past. The present becomes a place that the object refers to as “not enough”. State discursive formations around such objects are dispersed so that they become naturalized to the environments in which they are found. Their “officialness” alongside their public utility provokes both banal and hyper realized flagging of nationalism.

Objects that bring together the personal and the national are as much a means of declaring citizenship and belonging, as they are tools for remembering. They are part of the landscape of longing and nostalgia that act as techniques of the self and provide the means by which we produce ourselves as subjects within a nation-state narrative. The ship reminds us of our own pasts as well as the state’s past and the fountains authenticate narratives of national belonging. Platz als Platz stands out as the object without antiquity, and yet it references ideas considered to belonging to a perennial Switzerland by comparison to the Rütli. It is also the place we can go to act out our belonging to the state either through protests or as citizens taking part in various cultural events there or even in just using the fountains as a public playground. The site in front of the Bundeshaus, rather than etched with statues and quietude, is in fact

often loud and busy, a stark contrast to the entry way and formal halls of the Bundeshaus itself.

When we use objects as tools for remembering we either remember directly (the object is directly connected to a past we once knew) or indirectly (the object is part of a “lore” and is part of a cultural memory). The desire for the past here is not merely a sentimental journey but is a political and social one. The interest is in finding how people “’read’ accounts of the past…relatively casually” that elicit a sense of connection to the past (1998, Rosenzweig & Thelen, pg. 31). Through material culture, such as the Lischetti Fountain, we are situated as subjects within a complex of narratives and in being thus situated the object is underscored as a site of belonging. In this case we remember the object directly, because we have experienced it and it is newer, but we are also challenged by the objects lack of regular features (no figure head and an empty staircase). It stands out and against the other fountains of Bern as playful or even antagonistic. Who is supposed to stand on top of that staircase? Why is there a staircase? What does it mean? It also stands out as a landmark. As something we pass and is made knowable to us by the ways in which we use it. (I pass by and dip my hand into the water of the lower trough, touching the coolness to the back of my neck and then walk on). I have access to this fountain as a fountain, but it remains a question mark in my landscape. I know it has meaning beyond its functionality. The object is placed in the exterior world, but the interiority of the passerby is put into conversation with the object. The political is made personal even if the fountain’s rhetoric is not understood.

Nostalgia, as stated in my introduction, is not the individual experience of melancholy, but instead is a kind of remembering that is the relationship between an individual's biography and the biography of groups or nations" (Boym, 2001, p. 9). Nostalgia seen as the relationship between the personal and the national, is a longing for a Heimat that once was and never was. Nostalgia is the past that has never existed except as a narrative and "continually threatens to reproduce itself as a felt lack" (Pollock, 1998, p. 280). Objects as constituted through nostalgia represent loss and "anxiety about authenticity and temporality" yet they transcend temporality and become pathways mediating memory. Objects become both the site of engagement of that nostalgia, bringing the past into the here and now, as well as a way of constituting the self. State produced objects are indelibly marked with this kind of nostalgia in Switzerland.

Each of these objects are official sites of discursive formation about Swissness, however their discursive formations are not stable based on both the histories they point to as well as the ways in which people understand them and interact with them. In this sense these objects are not just sites of memory where "memory crystalizes and secretes itself" but importantly living sites of practice (Nora, 1989, p. 7). Additionally, these discursive formations do not relay an objective reality about what Swissness is, but instead change not only based on the individual engaging them, but also within a person's own lifetime. The power is in their malleability. These discursive formations are available to be taken up, just as objects in a museum might be, by political and cultural structures and processes, and mined for their ideological power. It is in this regard that

objects as sites of discursive formation become points of articulated struggle over the meaning of the self and the relation of the self to the nation-sate. The material "life-world" of Swiss Heimat produces a way in which the nation-state is made manifest in daily and micro organizations of personal habitus. Yearning is not just a way of thinking, it is a way of producing a world and being in that world.

Chapter 3: Personal Objects and National Nostalgia

Introduction

This chapter explores objects occupying everyday private home spaces, differentiated here from the space of the state/public found in the first chapter. Whereas the objects located in public spaces enumerate national belonging, the objects in this chapter enter more directly into a proto-nationalist discourse that become potent articulations of a nationalized Swiss Heimat. People, through the use of objects, emphasize the importance "attached to the past and an intimate use of the past" (Rosenzweig & Thelen, 1998, p. 22). Proto-nationalist discourse is simultaneously a turning away from larger nation-state nationalism as well as a site of maintenance for nation-state nationalism, a social and political topography that indicates a more general national "we" of Swissness. A cultural citizenship emerges at the local level through the use or and interaction with, material objects that make up or indicate "home". What emerges is a code of a national identity seeded in the history and memory of the particular. Unpacking the material discourses and practices around material objects that make up the proto-nationalist Heimat provides a lens through which to understand the affective politicization of Heimat by Swiss nationalists.

This process of belonging is also important for understanding the countervailing project of othering implied in a cultural system of nationalism based on local particularities. As a central aspect of Swiss discourse on identity the local becomes the foundational understanding of Heimat, as well as how Swiss multi-culturalism and "willensnation" (a nation of wills) are imagined as part of a larger national identity and

political citizenship. There is an ontology found in the "home" where codes of behavior matriculate from the personal experience of and interaction with a discrete material world, signaling cultural and political citizenship as something personally and socially meaningful. To make claims to a home in the Swiss context is to make a claim about living and being in the world contingent on local knowledge and claims, not a multi-cultural project as is generally understood with the term in other contexts. It is in Heimat that the national and the personal blur. The result is a technology of the self that interfaces with local and national identity by personalizing Heimat through the memory work associated with the experience of the material world.

The Home and Heimat

Researching the personalization of a national identity, an important place to turn to is the private and ordinary spaces of people's lives. This means tracking the banal, and yet meaningful, ways in which the discourse of the nation enters the space of the home. Much has been written about the ways in which globalization and accompanying mobility have re-situated discussions on the "home". When situated within the context of globalization "home" is seen as either increasingly divorced from identity claims (Heidegger's "homelessness" or Hall's "cosmopolitan" capture this)[46] or as central to

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[46] "Homelessness", in Heidegger's sense, is that which destroys being "da sein". Of course, given Heidegger's own political leanings during the era of Nazi Germany, there is significant insight here when considering his musings on "Heimat" as the opposite of "homelessness" and "homelessness" as an antithesis to "being". There are political implications in his use of Heimat, just as there are political assertions in his thinking of homelessness and the interference it creates with returning to a homeland. In the recent upsurge of right wing and populist rhetoric regarding immigration in Switzerland we find "Heimat" cemented in the various iterations of Swissness portrayed both in

political and social movements responding to feelings of displacement (Boym, 2001, Duyvendak, 2011, Heidegger, 1977, Massey, 1994, O'Donoghue, 2011 Velayutham, 2007, etc). In this context, the word "home" begins to move beyond the particularity of a material or geographical place and into larger and more mobile generalities, such as online communities or diasporas. For instance, in theater communities where actors and technicians are constantly on the go, moving from one job to the next, many feel at home in the non-territorialized space of the theater profession. Or perhaps for a larger, better known example is the Umma, where many Muslims feel "at home". Umma, of course, is not a place as such, but specifically the community of Muslim believers across geographical spaces and places. Heimat on the other hand, very much refers to geographical spaces, but like the much theorized "home" can move into the realm of the non-territorial by virtue of the role memory, especially nostalgia, plays in the affective dimension of Heimat.

Heimat, while also a personal, and even political, spatial imaginary is being differentiated from "home" in that it also describes a set of feelings that have to do with ancestral/historical rootedness. This rootedness could include a physical home (i.e. a house) but more importantly Heimat comes with a distinct territorial/geographic dimension and local cultural affiliation. Home for my purposes is an important

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opposition to immigrants and as a thing in and of itself. While I certainly am not claiming, nor do I believe it remotely to be true, that the right wing are Heideggerian in any real sense, it is interesting to see the concern with "Heimat" both in the political and philosophical realm as inherently conservative and as attached to the experience of the physical being.

dimension of Heimat. In an article on the ways in which valued personal objects hold symbolic meanings and reflect identity in late adulthood, authors Korger and Adair link identity to a sense of "well-being, of being 'at home' in one's body and in one's psychological and social worlds" (2008, p. 6). Home then is a phenomenological as well as psychological experience. Home necessarily includes the spatial and material aspects that help an individual define and identify "home". Where home however is often thought of a place situated in the present, Heimat moves between the present and the past. Heimat is at once a larger distinction of community and a personal feeling of being "at home" that additionally carries the weight of the feeling of "having been there" (in the past). Heimat can be where one lives, or has lived, whereas "home" is often thought of as a place where one currently resides or might eminently return to, in order to reside. One can be at home while not being located in their "Heimat".

The most important distinction to an understanding of home in the English, is that while it is personal, it may not necessarily be political, though it of course can be. However, Heimat is always both personal and political. We see this when taking a long view of the ways in which Heimat has emerged as a conceptual device and for framing German academic discussions concerned with "unheimlichkeit" or (to be homeless). The fear, if you will, of Unheimlichkeit has not merely been a theoretical one, but has even been criminalized in law. It is the "spaceness" of unheimlichkeit that serves as the relief against which the "placeness" of Heimat is understood. Heimat is also often, like home, framed as feminine. We see this explicitly in the historical criminalization of the "unheimlich" transient traveler, the Swiss Yenish, or Gypsies, who have been targets of

Swiss governmental policies since the 16th century. Gypsies known for their nomadic lifestyles have endured forced settlements (1860s), sterilization, removal of Gypsy children from their families by Swiss authorities (officially from 1926 – 1973), Swiss internment camps and have been subject to police and state intelligence operations, to name a few. Alfred Siegfried, the founder of the *Oeuvre d'entraide pour les enfants de la grand-route* (The Association for Assistance to Traveller's Children), a staunch supporter of the period's Eugenic theories on race, considered the "evil" of nomadic lifestyles to be due to a racialized theory of hereditary weakness and considered it a disease primarily passed through women.[47] The goal of state programs was a forced assimilation of the Yenish, which included a sedentary existence within a "Heimat". In current populist and nativist discourse on Heimat the shadow of the raced and gendered transient traveller remains in the symbol of the Islamic immigrant.

While other Western European nations have been contending with a more recent development of competing claims on national identity, this is not the case in

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[47] Information on the treatment of gypsies (Yenish) people in Switzerland has become an important area of study that, along with the Fichskandale (police file scandal) and Bank scandals, shed light on Swiss governmental practices not well known. Some notable works are by Mariella Mehr, born into the Yenish community, was herself subject to Swiss policies growing up, as well as the edited volumes *Gypsies and the Problem of Identities: Contextual, Constructed and Contexted* (2006) and *The Role of Romanies: Image and Counter Images of 'Gypsies'/Romanies in European Cultures*" (2004). Currently housed in the Bern state archives are the files of the *Oeuvre d'entraide pour les enfants de la grand-route*, open only to Yenish peoples. In June of 1998 the Swiss government released a study on the leading role of the Swiss government in the atrocities committed, led by Professor Roger Sablonier a then faculty member of the University of Zürich. The study can be found at this link: http://www.landesgeschichte.ch/downloads/KdL_Text.pdf

Switzerland. In Switzerland, there have long been competing claims between localized Swiss identities, deeply rooted in valley (often rural) and canton affiliations and the larger more cosmopolitan identity firmly in the urban oligarchy of the larger metropolitan centers such as Geneva, Bern and Zürich. These tensions are evident in the dissolution of the Ancien Regime by Napoleon in 1798, the subsequent French construction of the Helvetic Republic which expanded rights for rural areas, expanded citizenship rights and centralized governance. Ultimately the Republic dissolved due to the tensions between Cantons, in particular between the Protestant and Catholic regions. As the modern iteration of the Swiss state as a confederation emerged, tensions remained between localized and centralized power structures and the conservative Catholic Cantons and the Protestant liberals. This divide was ultimately resolved, politically, in the 1847 Sonderbund War, which resulted in ultimate defeat of the conservatives. The result was the 1848 constitution, which created the structure for a Federalist state of loosely, affiliated, though not completely independent, cantons.

Just as the 19th century was the era in which the modern Swiss state was being formed as a more centralized and cohesive structure, it was also the era that gave rise to the International Red Cross and the associated Geneva Conventions. These cosmopolitan and humanist impulses insured Switzerland was brought into a legal and social set of regional European relationships. Ultimately these cosmopolitan and parochial tensions are a founding aspect of Swiss identity construction at the state level. The state, through nationwide networks that cut across cultural and linguistic regions, was absorbing both the politically and culturally diverse tapestry of the regions while

also forming national structures that would work to establish Switzerland as a European presence. More recently however, there have been competing claims about Swiss identity that center on immigrants.

With over a century of immigration to Switzerland historically a re-occurring discourse of überfremdung (over foreignization) since the late 19th Century are nothing new. However more recent migrations touch on multiple and converging forces of increasing mobility in an era of globalization. As mentioned earlier, mobility in conservative political and philosophical theorizing, is produced as a phenomenon that is over and against a sense of Verwurzelung (rootedness) and Heimat. Trans-migration and the sense of rootedness in this context come to be seen as diametrically opposed forces. Because of the fall of the USSR in 1991, since the mid 1990s there has been a tremendous movement of people, goods and ideas across Europe. In the first wave (1996-1997) of immigration 500,000 immigrants from the former Soviet Union alone immigrated to Western Europe (Ushkalov, I. & Malakha, 1999, p. 144). More recently, following the Arab Spring of 2011, there has been an increase in immigration from the Middle East and, as of the writing of this work, the wave of immigration from Serbia to Europe. It is in this larger historical context and the particularities of the Swiss state, that the Swiss People's Party (SVP) popularizes Heimat as not only a politically discursive space, but a materially discursive one steeped in Swiss regional exclusivity. This is important to note in thinking about objects how they 1) convey national belonging as both a historical and phenomenological experience and 2) engender practices of citizenship as acts of Heimat. I am not taking up neutral and objective criteria of

"belonging", but rather unpacking a coded and territorialized processes that is deeply rooted in historical discourses and the technologies of the self.

Localized everyday practices as part of a national imagining

It is the local everyday practices in living proto nationalisms that work both against and *with* larger claims of a more central nationalism. Proto-nationalism here, different from Hobsbawm's[48] pre-nationalist stage, is an ongoing site of banal nationalist maintenance where the everyday of the *local* informs practices of belonging to the national. Proto-nationalism as I am using it is the extreme localization of feeling and belonging that is an important component to larger Swiss nationalism and the feeling of Heimat. In other words, I am dispensing with a teleology that places proto-nationalism as "pre" a generalized nationalism and as a static category occurring within "stages" of nationalism. Teleology especially does not make sense in federalist states such as Switzerland were localized identities are relevant to politics and social structure (as I talked about in my introduction). It is in the practice of these identities that the

[48] In his book, *Nations and Nationalism since 1780* (1992), Hobsbawm talks about proto nationalism as those bonds of collective belonging that were present before a larger nationalism but that were the critical means by which a larger nationalism was able to emerge. The Swiss case is an interesting one in that alongside nationalism as attendant to the nation-state of Switzerland, there are extremely localized communal loyalties. These local identities interface at the national level in the political structure of Switzerland that emphasizes local autonomy, four national languages and the four cultural regions. In my field research of 2014, the interviews I conducted with even the most right wing nationalist interviewees from the SVP, there was a unanimous response of sensing an original belonging that had to do with a localized Heimat, rather than the nation of Switzerland. Proto nationalism then in the Swiss case, refers to these ongoing local sensibilities rather than pre-existing nationalism.

material experiences of Heimat become part of the symbolic national frameworks defining belonging.

Personal Objects in Home Worlds

The objects we place in our homes (the office, gardens, surrounding grounds, apartment hallway) reveal something about our work, our priorities, our identities and our relationships. We mark these places and we create them, in part, through objects, but there is a certain foreclosure built into understanding them because they remain within the confines of predominantly personal histories and memories. Objects emerging from more formal expressions and practices of local Swiss culture intersect with an understanding of a larger "history" and become technologies of citizenship and belonging. They "flag" our belonging in a personal sense. This sense in some ways ties into what Billig refers to as "banal nationalism" as well as being sites of practice[49]. The interest in personal objects is the ways in which they echo national identity or intersect with practices of nation-state belonging as a technology of the self. Heimat, largely as a construal of the *localized* sentiment of "home" in Switzerland, would seem to be more obviously marked with these kinds of private/personal objects and, while this is the case, they nonetheless become nodes by which to access larger narratives, including narratives of state and national belonging. What is being flagged isn't just belonging, but

[49] Michael Billig's "banal nationalism" is concerned with the daily, "endemic" and unnoticed ways in which belonging to the nation-state is flagged and how this silent form of nationalism is that upon which more virulent forms of nationalism are formed. Billig's banal nationalism is central to my understanding of the ways in which personal objects in this chapter are used. While Billig focuses more on objects in public display, I am extending his analysis to objects found in private spaces.

who citizens are as individuals within a complex of memories, ideologies, practices, beliefs and habits. What emerges is a tapestry of a nationally conceived identity within an intimate and social habitus.

Some of these objects work as memory bridges to the past while others do not have this temporal distinction because they are new, such as in the case with Platz als Platz fountain in the last chapter. In the former instances we could say that there is a way of interfacing with the past by preserving or continuing to make the object relevant to the present in creating official historical subjectivity. The object becomes a site of subjectivity and a technology of the self by the practices engendered by/through the object and the personal memories that help us narrativize the object. In the "newer" object there is not a distinctive "historical" past to which the object belongs, but there is a kind of memory network into which the object is placed that is conjured by the symbols and use of the object. The objects here, then, as either relics or as more recent productions of material goods, produce modes of interfacing with the self as connected to 1) an "authentic" past that is bound to an ethnie or nation and/or 2) echo nation-state and local narratives of belonging. Objects I am considering are: family photos, private fountains, and cowbells. My decision to include these specific objects was for their abundance in the home environments where I conducted my fieldwork, but also in the ways that they echo national narratives and operate within political discourse. There

were many more I could have included[50] but due to providing more detailed analysis I am limiting myself to these three objects.

Material Claims to Proto-national and National Identity and Citizenship in the Home

Family Photos

Image 3: Family photo

On the living room wall of my mother's cousin's (Hans) home is an old photo (image 3), taken sometime in the early part of the 20th Century, of his mother's family. The photo was taken in front of the very farmhouse that now sits across the gravel drive where his son lives with his family. The photo shows a young girl, a baby (the baby is Han's mother), another sister and a boy, with their parents. Off to the right is an elderly man with a St. Bernard at his feet, in the background, behind the family, there is a man

[50] In my field work of 2012 and 2013 I documented over 20 personal objects that could be used to analyze the ways in which people actively engage with the past in the present. Some of these included (but are not limited to) wood piles, clocks, family books, national costumes passed down as heirlooms, flower boxes, etc.

with a horse on hand and off to the left side of the photo is a man with a cow by his side. A similar photo, taken in the same era, and given to me by my uncle (my mother's brother), also shows ancestors standing in front of that family farm in the early 1900s. Both of these photos (typical genres for that era), hanging in the "Wohnzimmer" or living room of their respective homes, reveal elements of rural life in Emmental, Switzerland at the onset of the 20th Century, but more specifically they also reveal elements of "your" family, rooted in time and place. This type of turn of the 20th Century Heimat photography helped to embed local rural life within national nostalgia.

"The Photograph mechanically repeats what could never be repeated existentially" and "always carries its referent with itself" and it is this "carrying of the referent" that adheres the present to the past when reviewing memories captures in the image of a photograph (Barthes, 1980, p. 6-7). While Barthes does not name nostalgia as such, there is an implicit understanding of such a feeling when he talks about the way in which the photograph, through specific details (punctum) that arouse in the viewer an emotional response to the photo. In this photo, there is for me a punctum. It is the way in which the baby stares at the photo. Is she afraid of the camera? Does she have a sense of confinement in her formal dress? I knew this baby as an adult. She was my mother's Gotte Anne (Godmother Anne). My cousins were terrified of her and indeed she could be taxing in her demands and intimidating when she chose to be, but I often sought her out. She had taken care of my sick mother in her childhood, walking miles to my mother's hospital when her my mother's own mother couldn't be there. I look at this baby and I seek her. She was once vulnerable, hard to

imagine, and she yet was also bold (the way she turns to stare at the photographer and seems to almost want to stand on her own). I am also drawn to the man holding the cow. Who is he? He does not look like any relative and in fact looks to perhaps be an Italian migrant worker, not unusual for that time. I wonder about his name, his life after this photo and his relationship to my relatives. In talking to Hans, nobody seems to know who he is.

Barthes's own description of punctum highlights why it is a useful way to think about how a photograph becomes a medium of nostalgia. In Barthe's description of "the Winter Garden Photograph" of his mother he traces his emotional response to the photograph. He sees his mother as a little girl in the photograph and responds to her presence in that photo both as the little girl, but this also in tension with the mother he remembers. The nostalgia here is entangled with other nostalgias; nostalgias of childhood, nostalgia of the mother he once had, nostalgia of a lineage. These photos transform the subject into an object, an object that also works to refract an idea of who he is as connected to the image and the person in the image. The photo is about Barthes as much as it is about his mother. However, this photograph, while establishing Barthes as an object to himself, does "not establish objectivity" (p. 73). Rather such family photos reify our own subjectivity in relation to that which is photographed: we see ourselves as both beyond the photograph but also, in this case, as an extension. The body (in Barthe's case) or other photographed matter is transformed into a site of memory reminding us of what was once there and still is here. In the case of the photo in image one, the farm and ongoing family networks. It becomes a way of reviewing

memory and re-living it. In Barthe's case however the venture into reverie that the photograph pulls him into is a solitary venture, and he explicitly states that this is the case. This is not so with the photograph hanging on the wall in Han's living room.

Whenever the picture is discussed a narrative is revealed about our family, the land, the age of the farmhouse, the same farmhouse now occupied by my cousin Klaus, and speculation about Swissness. The elements of cow, St. Bernard and the large Emmentaler house especially also echo popular images of Switzerland found in books, TV, radio shows, cultural festivals, advertising and political campaigning, to name a few. The photographed invite conversations on the Swiss Simmental cow in the photo, a breed from Simmental, once ubiquitous to the Emmental and other German speaking regions, and it's increasing rarity on the landscape, or the ways in which farms are being turned into tourist destinations, as their smaller sizes are prohibitive in sustaining a living as they once were. The photo becomes a portal through which we talk about ourselves in relation to one another, the land and the nation-state. The photograph is brought into discussion, into open consideration by its very placement on the living room wall rather than tucked away into some photo album or a shoebox filled with loose photos. We share our punctums and weave memories of the people, the land, the animals and the land in the photo and address them in relation to ourselves. The photograph has been deliberately placed so that such considerations can be made and we invent meaning retrospectively. The physical presence of the photograph, our own interactions and dialogue in the space of the farm where the photo was taken, the experience of the memory is an embodied one.

This farmhouse photo, posing in front of the farm as a family with a cow and a dog, was a common style of photograph taken in the early part of the 20th Century. In the book “Photography in the Emmental: Ideal and Reality” by Markus Schürpf (Fotografie im Emmental: Idyll und Realität) (2000), the role of the Emmental in photography is explored in creating an idyllic and mythical illustration of Switzerland from 1850 through the 1990s. Emmental, the author mentions, is one of the first regions to be heavily photographed and in particular, through this medium, became immersed in a fixed image of farmers, cows, open meadows and intermittent dark green forests. The pictures told as much as they denied. The immense farmhouses overshadowed the little, dirty huts of poorer workers, and the healthy farm children obfuscated the “verdingching” or servant children sent to live with farming families through the 1970s in a program throughout the rural areas of Switzerland. These photographs document Switzerland as arising out of agrarian roots and this documentation arose during the time of other nationalist programs, such as protecting architecture and landscapes based on their worth as an example of Heimat.

Thus the photograph becomes a window into the past of “how things were” because it is objectively a photo of one’s family located in a real place that is still available to its descendants. The image becomes a site of imagination and a lens through which a personal story to hinges to a larger one. It is “transmissible” because there are elements in the photo that continue to exist in the landscape as well as being circulated within cultural and political narratives (Bachelard, 1958, p. 174). Just as it has been recognized that official photo documentation of war or of landscapes wage

symbolic battles and contribute to building an imagination about the nation, personal photos that archive belonging to a place inhabit this purpose as well, albeit retroactively (Phu, 2008). This image becomes an "object of identification" wherein Hans and Rosemary are able to assert themselves within a national, but also local community, "whose members share a cultural history and experience". (Jackson, 1998, p. 285) The practice of an ahistorical nationalism is the worship of the image of the nation, the practice of a personal nationalism is remembering threads of belonging. Here the nation is contextualized in the proto-nationalism of the Emmental, through a nostalgic narrative that inserts, as Barthes did in the picture of his mother, the self as related to the photograph and the people and place in the photograph. But unlike Barthes' private punctum, the punctums here help communicate a social space of the documented past and it's imagined relation to the present. The phenomenological experience of the photograph's punctum is shaped into a personal narrative, a shared language and a social experience.

This personal narrative of nationalism through photographs extends our identity to an "irreducible core" that is "co-natural with its referent" (Barthes, p. 77). The "voice of banality" (the everyday items and contents recognized in the photograph as belonging to "farm life in Switzerland") and "the voice of singularity" (recognizing a personal history within a photograph that "begins historically, as an art of the Person: of identity, of civil status of…the body's formality") are combined (p. 76 & p. 79). The everyday tropes (the cow, the St. Bernard, etc) actuated in this photographs that are echoed at the national level in myths of Switzerland are overcome, in the face of

punctum and nostalgia, the presence of the cowman holding the cow (we don't know who he is and so don't narrativized his presence either in the photograph or as connected to the family). This unidentifiable person vanishes in the vacuum of silence, only to be recuperated elsewhere in the historical efforts of critical histories found in academia. We know that farms and farmers have steadily employed immigrant labor since the late 1800s, especially since the 1960s, and yet these lives are leached out in materializations of Heimat. This is especially evident in agrarian imagery of the populist SVP in their referendum campaigns, and in their own party's iconography.

The SVP iconography acts as a discursive formation on Swissness that is based in a fetish of the Volk, especially agrarian Volk. We can see this in the iconography the SVP uses to brand itself. This is especially evident in its use of mascots and since it is the only party to have a mascot in Switzerland, this feature of its rhetorical landscape deserves a mention. Originally the SVP's mascots were two living goats (Zottel and Zwick) taken care of by party member Toni Brunner, farmer and member of the national council. The goats were named from a famous story in Swiss children's literature about goats with the names Zottel, Zwick und Zwerg. Since 2014 has been a plush toy Bernese Mountain dog named Willy after Wilhelm Tell. The dog can be variously represented as the protector of Swissness (and Switzerland), as a playful and innocent expression of Swissness and as situated within local iconographies, in this case Bern. These representations of rural Switzerland forget the historical poverty of rural Switzerland, the immigrant laborer that has filled in jobs that Swiss don't take, and the widespread concern with the increasing inability for farmers to stay financially solvent. These

innocent images that frolic in the memory cast by literature and myth, highlight the stolid Swiss Volk and Volk life as part of an original Swissness. The photo on Han's living room wall is implicated by images found outside of the home in Heimat narratives like the ones in which the SVP grounds its iconography.

Farm and Courtyard Fountains

The fountain found in urban areas such as Bern are sites of play and social gathering while also serving as discursive formations about the nation-state as a public grounded in local community. Many of the fountains are formally a part of the urban infrastructure created during nation-state formation in the 1800s. Their presence and practical uses were incorporated into strategies of managing water, mapping urban areas, as well as preserving cultural artifacts. Generally speaking, fountains engender particular forms of movement, play, work and social relations. The fountains in this chapter however are differentiated from the "large objects" of the last chapter as the "intimate objects" of this local Heimat. Farm fountains and courtyard fountains are examples of such intimate objects. Not as formally distinguished as other public fountains might be, their individual characteristics and placement are not famous or well known. Also, the large object fountains of the big cities, such as Bern and Geneva and Basle, are often decorated with historical and mythical figures (i.e. Tell, Sampson, Helvetica, the armed bear, the Virgin Mary, etc), are often considered heritage objects, or public art and serve as commentary on the nation. Additionally, the fountains in this chapter are also more likely to be bound to the landscape in that they require a spring, and so their location is informed by the possibilities offered up in the

land itself. These fountains aggregate discursive formations wherein publics encounter themselves as individual subjects within a community. Whether watering one's animals, through play or other casual gatherings or uses, the fountain is known to the local population, and the local population often knows who uses the fountain and how.

Rural fountains, found in farm courtyards or along hiking paths, are often much simpler in design and are not as clearly embedded in the kinds of institutional strategies that grounds deCerteau's work on the practices found in everyday city life. The fountains here often privately maintained and uniquely situated within the intimate ties of a home space and narratives of Heimat. Where some rural fountains are more accessible because they are located in an open space, such as along a hiking path, the location does not "design" the space of movement in the way the urban fountain does. Instead the fountain functions more practically than aesthetically and, though both are embedded in social relations, the rural fountain is has a local specificity not defined by the formality of state curation. On a farm the many ways in which one uses to the fountain, ranging from play, to cleaning to providing a cooling station for beer or as watering site for cows or the family, or passersby. The fountain is intimately integrated into the sociality and practicality of farm life and rural sociality that is, in stark contrast to urban life, less anonymous. Where the Chindlifresserbrunnen of Bern is invested with mythological and historical meaning, the rural fountain is often empty of such obvious signifiers. As such the rural fountain becomes a referent for an intimate proto-national Heimat based in practices of localized belonging.

In most any farmyard in Switzerland, in any region, you will find a fountain. Their ubiquity echos fountain culture of urban areas and official state practices around fountains deemed to be heritage objects. Just as their urban counterparts, they are available to the public and visible in the landscape, even though they are in fact relegated to the private domain (if located on a farm or farmland). Some are made of wood, others are made of stone, and appear to be "antique", but as is the case with much in Switzerland, age seems to collect on the buildings and objects without the phenomenon in question necessarily being old. On further inspection, the fountain will often have a date etched into its surface somewhere along the main body of the longer "tub". This date can give a sense of the fountain's age (unless the date is a renovation date), but also of the family and farm where the fountain is located. Regardless, whether it is the fountain on the hiking path in the Emmental, or the fountain located by the stall on a farm, provides a marker of sorts around which activity gathers.

Image 4: Farm fountain between the barn and house

The farm fountain is a toy, opening up a cite of narrative that lives between the authenticity of experience and the transcendence of time. The summers in the Emmental in Switzerland were always hot and horribly humid it seemed. Especially in the fields on the days where we would go to gather hay after the grass had been sufficiently turned and dried. The crickets would bounce and buzz as we moved along pitching the now dried grass into the wagon being pulled by two patient and older cows. It was thirsty work that involved the whole family: cousins, siblings, my uncle and aunt, grandparents and me. I would daydream of the cold "Brunne wasser" (fountain water) that stood on the backside of the farmhouse running into the dark stone basin. It was after such work and after the cows had been unhitched and watered (in that very Brunne that I dreamed of) and afterward put into their stalls, we cousins would get a respite. Especially enjoyable was playing a game of who could hold their arm in the icy well water the longest. Hot as it was, plunging your arm into that water was a shock. The well here, my uncle said in order to explain its exceptional iciness, runs very deep. The palm of my hand would lay flat on the stone surface at the bottom of the 1-foot water filled basin. The glacial cold that, at first, felt so wonderful would slowly creep deep into my arm, and my forearm would begin to ache. My cousins would laugh as I finally relented and pulled my arm from the water. I always admired their fortitude and was disappointed in myself. Even my little sister had more resilience than I did. I always lost. My grandfather once told me he played the same game when he was a child. He had been born on that farm, called *Blattenfeld*, in the early 1800s. My mother and uncle

had played in that fountain as children. The fountain has never been renovated, and has no date etched into its surface. Family oral history claims that it has been running in its present state, both without and with the stone basin, for around 200 years, tapping into a deep spring below the surface. Its crude, hand hewn dimensions are both impossibly old and yet ageless and ever-present. The fountain exists pre-memory and erases the gap between nature and culture, between spring and basin, in the impossibly pure memory of childhood.

Water as Nationalism and Heimat

The fountain, as a site of play, is likely not unusual in any area where there are children and where there is heat and hard work and refreshing cold water. Water provides respite as much as it provides something to drink. However, it is how we come to know ourselves as we interact with the fountain that makes the story of the farm and of the family feel personal. The fountain feels like an important place, a site of personal discovery, and objective fact collection, as much as a classroom might or a laboratory where experiments are being conducted in order to uncover the mysteries of the world around us. This theme of the fountain as a site of personal and knowledge generation enters into Heimat narratives in several instances, including Johanna Spyri's (author of Heidi) writings and subsequent materializations of the Heidi narrative.

In Johanna Spyri's 1882 tellingly titled book "Out of our Land: Two more stories for our children and for ourselves" (Aus unserem Lande. Noch zwei Geschicten für *Kinder und auch für solche, welche die Kinder lieb haben*) she describes children playing the fountain trough:

> …they arrive at the fountain where they will undertake important enterprises. In the little fountain trough, which was full from the overflow of the big trough when it became too full, and they treated as their private trough, was always where they would sail their ships and conduct other experiments. (p. 123)

The fountain in Spyri's description becomes a coming together of play and discovery that revolves around Heimat. The privacy here is an intimacy of knowledge that each local knows in relation to the source of water they are afforded and often dependent on. The location of the spring, the depth of the well, how old the current fountain basin is, how cold it is in relation to other fountains, what is the time of year with the best quality of water and so forth are all components in personalizing as having characteristics. We trace the fountain in both its elements of human and natural design that frames viewpoints about the past and helps order social and familial relationships.

In Spyri's well-known children's story of Heidi, fountain water is seen as a referent for Heimat and the landscape. During the course of the story we find Heidi making several attempts to deconstruct her urban experience of Frankfurt by employing material artifacts as means of touching back on Heimat. She does this through breads that remind her of home, adventures that escape the confines of the house in Frankfurt and the mistaken association of the sounds of carriages in the streets of Frankfurt to the sound of the Fir trees in the Alps. The fountain is one way that she achieves a sense of Heimat. During her stay in Frankfurt with Clara, Heidi leaves the house to go and find "fresh water" for Clara's father. Eventually she happens upon a fountain that is not too crowded and retrieves a glass of water. The fountain becomes a site where we create a narrative about ourselves (how we played in the fountain for example), how the

fountain puts us in relation with other people (my grandfather playing in the fountain or the time the cow stepped in the fountain or giving water to soldiers during the war) and a sense of belonging to a larger community (others have similar fountains which serve as sites of play or work, or the style of the fountain as something found in that particular local and so on). Today in Maienfeld, "the home" of Heidi, there stands a Heidi Fountain. There is a collection of narratives that arise out of and around these fountains which become sites of discursive formation around "Heimat".

Objects are treated as discursive artifacts, as places of reference when discussing "family matters" or farm logistics. This is not to say that the site of the fountain is raised up in one's consciousness explicitly in these ways, and in fact, in the day-to-day routine of one's work it goes largely unnoticed, much like the photograph in the living room. The way that the fountain allows us to imagine ourselves, each other and historical connections to a Heimat are only evident in the narratives that emerge and the ways in which the fountain is treated when it is noticed (i.e. something needs to be fixed). This process of a kind of material banality is not even the kind of banality of nationalism that Billig is referring to in "Banal Nationalism". Here, rather than "flagging" our nationalism, we produce our connection through a web of personal stories that involve embodied experiences with common sites of engagement, such as fountains. This is true in even discursive formations that evoke a more stereotypical notion of Swissness.

Cows and Cowbells

Cows are incorporated into the lexicon of Swissness that celebrates a sense of naturalized rootedness, simplicity and Alpine mythologies of independence based on

individual and geographic ruggedness. Cows are featured in children's stories, advertisements, newspaper editorials, clothing, home décor (clocks, linens, butter dishes, towels, paintings, etc.) and are located in the landscape throughout Switzerland, even very near the urbanized centers of Bern, Zürich and Geneva. The cow as a national symbol can be formal or mundane. An example of the latter is evidenced in the following Swiss milk advertisement (featured below in Image 5) commonly found in Switzerland in the summer of 2014. In discourses on the Volk we find stories that are "the decorative container of a narrativity for everyday practices" (deCerteau, 1988, p. 70). The cow in this image stands in for dairy farming as a technology for health and strength. In the process of "decorating the container" of farming as a cow, a story about the everyday practices associated with dairy farming is also told. Dairy farming here is not the technology of farming, but rather the action of milking the cow by hand into an old-fashioned tin bucket. This image is part of a larger materially discursive framework, a framework that marks Swissness as connected to milk and self-reliance. This relationship is evident in that the girls on the soccer team are wearing red and white, the nation's colors. It is the fragment of the knowledge of cow husbandry, that milk comes from cows, that takes on a life of its' own through a network of symbols, especially the cowbell.

Image 5: Bolligen Train Station, Summer 2014

The earliest recorded use of cowbells goes back some 5,000 years to China, and these were likely made of pottery (Falkenhausen, 2003). In Europe there is a reference to the "kuhglocke" ("cowbell") found in Grimm's German Dictionary where it is noted that the earliest mention of cowbell can be found in a 1410 Frankfurt archive. Cowbells can also be found adorning livestock throughout most parts of the world such as Germany, Sweden, southern India, Korea, and Ghana, to name a few. In Europe, however, they are strongly associated with Alpine culture, and perhaps most especially with Southern Germany and Switzerland. There are two standard kinds of cowbells in Switzerland the, directly translated, cowbell ("kuhglocke") and the "Treichle"[51]. The

[51] According to the Bern Deutches Worterbuch (Bernese German Dictionary) the word is "treichle" but this spelling varies according to canton and language. For my purposes I will be using the term "cowbells" to indicate all bells and will specifically call out Treichle when those are the particular bells in question.

Treichle is made of hammered steel and has a clanking sound, while the cowbell is made of forged bronze and has the ringing sound of a bell. While cowbells are generally fashioned by companies specializing in making musical instruments, cowbells are still made by special smithing processes concerned with not only musicality but also practicality as a tool for managing livestock.

Bells are generally used when animals are out in the field as a means of locating the livestock, especially at night or when they are foraging in more treacherous Alpine pastures. There are also traditions that dictate the kind of bell a farmer might use on different breeds of livestock. The Eringer cow (seen in Image 6) traditionally wears the Treichle whereas goats wear a much smaller version of the same steel hammered bell. When in the stall however, it is not unusual for the bells to be removed from the cow's neck. The use of the cowbell or Treichle on livestock in open fields, in addition to matters of maintaining herd safety, also can act as a farmer's means of self-expression. Whether in the lowland or Alpine pastures (once the young cows have arrived) many farmers today still debate over which tone of bell they should use on which cow. There can be much thought that goes into this that takes into consideration things like: the cow's personality, the breed of cow, the variety of tones available in the cowbells the farmer has and how they work together, the cow's seniority or place in the herd, and the cow's comfort with the weight and loudness of a particular bell (the heaviest however are often reserved for ceremonial purposes). Some farmers prefer an atonal approach, with their cows wearing all the same "note" while others prefer placing various size cowbells on their livestock. This quality produces the musical effect that is

based on the interaction between high and low notes, and softer and louder clangs. The bells are more than a symbol but are an extension of personal expression and, as such, become a means of mediating community social and political life.

The importance of the cow and cowbell is not simply because of Switzerland's agrarian past, and powerful milk cartels, or even because the cow still plays an important role to local economies and the national one[52], though of course these factors play a role. Cows are ever present, both in ordinary ways such as within rural and semi-rural landscapes, and as extraordinary features, such as the yearly "alpabzug"[53] or in the celebrated fighting cows of Vallais. This cow culture highlights national myths and an expression of an imagined Swiss ethos rooted in a rural imaginary. Out of this social and economic cow culture, a Swiss "cow décor" has also become more widely available, out of which cowbells, even to the most casual observer, are likely the most distinctive feature. The decontextualized cowbell is an object that is experienced as a material object, as a sound and as a symbol located within personal and proto-national frameworks all the while it is folded into a symbolic resource for national identity.

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[52] Cows and milk production are significant factors in tourism, the cheese and chocolate industries and for domestic consumption where roughly nationally 390 Kg of milk was consumed, per person, in 2013 (Hagenbuch, 2014). There is even a milk-based soda, Rivella, from Canton Ticino, which competes handily (within Switzerland) against other mainstream sodas such as Coca-Cola and Fanta.

[53] The return of cows from alpine pastures are marked throughout Switzerland with festivals. The cows are decorated with flowers and bells and often families will gather to celebrate with music and food. Today this is a tradition that has become a huge tourist attraction.

Cowbells are found as decoration in public establishments, such as restaurants and bars, as well as in private homes. These bells are also still used in a variety of celebrations and festivals throughout Switzerland. Broadly writ, the cowbell is meant to be seen and heard, acting both as decoration and as an instrument at the center of mundane and exceptional social practices. Throughout rural Switzerland cowbells are often displayed on the exterior of farmhouses and Alpine huts hanging in ordered rows on long horizontal wooden poles near the roofline. Such displays can also be found on the interior of homes, though these bells are generally of the show variety and are not used on livestock.

The sound of the cowbell is a central feature of its materiality. Indeed, travelers, upon landing in the international metropolis of Zürich find themselves, as they take the tram towards the terminal, greeted with the sound of yodeling, cow bellows and cowbells. The marketing of the Swiss cow and the Swiss cowbell has made both of these features stereotypical placeholders of Swiss culture far and wide. In 2012, for example Milestone Brandcom launched a campaign for Swiss tourism in Mumbai, India that in some ads featured a cowbell with the message, "Ring a Swiss Bell this Diwali" ("Milestone Brandcom creates mesmerizing presence for Switzerland tourism across Mumbai", 2012). The bell featured in the add is one reminiscent of the imitation bells found in tourist shops. A referent of a referent that all the is able to stand in for Swissness.

The cowbell becomes a placeholder for Switzerland and is an indirect reminder of the animal and its relationship to Switzerland's mythos as a pastoral land famous for

rugged alpine pastures, cheese and chocolate. The wider significance of cowbells to Swiss symbolism can be seen by the way in which they are incorporated into the national lexicon of Swissness found in Volk music, local celebrations, children's literature and even political protests. The well-known story "Schellen Ursli" ("La cloche d'Ursli" in French), features the famous Graubünden Chalandamara Festival, where the subject of the narrative (little Urs) transforms himself into a man and re-makes the local social landscape by winning a competition for having the nicest bell, by arriving with the largest Treichle of any child in the parade. He accomplishes this through his ability to overcome the hardship of gaining access to the bell located in a chalet high in the alps and the subsequent cold and loneliness of overnighting in the location before he can make the long trek home. The bell in this famous story enables practices that create knowledge about Swiss heritage, Swiss character and local cultural formations. The bell becomes a symbolic repository for other bells, material objects that can be as self-referential as Urs' bell was for him and his community.

Cowbells as Heimat and politics

As signifiers of an imagined and tangible agricultural past-made-present, cowbells become ways to enact and imagine community and tradition even as they are objects that are maintained as part of personal collections outside of their original use value. During my fieldwork in the summer of 2010 there were protests staged by Swiss farmers against the deregulation of milk prices wherein cowbells were featured as part of the way in which to demonstrate frustration against the state. Cowbells mediate not only the nation, but feelings of joy, frustration and even sadness. Through sound and

visual appearance and use, the individual's is able to signal a relationship to the community. We see this in the way in which this highly personal object is incorporated into political discourses as . On May 4, 2015 the German newspaper, Süddeutsche Zeitung, reporting on a protest against a new asylum center in the town of Giffers in western Switzerland, noted the use of cowbells in the protests. This is not unusual. Cowbells here become the immediate link between the personal affect experienced hearing the sound of the cowbell, and a political representation of that home as a place of cowbells, and by an extension, a place of Swissness.

The cowbell however as a feature descriptive of a local Heimat is most evidenced in the fight over its modern use, especially in more urban areas. In parts of Switzerland there have been protests against the use of cowbells of any variety on farm animals, but in particular the larger bells and Treichle carried by cows (see Image 6). The controversy in their use as a means of livestock management is centered variously on their modern efficacy, the noise level affecting urban dwellers and their humaneness[54]. Farmers and traditional Swiss have pushed back. In the canton of Aargau, where the bell controversy reached a fever pitch, the person spearheading the campaign, Nancy Holten, a Dutch

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[54] There has been controversy regarding the effects cowbells have on the well-being of their bearers as well as locals. In the most recent debate surrounding the matter, as of the writing of this dissertation, a farmer outside of Zürich was told by Switzerland's high courts that he is not allowed to put cowbells on his cows at night. In addition, in 2014 researchers from the Federal Institute of Technology in Zürich produced a study that suggested the high decibels produced by the bells reduced eating time and ultimately milk production because of the stress inflicted. The suggestion has been to replace cowbells all together with GPS tracking devices.

woman, saw her 2017 application for Swiss citizenship denied by the locals. Her anti-bell campaign was seen by the locals as an anti-Swiss campaign. The controversy highlights the importance cowbells serve as a technology for expressing pride in a material heritage seen as part of a local tradition. This was not about the bell as providing any practical service to the modern farmer. After all GPS would be a much more efficient way in tracking livestock. The controversy around cowbells merges the personal with the political.

Image 6: Eringer Cow in the Alps above Wallis, Summer 2014

Cowbells are part of both institutionalized and personal practices, practices that interiorize history of the local. The bell also acts as a mediating symbol between public cultural and its relationship to state membership through its incorporation in protests and festivals. Finally, the cowbell as a mediator of an “original” and “traditional” Swiss culture has consumer value. Aside from its commercial value in tourism, something I will

touch on in a later chapter, it is as used as a material marking of achievement around Swiss productivity and teleology of personal and social advancement.

Heimat and Heimweh as Located in the Agrarian and Pre-industrial

The cowbell has multiple dimensions of Heimat attached to it: the kind of bell it is, it's size, it's weight, it's sound, it's quality and its age. Interestingly it is the sound of the cowbell that is directly linked to the history of nostalgia as a Swiss disease. While it is unclear when exactly their use expanded beyond livestock management and transitioned into use in rituals and music[55] we know that it did by the many older songs including the ringing of cowbells. It may be that cowbells used as music may have found their first use in the Kuhreihen/Ranz des Vaches (roughly translated as "cow songs), thought to have developed from people calling to or driving their herds (Frauchiger, 1941). We see this not only in a variety of Volk music, including the many versions of the Kuhreihen, but also in more formalized music such as Mahler's 6th and 7th Symphony's and Richard Strauss's *Alpine Symphony*[56]. The use of cowbells in the Kuhreihen is of some interest as it is precisely these tunes that were thought to cause homesickness among Swiss mercenaries when abroad. Under Napolean "It is said that in French regiments composed of Swiss soldiers, it was forbidden, under penalty of death, either to play or to whistle it, since its strains would cause the Swiss to desert"(due to

[55] One of the earliest mentions of connecting managing herds to singing is in a folksong of 1531 mentioning whistling a Kuhreihen (cow rhythm or song) (Frauchiger, 1941).
[56] "Cowbells have been used descriptively and otherwise, as in Mahler's Sixth and Seventh Symphonies, and in Strauss's *An Alpine Symphony*, in each case shaken intermittently and in rhythmic structures…" (Blades, 2005, p. 392)

Heimweh) however the military laws referred to in this historical legend have never been located "(Frauchiger, 1941, p. 129). Here, Heimat is ascertained through the experience of Heimweh (Home sickness), a response to physical dislocation and "foreignness", response that the bell gives voice to because of the way it brings "home" to the place of dislocation. Home is maded present through the sound of the bell.

A gap however emerges between the present of our immediate lives and the past of imagined lives, both our own and older pasts beyond our experience that are part of a network of memories. Material objects, which have personal and historical significance, like cowbells, help to bridge or erase that gap especially as incorporated into ongoing activities and sites of personal maintenance. The crisis of that gap is what results in Heimweh. It is an insurmountable gap, only breached by artifacts that seem to transcend time and place. Material objects with historical and personal significance help imagine a direct line of belonging. The cowbell in this way becomes productive of a "Volk" before, in case of the soldiers, their dispersal to a foreign land and, in the modern expression, recalls a pre- industrial Volk, and in the post-modern world the rootedness of home as opposed to the homelessness associated with globalization. Where the word "Cowbell" (Kuhglocke or Treichle) is indeed an arbitrary sign it is the actual, material thing that manages identity discourses both as a personal referent as well as a social phenomenon.

Because bells are awarded as prizes in all manner of contests from the Swiss sports of Hornussen and Schwingen to singing to high sales revenues to festivals such as Chalandamarz, Fasnacht, Sichelte Festival, the Treichle marches of Haslital and

Hasliberg, to name a few, they enter into the private spaces of homes as decorations and marks of social value and participation. In an interview with a well-known wrestler coming out of Emmental, I was given a tour of his home. Throughout the home cowbells of various sizes and makes, were on display. These cowbells were given to him for his athletic prowess in Swiss wrestling (Schwingen) and for his work for advancing the sport. Cowbells are also not uncommonly given as gifts for celebrations such as weddings, birthdays, retirement and graduation or used in by protestors in demonstrations. Just as cow bells can be found hanging in restaurants and bars and other public places, they can also be the discursive touchstone for a particularized Heimat of exclusion. Cowbells cement belonging through practices that are simultaneously unassuming (by the bell's ubiquity) and distinctive through its centrality in regional festivals and celebrations. Distinctiveness is also marked by the ability of the holder, the history/status of the bell and the context for the bell's presence. Cowbells are a public accounting of a private subjectivity pointing to Heimat and the nation.

Heimat is produced in actively re-creating the past rather than just consuming it (Rosenzweig and Thelan, 1998, p. 23). Cowbells provide a means of highlighting community membership by marking a shift or change of social or economic significance. For example people will join social and public gatherings where bells are being rung in order to mark the change of winter to spring, signified by phrases like "bringing in the new season", "sending away evil spirits". This seasonal shift of course is important when considering the actual harsh conditions of winter and coming season where planting becomes a possibility as well as the opportunity to leave the house for more social

gatherings. While modern living has changed some of reality of dealing with harsh winters, in places like Canton Graubünden/Grison, near the Italian border, it nonetheless is still part of the social practice marking belongingness. Here the “treichle”, central to the “Chalandamarz”, which is a festival dating back to the Roman times (circa 58 AD – 400BC), is rang every March by children marching through their villages as they sing. The narrative is that this practice was thought by ancestors to ward off evil spirits, as well as sending off winter and ringing in the coming spring. The ongoing enactment of the festival celebrates the community’s past as an isolated and independent alpine community and its material heritage located in song and cowbells. People use material goods to understand themselves and their relationship to a larger community (Rosenzweig and Thelan, 1998) within a historical context. Cowbells could rightly be considered central components of “past related activities”. And yet cowbells also are part of a tourism of nostalgia. The nostalgia of Heimat (Heimweh) as the yearning for a specific local, is differentiated from say the activity of a tourist buying a cowbell at a souvenir shop which is a generalized nostalgia about an agrarian past.

Conclusion

Heimat is a rooted experience of the private home that finds expression in material artifacts. These privately experienced and publicly acknowledged artifacts become means by which we experience our own subjectivity, but also become the sanctified representations that silence other kinds of belonging. As in the case of the Yenish, histories become subsumed under the weight of official and private narratives that document and reflect one majority culture. The private materialization of Heimat is

expressed in not only owning such objects but also in having the authority to speak about and use these objects. It is in this way that, for example, the cowbell becomes multiplied outside of its use value as an agricultural tool and enters other discursive and symbolic spaces. This extension of its use is that which at once opens up who is able to use it, but also closes down its narrative structure. The further it is from being an actual tool, the more it emerges as a decontextualized and de-historized symbol of Swissness. This becomes especially evident when thinking about current legal undertakings in Switzerland to 1) reduce co bell noise by having farmers remove cowbells and 2) removing cowbells altogether in response to studies that show it causes distress to the animal (as opposed to the idea that it instills pride in the cow).

While both the cowbell and the fountain serve as a place around which to concretize ideas of Heimat, they act differently within their private scopes. The bell is, in and of itself, part of the lexicon of Swissness, especially the Alpine and rural Switzerland found in advertisements, tourism and the Volk revivalism of right wing political parties. Where the photograph *echoes* themes found in claims of Swissness, whether in popular/mass culture or in political discourse, the bell is both a thing (the referent) *and* a symbol that generates ideas and feelings on Swissness. It is also an object that is still an “actively used” aspect of the past. It is the past made present whereas the photo is something of the past that has been captured and is referred back to. The bell is emergent and static, symbolic and actual and thus available for political and other kinds of appropriation. The meaning found in photographs however is socially negotiated in private spaces and meaning is located in narratives about home. Both of these objects

enter into a discursive regime on Swiss Heimat that is deeply private. Where the photograph is often more securely situated within the private communication of people and their memories, the cowbell overlaps the private and the public. Bells, especially when placed in farmhouses, are objects that leave and re-enter the public and private spaces, depending on their use – as decoration/storage in the home or as part of decoration informal or formal celebrations. The cowbell is as recognizable in the larger landscape of symbols as well as concrete artifacts that face into the background (becoming dusty with disuse, or as a matter of form in their placement). This ordinary and extra-ordinary quality to the cowbell provides a way in which to claim authenticity.

There are other "past related activities" that I have not paid attention to. Some of these include collections, particular hobbies, tracing family histories, going to museums, talking to family members about the past that also provide people a sense of an intimacy with their past and meaningfully connect them with larger, collective histories (Rosenzweig & Thelen, 1998). While these certainly are past-related activities, what I have been thinking about here are the ways in which people mediate the past with material objects in order to engage intimately with their own present. This mediation is an embodied practice that imagines objects aesthetically, emotionally and practically and becomes a concrete way that the self is reflected on as not only atomized and unique but as connected to history and institutional structures. This is a way of actively documenting the past, like creating a family tree, but it happens as a matter of course in day-to-day activities and as part of people's social lives. We are all preservationists in a way, documenting our connection to the past by the ways in which

we decorate, build and move through and interact with our environments. This preservation and creative work is something that both invigorates personal connections while silencing narratives that don’t have the same access to a materiality that authenticates belonging.

Chapter 4: Landscape and Nostalgia

"The intrepid Swiss, who guards a foreign shore,
Condemn'd to climb his mountain cliffs no more,
If chance he hear that song so sweetly wild,
His heart would spring to hear it, when a child;
That song, as simple as the joys he knew,
When in the shepherd-dance he blithely flew;
Melts at the long-lost scenes that round him rise,
And sinks a martyr to repentant sighs…"
- Samuel Rogers (1792) The Pleasure of Memory

Introduction

In 1998, a comparative-historical article on landscape and nationalism in Canada and Switzerland, by Eric Kaufmann and Oliver Zimmer, pointed out the lack of theorizing on the relationship between national identity and landscape:

> "Given the importance that from the eighteenth century onwards the natural environment has occupied in definitions of national identity, it is somewhat surprising that little attention has been paid to date to the interplay of landscape and collective identity in the major works on nationalism." (p. 484).

With continued focus on structural, political and economic theories of nationalism, over a decade after this article was published this area of study continues to lag. This is especially interesting considering the varied scholarship on landscape and state formation, everyday (banal) formations of nationalism, anthropological assessments of embodiment and "being in the world" that analyze identity as part of contingent practices rather than absolute formations. Additionally, the material turn in cultural history since the 1970s and the spatial turn in the social sciences, has considered how subjectivity is derived out of the relationship between people and their material worlds. And while space is a relative experience as much as it is an absolute phenomenon I am

conducting my observations about landscape and nationalism through the lens that asserts, “any space is contingent upon the specific objects and processes through which it is constructed and observed” (Cosgrove, 2004, p. 58). Space as an absolute phenomenon is crucial for the *state* project of creating a territory, but it this very space that, conceived of as relative, produces a territory that is self-referential. What I am interested in is how space and natural geography are produced in Switzerland 1) as part of state nationalism and 2) as part of the private experience of Heimat (personal nationalism).

Switzerland provides an excellent case study for the ways in which landscape is entangled with public and private narratives of national identity. In my fieldwork in 2010, 2012 and 2014, landscape consistently emerged as a hegemonic narrative around public and private national subjectivity. This is no surprise as Switzerland has long been associated with its geographic elements such as the Alps, mountain lakes and fields of farmland. But this is especially true of the Alps. Famous peaks such as Eiger, Jungfrau and the Matterhorn, become a kind of hieroglyph for “Swissness” from Romantic era narratives on nature to modern popular culture versions of Heidi and, of course, tourism. In this chapter I will explore how landscapes through their representations shape understandings of Swiss Heimat and the ways people use, live and work in these landscapes. “Space calls for action, and before action, the imagination is at work.” (Bachelard, 1994, p. 12) Through sports, the landscape structuring laws under a program called “Heimatschutz” (home protection) and the narrative of hiking trails, geography of both the “natural” and domesticated variety enter into domains of discourse that reveal

geography as a medium through which nation-state identity is produced and experienced as both personal and "natural".

Landscape/Landschaft and Heimat

Landscape here is divided up into 1) the more "wild" or "natural" parts of Switzerland, for example sparsely populated regions in the Alps, and then 2) the landscapes more continuously produced through human use, such as farmland and villages where Heimatschutz is regularly implemented. Landschaft, the German word for landscape, is as much a region associated with customs as it is a mapped territory. So, in other words you can talk about the "Berner Landschaft" and what might be included in this sweeping statement is not only the current territory as outlined by Canton Bern, but also the various dialects, associated cultural festivals and defining landscape features which include the Berner Oberland, among a host of other regional characteristics. The English word landscape then, in some ways, doesn't do the same "work" as the word Landschaft as it is a word closely associated with the broader images of pastoral estates or rural settings, and the historical mapping practices of cartography that coincided with the "emerging capitalist land market" of England(Cosgrove, 2004, p. 61). While I will be using the word "landscape" throughout this chapter I will incorporate the regional sensibility of the German word Landschaft.

In Switzerland formations of the national imagination around citizenship legitimates belonging through a connection to a local Heimat, a Heimat that is both a legal construct of belonging as well as being deeply embedded in personal associations with a particular landscape where one has grown up. This personalization of territory

privileges those narratives that intervene on, and are intervened on, landscape. Landscape in the Romantic nationalist view, is a natural part of one's identity and belonging, and this view persists personalized expressions of nationalism. In order to understand the specific mechanisms of landscape as a part of Heimat and a personalized national identity I will first provide a historical backdrop on the role of Swiss landscape in the formation of the nation-state and popular culture before turning to my fieldwork examples. In attempting, in my research, to re-center the private experience of a national identity to explain the affective power of nation state belonging, landscape and geography become particularly powerful mechanisms through which to locate national belonging as a subjective and personal. The landscape as Heimat is formulated through historical narratives and regional narratives of rootedness, embodied experiences and state formations of citizenship.

In this dissertation I have been arguing that Swiss Heimat emerges both as part of a public and political imagination as well as a private one etched in experience and nostalgia. Landscape is at the heart of construction of a Swiss Heimat. This is evident in both national myths, political and personal narratives and more broadly, as I will take up in the next chapter, as part of more internationally circulated depictions of Switzerland that intersect with commodification and tourism. Heimat as landscape is the reality of the landscape itself and its territorial dimensions, the legal belonging (through citizenship) to a locale and the nation, and that banal movement through landscape as one remembers it. Heimat links individual history to that ineffable dimension of the nation that is part of a nostalgic past and an experienced present. This affective

dimension of landscape precludes it as a merely administrative mark on a map. As I will show, the “birth” of the Swiss national state, its civic nationalism and myth of freedom as linked to moral character have long been part of hegemonic narratives that see these as natural outcomes of the Alpine landscape. This imagination of Switzerland as both the land of freedom and as the “seat of virtue” was popularized by 19th Century Romantics and it is there that primordial nationalist discourse as well as narratives of “natural” belonging gain traction.

Theories of nationalism, especially by ethno-symbolists, have accounted for the role of landscape in Romantic nationalism but, as Kaufmann and Zimmer point out, the contemporary relationship of landscape to a collective national identity continues to be under theorized. I contend that this is directly related to the roots of the concern with and scholarship about nationalism itself. The kind of critique that Gellner and his contemporaries concerned themselves with, the necessary excavation and displacement of Romantic nationalism because of its direct and powerful relationship to tyrannical Romantic nationalism in the form of Nazi Germany. Nonetheless Romantic nationalism continues to be how the state, and state power, is legitimized through political discourse. It is necessary thus to understand both its historical dimensions as well as the role it plays in the daily lives of those who identify with a national identity. I am extending Kaufmann and Zimmer’s analysis by considering the ways in which individuals formulate private understandings of themselves as subjects of the nation through their experience with representations of landscape and their physical experiences within in landscape(s).

I think it is important to point out that Heimat is dialogical in that it depends on an explicit territorial dimension alongside a mythologizing of landscape as productive of individual character and a collective “geist” (spirit). It is this latter aspect that brings together the imagination of a peaceful national multiplicity within Swiss federalism and the ontologically political argument of the Swiss right defining Swissness. This is a primordialist viewpoint that sees the territory as a natural heritage rather than a construction of a space through state logic, inscribes the landscape as not only a birth right, but as the birthplace for the culture and character of “Swiss people”. A politicized Heimat that exists within this primordial vision is reliant on Swiss subjectivity produced within a mythologized territory and geography pre-ceding the nation. It is this precedent that legitimizes both the state and the nation. The imagining of national subjectivity in this way is layered within embodied practices that occur within the legacy of the cultural agenda of 19th Century Romantic nationalism. In Switzerland, much of these ideas arose out of the work of Alpine adventure and science tourism, not the reality of the peasants living in the harsh terrain of the Alps.

Romantic Nationalism and Landscape

Starting in the late 18th century, in response to industrialization and the movement of rural populations to urban centers, there emerged a counter movement that is often referred to as Romanticism. These counter- “Enlightenment” ideals, produced by artists and thinkers across Europe, and even the American West, offered up both idealized and radical imaginings of a personal and unbroken relationship with nature. From painters Caspar David Friedrich, Albert Anker, Albert Bierstadt to poets

Emerson, Whitman, Shelley, Blake, Wordsworth, to thinkers Rene Rousseau, Karl Marx and Arthur Schopenhauer, to name a very few, emerged a transcontinental dialogue on the relationships of humans to one another, to capital and to the material world. Coinciding with the "golden age" of the modern Western nation-state, emerging nationalisms become one of the key means through which Romantic ideals were expressed. And it was here, in the nature-nurture component of the era's developing nationalism, arising out of the Galtonian vision of human beings as superior or inferior according to their genetic make-up, that the natural Swiss (usually male) intersected with nostalgia. In this case a nostalgia for the genes of the "Alpine herdsman"[57]. Nostalgia, the defining sentiment of the Romantic longing for a return to nature, is at its core an idealized affective entanglement of the self as a "natural historical subject" shaped by heritage, the materiality of space and place, especially nature. In is in this context Switzerland's Alpine landscape became the ideal and the project for nostalgic enterprises for constructing Swissness as rooted in and shaped by territory.

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[57] "Galton used the example of the Swiss family Bernoulli, who produced several generations of famous mathematicians, to illustrate hereditary genius (Galton 1892). Whereas in the U.S. "Fitter Families Contests" were deployed to show off the importance of "good marriage", Switzerland used popular presentations, film and popular health bookds, such as Werner Schmid's (1939) "Swiss Youth! The Destiny of the Fatherland depends on you!", to emphasise the importance of selecting appropriate marital partners…Swiss eugenicists adopted more a biological eugenicism than a class eugenicism as their search of the 'homo helveticus alpinus' type (Kreis 1992) upheld the biological merits of the rural lower classes…the urban poor, as elsewhere, were seen as more problematic…Swiss eugencists avoided creating a racialized or ethnocised national eugenic discourse despite the refquent usage of the synonymous 'racial hygiene' ("Rassenhygiene") as it allowed them to avoid having to deal with Siwtzerland's multi-ethnic populations." (Gerodetti, 2006, p. 221)

While it is not my project to enter into a lengthy discussion on the Romantics, it is necessary to address the relevance of this historical backdrop, especially Romantic nationalism, as it pertains to current trends in Swiss nationalism and nostalgia, concerns that sit at the heart of this project. Nostalgia, the defining emotion of the Romantic era, is embedded in modern Swiss nationalism and animates discourse on Heimat. This nostalgia is attached at once to personal memory of home, historical myths and a political discourse of belonging that counts on materiality as a medium. Given its relationship to the past as being brought forward to the present, nostalgia is deeply attached to the embodied experience, or sensory memory, as it resonates with the mythic imagination. Thus the focus of Romantic art and literature on capturing the sensorial experiences in their works through emersion, rather than standing apart in observation. This relationship to the material as a hieroglyph of the past and as an authentic testimony for that past is marked by longing. This is a “nostalgia for the natural object, expanding to become nostalgia for the origin of this object” (DeMan, 1985, p. 6). Landscape as a sensory memory and as a discursive formation, is at the center of Swiss political and social nostalgia, animating “Swiss identity” as mythically outside of and beyond race while also being attached to a “natural” formation arising out of a relationship to territory that is physical, personal and mystical.

It is also interesting to take a moment to note the opposing character to the Romantic nature traveler, which is the flaneur of the urban. As opposed to the urban flaneur, who observes and is observed and embraces the urban crowd in the industrial modern experience, the romantic nature traveler is depicted as immersed alone in

wilderness scapes, communing with nature. Where romantic travelers, such as Wordsworth, are suspicious of the diversity and noise of the city, the urban flaneur sees the city as legible, cultured and filled with possibility. Both figures are arguable continental, gendered and both are certainly modern, but each represents different ends of the Romantic spectrum. They represent the tension between the universality of modern *men* (for it is gendered) and the individual triumph of man that sacrifices for the good of the whole (also gendered). It is the romantic nature traveler whose imagination we enter when consuming narratives of Switzerland and the Alps and it is the flaneur's imagination we enter when consuming narratives of Geneva, international declaration of human rights and the International Red Cross. It is the romantic traveler however that has left the strongest legacy in imagining Swiss identity.

In their analysis of the ways in which natural environments become significant to a national identity, Kaufmann and Zimmer's (1998) offer up the useful phrases, "*naturalization of the nation*" and "*nationalization of nature*". "Naturalization of the nation" is the process whereby a symbolic link is created between natural environments and nations, defined as resting on "geographical determinism", where the natural environment is seen as "doing more than expressing certain national virtues and characteristics" but rather is the force "of moral and spiritual regeneration capable of determining the nation and giving it a compact, homogeneous, unified form" (p. 487). This geographic determinism, the ideals of the 18th and 19th Century Romantics, is still evident in the textual and visual discourse of the romantic nationalist ideals of the current political right and is rife for assumptions of a "natural" process of national

identity that is from the bottom up. "Nationalization of nature" is when "popular historical myths, memories and supposed national virtues are projected onto a significant landscape in an attempt to lend more continuity and distinctiveness to it" (p. 486). This self-conscious development of a national image folds natural landscapes into national identity as a means of providing authenticity.

While Kaufmann and Zimmer focus on the "naturalization of nature" in Switzerland, both "naturalization" and "nationalization" of nationalism are noticeable in the Swiss context. Starting in the late 18th there is already clear evidence of this. For example, Swiss naturalist and author, Albrecht von Haller, in 1729 finished his poem "Die Alpen", a work that exalts the natural state of the Alps even as it is a botanical work, explicitly ties the Swiss "character" to the geographical terrain of Switzerland. This literary piece exists within a larger body of work, not unusual for the time, where authors used the natural world to describe the human condition. The romantic vision of nationalism gains momentum in the 19th Centuries, especially within the circles of The Helvetic Society [58] (founded in 1761), we find that *nationalization of nature* is the predominant approach of the intellectual elite. The Helvetic Society, along with other

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[58] The Helvetic Society was a patriotic society that existed in two forms from 1762 – 1798 and then again from 1819 until 1849. The goal of the Helvetic Society was to offer an explicitly "national vision" that aimed to be inclusive, seeking members from all the cantons to engage in patriotic and social events." (Zimmer, 2003, p. 50). While there were many other organizations, including local ones, the Helvetic Society played a pivotal role in producing "patriotic communications". The Helvetic Society was disbanded in 1849 because the modern birth of the Helvetic Confederation, an aim of the society, was finally formed in 1848. There is a New Helvetic Society, set up in 1914, that takes its inspiration from the original Helvetic Society.

civil societies after the French Revolution interested in a reform approach, sought to universalize bonds across religious, ethnic and linguistic identities in the still regionally fractured Confederation. Landscape became one of the key means by which to affect the unification of the diverse regions. Though largely led by Germanophone members, and few Catholics, a national Helveticism based on nature began to take hold in a more sustained and widespread fashion. The French occupation of Switzerland ends in 1803, and it is the following year that Schiller's Wilhelm Tell is published, a play that incorporates nature as the natural ally to the Swiss herdsman in both his escape but also in his hardiness.

The vision of Helveticism as tied to the landscape came from outside of the Confederation as much as it did from internal sources. Well known European author's such as Schiller, Wordsworth, and Bryon, Rousseau, and Swiss author's such as Holder, Spyri and Anker, were largely in agreement on the objective nature of Swissness. Their various portrayals of Swiss herders, peasants and heroes, such as Wilhelm Tell and Heidi, imagined them as products of a heroic Alpine landscape. The idea that both Swiss cultural and national characteristics arose out of the Alpine geography gained traction as these images proliferated in an increasingly global economy. These prolific images and writings, enumerating the experience of Alpine geography as "authentic Swissness" still circulate today through updated stories of Heidi or in the reproduction of festivals and traditions as consumer attractions, continue to be a hallmark of Swiss nationalism and tourism. It is the heroic landscape legacy that is at the heart of a nostalgic Swissness for a local Heimat and the Heimat writ large.

The Pastoral Ideal and Volk Fetish

In the introduction of Gellner's 2nd edition of *Nations and Nationalism* (2006), nationalism scholar John Breuilly, explaining the role of folk culture in nationalism, says that in some cases states, such as the United States and France, have "pre-existing high cultures" which are then extended to the larger society, whereas a state lacking a "high culture" will, through "nationalism constructs", transform a folk culture into a "high culture" (p. xxviii). He then goes on to extend this idea about folk culture explaining that there are "folk cultures" with states of their own, explicitly mentioning Switzerland. To some degree the legacy of Alpine heroicism, embodied in literary figures such as Tell and Heidi, are examples of this, to say nothing of the folk songs and plays dating to the 16th Century that were resurrected in the historiography of the 18th and 19th Century. The problem with Breuilly's assessment, aside with the terms "high" and "low" culture, is that in casually throwing in Switzerland as his example, is that this obfuscates this role of historiography in formulating a "folk culture". This is not to say that all folk culture in Switzerland is "false", but that its various characterizations are more than spontaneous expressions of a people and include volunatarist and organic descriptions.

According to Swiss historians the decentralized nature of the early political system in Switzerland led to the development of reading societies that included men from all levels of society. There were also other associations that were devoted to specific causes, like developing better farming techniques, advancing science and, importantly, the study of history. The Helvetic Society was one such early cross-regional associated, founded in 1761 and its goal was fight against the old order with a

progressive agenda and to “reinforce bonds across cantonal, religious, regional and linguistic barriers”. (Wimmer, 2011, p. 725) Overtime a blend was created between the pragmatic impulse of creating a state through civic and political societies, and more mythic and organic narratives. In the 19th Century the organic impulse quickened as the geography of Switzerland was gaining “currency as a symbolic resource”. (Zimmer, 2011, p. 186). This force legitimized and underpinned what could rightly be called a Volk fetish, a deeply nostalgic vision directly correlated to the relationship between Swiss identity and landscape. Swiss landscape has been used as a symbolic resource not only as standing in for the reflected virtues of the Swiss nation, but also as that which shaped those virtues and a national character. Landscape as Heimat fetishizes a universalized Swiss Volk as citizen, masculine, and connected to the land.

While there a number of material sites for the discursive formation of Heimat, one that arose during my fieldwork that I found to be of particular interest, was sports. Of course, investigating sports as sites of national imagining is not new, but what has captured me is not just the sport itself but the role of landscape in the sports and the sports as discursive formations of Heimat. The two that I draw on are Hornussen and Schwingen. The use of farmer’s fields, the push against professionalization and focus on Volk cultural ritual around domestic space as feminine and the public as masculine continues to be embedded in these Swiss-German sports. While hegemonic in delivering ongoing narratives about cultural and political belonging, there is also an anti-capitalist, pre-modern nostalgia that refuses commodification on a mass scale. This is not true of all sports in Switzerland (i.e. skiing or football, or soccer as it is known in the United

States) but is found specifically in the sports of Schwingen and Hornussen (and a few others). Both are predominantly played in the Germanophone parts of Switzerland, though Schwingen has actually developed to envelope a larger, more international audience. Of especial interest in Schwingen is the role of capital and arguments about its potential impact on the “authenticity” of the sport as a Volk sport. While most current political invocations of Heimat very comfortably traverse ideologies of liberalization of markets alongside images of an “old timey” Switzerland, Schwingen has become a site of contestation about Heimat and belonging. I analyze the sports of Hornussen and Schwingen from their material content, interviews with players, representations, and the social and political formations around the games.

Hornussen

Hornussen and Schwingen are rich sites through which to analyze formations of Heimat and nostalgia because of their reputation as modern practices with antique roots, their resurgence during nation building in the 19th Century, a recent uptick in popularity, the available symbolic discourse and the way in which games becomes a banal site of practice of cultural and political belonging. Schwingen has been documented to have been played since the 1200s according to a relief of the sport displayed on the Cathedral of Lausanne that dates to this time period, and Hornussen to the 1600s, according to church records at Lauperswil (1625) and Trub (1630). Schwingen was banned, according to popular legend, after the Battle of Murten in 1476, when the skill of the Schwinger soldiers was seen as a threat to the elite or, alternatively, because of the tendency of Schwinger participants to hold festivals on

Sundays instead of going to church. In fact, the dating of Hornussen is possible precisely of this phenomenon as well. The church records for the earliest accounts of Hornussen exist because of church disciplinary bodies citing church goers when caught playing on the Sabbath instead of attending church. Schwingen was banned from the 17th Century until 1805 when it was reconstituted and Hornussen's first official association began in 1902 in Burgdorf. This civil and state investment in Swiss Volk culture as both material and as practiced is evident in the 19th century and early 20th century dates and, as I've mentioned, it was during this span of time that the founding narratives of the nation and the state were actively being pursued.

Narratives of the nation and the state date back to the 19th Century and the Medieval era, respectively. Through local church records, depictions on antique material culture and literature, Hornussen and Schwingen are documented to be at least 300 years old, however their modern iterations are located in the 19th Century. This dating pattern is true for a number of cultural symbols as well as sites and festivals I visited during my fieldwork. I provide a few examples here only as reference. Chillon Castle on Lake Geneva, as a building with residents, dates to the 12th Century, however renovations that "restored" the castle date to the late 19th Century. The narrative of the St. Bernard, as depicted in the museum exhibit in Bern in 2014, tell a similar tale. While the documentation of the breed itself attends a long and often unclear history prior to the 1800s, the officiating of the breed through a registry and the St. Bernard Swiss club also began in the late 1800s. The Federal House (Bundeshaus) was inaugurated in 1903. This is also try of the narrative of Switzerland's founding date. While modern Swiss state

was founded in 1848, the “primordial” roots of the nation are characterized as belonging to the 13th Century (1291).[59] In particular, as mentioned earlier, the state as a territory co-evolves alongside the ideology of the nation as reflective of a landscape. Schwingen and Hornussen, in addition to entering the official state discourse on nation bring together local myth and material and cultural practices to become discursive sites of nation building and the local proto nationalist subject. Participating in Hornussen or Schwingen authenticates one’s belonging in the landscape as a national territory and as a local place. The materiality, the accompanying narratives of nostalgia and the land as a site of belonging for players, in particular men, circulate as constant framing for the experience of these sports.

A cross between baseball and golf (see image 7) Hornussen is usually played in a farmer’s field. On one end of the field there are players with large paddles (Schingle) in their hands (see image 8), and on the other end there is a sand filled pit (or several) with another team taking turns as “batters” in front of a long, thinly curved metal “run” low to the grown. The batters carry long flexible “bats” that on the hitting end are topped with a piece of cork (or similar material) that makes contact with the puck (Nouess), and on the holding end, have a section of gripping material. In between these two ends the “bat” is made with a thin, long flexible fiberglass material. The batter takes this flexible

[59] 1803 marks the historical end of French occupation of Switzerland and it is on the heels of this event, and perhaps in reaction to it, that interest in Swiss history as a national subject and the Swiss subject take hold. Today, one might speculate that the recent surge in interest in Swiss “Volk” culture is in response to similar stresses. Instead of defining against French occupation, Swiss culture is defining against and within flows of globalization.

bat, some 3 feet in length and, standing in front of the metal “rise” that is low to the ground, winds up and swings with the cork end breezing along the curvature of the metal rise to meet up with a puck held up at its termination by a piece of clay. This puck is sent soaring (hopefully) into the field and the fielding team throws their paddles high into the air attempting to knock the puck down. The further the puck flies, the more points the hitting team attains. According to the official Hornussen website (www.ehv.ch) the sound of the puck (Nouess) as it flies through the air makes a sound similar to a hornet. In my interviews however with Christian however he said that the the puck used to be made of cow horn and that the word “Horn” comes from this. Either way, the name of the game brings together the two root words Horn (hornet or horn) and Nuss (puck).

One older gentleman in the Hornussen group at Thalgraben (I interviewed teammates on teams located in Thalgraben and Arni) recounted the origin story of Hornussen as evolving out of warfare, where the enemy would be knocked down with the pucks. As for the reason to play the game today, the initial reaction to my question was often “I don’t know” and then players going on to recount that their fathers had played the sport, that it was a way to get together throughout the summer and that they had “grown up” playing. “My grandfather played, my father played and so I play. And now I am too old and don’t play well, but the guys still let me come around”, as one team member stated. It’s importance was highlighted by the various teammates, as useful in valley warfare against elite imperialists from the urban centers. The game, in this rendering, becomes an insider sport that provides community and protects the local

and rural character of that community. While nobody had dates, or and the data conflicted considerably among re-tellings, the overarching narrative was one in which Hornusse was the means by which local independence was maintained. This myth was also confirmed by Christian R., the President of the Emmentaler Hornussen Association (EHA)[60]. This narrative differs markedly from one that sees the state and church as disciplinary powers that actively repressed the game but also supports the common sense understanding of Hornussen as a "people's" game. My research was inconclusive about the use of Hornussen in any type of warfare, however it is likely that it was a means of settling local disputes and certainly has been used/is used as a social function in the summer.

Image 7: Author winding up, Arni Switzerland, 2014

[60] In interviewed Christian on June 29, 2014.

Image 8: The “outfield”, Arni Switzerland 2014

Hornussen teams is typically consist of farmers who play for locally affiliated teams. These local affiliations are generally associated with either a larger valley (i.e. the Emmental, Simmental, etc), or a smaller “graben”, or mini valley found within a larger one (i.e. Thalgraben). The game, even at the level of the cantonal organization, is run by volunteers and the players play for the social aspect of the game and sometimes for the prestige associated with a well sponsored and strong team. The amount of local players available determines how wide of an area a team might represent, but it also might be the case that a player moves from a smaller area team to a larger valley team because they are a stronger player than what can be found in their local team.

Both Hornussen and Schwingen emerged from the Emmental and are played predominantly by men on farms or open landscapes dedicated to the sport. According to EHA President, Christian, the game is still a gendered one. While on occasion you do

see women playing, there is always a great deal of speculation regarding her hitting scores or ability to knock down a puck in the outfield. The appearance of women is rare on teams but generally tolerated is the self-conscious consensus of those I interview around the practice hut that day. Hornussen upholds the masculine image and practices of belonging, steeped in local patriarchal associations and traditions. In my lifetime of returns to my family's home in Emmental there always is, as there was when the picture (image 7) above was taken, a great deal of teasing when I step into the practice sand pit. Women are typically not attending practices either, except perhaps as spectators or afterwards to join in with the eating and drinking. During games they are expected to either participate as spectators or in the capacity of keeping score, and/or serving drinks and food.

When asked about the importance of landscape, Christian said that the landscape is what creates the Swiss character, and then went on to enumerate the ways in which the Swiss landscape appears in advertising urging urban dwellers to visit the countryside or for tourists outside of Switzerland.[61] While he began with the

[61] "The [Swiss] identity is very much tied to the land. The Swiss goes to the country to vacation in order to learn about all of it. They don't go to the city. For Swiss culture they go to the country on vacation. They go hike and whatever. They go to nature where it isn't as populated…When you are on the land you see farmhouses. Beautiful old farmhouses. Newly renovated farm houses. You see cows. You see what you eat…you see the gardens of the farmhouses. You see everything. You see the hay for the farmers for the winter. In the land you see everything. This is true for all Swiss. Even if a French Swiss comes to Emmental. They come for the mountains and for the hilly landscape and for the culture, because it is different here. The people from Zürich come here too. We have more forest. More landscape." When asked if the landscape forms the person or the person forms the images of the lands, Christian answered, "It's more that the land forms the person. Right now there is a lot on TV about Swiss culture. And whenever

explanation that echoed the "naturalization of the nation", he ended supporting his claim with the evidence of media representation of rural Switzerland as indicative of a culture bound to land. In other words, the nationalization of nature found in media stories on Hornussen and Schwingen became the evidence on the importance of nature to the Swiss. It is evident when attending a Hornussen practice the intimate role of landscape to the game. As the men sit around waiting to practice and taking turns in the outfield, talk turns to the growing season, problems with cows or local gossip. The land confines the game and changes how it is played according to weather, the relative steepness or flatness and the distance of any forest cover. The practice field for the Thalgraben group occurs on a field that often has dairy cows turned loose in its confines. Their presence is a casual source for conversation and the sound of their bells is an ignored and yet present background as the practice carries on. These features add to the sense of the rural rootedness of the game and become features in media representations urging tourism to the local area.

Hornussen heavily relies on a rural ethos of extreme locality. While this is also true of Schwingen, to a degree, it is far more noticeable in Hornussen. Teams, and their

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they talk about Swiss culture, they always talk about the landscape. Not the city. The regional land, with the farmers and all that entails, that which is less populated. That's why today the sport arts like Schwinge and Hornusses are getting more popular because the media and Swiss people are more interested in what is from an older time and from the land." Does Hornussen belong to the land? To Swiss culture? "Earlier, it was like this, farmers played Hornussen. They just occupied themselves on Sunday [playing Hornussen. They played 10 times a year on Sunday. And they met up. That was the main point. The sport wasn't the important part, instead we met up. Different regions met up and measured themselves against each other. It really wasn't a sport but a Sunday occupation." (Personal Communication, 6/29/14)

fans assert their community belonging often through the “wappen” or “crest” of their local community found inscribed on shirts, jackets and the “schingle” (paddles for knocking down the pucks). These “wappen” are also proudly on display in the huts near the practice sites, alongside the cowbells, drinking mugs and pennants that reveal years and places where games were won. The hut is a kind of mini-museum of the particular Hornussen club it hosts. This focus on the cultural experience seen as inherent in Hornussen or Schwingen events, exists as part of the structure of the games. The attending materiality in the paraphernalia for attendees and for participants is important to the authentication of nation and belonging. The ritual and mythology associated with the sports’ tools, the stories told of players and past contestants, and the association of the sport with the landscape all enter into a practice of the self as a national subject

Schwingen

Schwingen is, in short, Swiss wrestling. Tournaments are usually located in large outdoor settings, often on the land of a farmer, where rings are set up in which wrestlers engage in competition. The rings are comprised of deep sawdust that breaks the fall of the wrestler. Wrestlers wear canvas shorts over jeans. Within the vicinity of the rings are both water fountains and communal wrestler shorts that players use. The water from the fountain serves to wash the sawdust from the face and neck and to quench thirst. The tournaments are known for drawing crowds of onlookers that are there for the competition as much as they are for the beer drinking and fare of sausages and bread, often sold by the local farmer. There are also the invariable Volk singers,

dressed in the black and red yodel club jacket, decorated with an Edelweiss, and sometimes alphorn players that sing and play before the festival as people settle in on the benches around the wrestling rings.

With the advent of this popularity and attending financial gain for players and venue holders, there is ongoing debate as to how this affects the, what are seen as, traditional qualities of the sport. The Emmental-Arena, an open-air arena that is dismantled after the competitions end, was built specifically for the event and holds 52,000 spectators[62]. Schwingen is gaining in both national popularity and international stature (unlike Hornussen which is still considered a regional curiosity). In 2013, in Burgdorf in the Emmental, there were more than 250,000 spectators at the *Federal Schwingen and Alp Festival* competition, a competition that takes place every 3 years in Burgdorf and has its beginnings in 1895. These attendees were interested in watching Hornussen, Schwingen and stone throwing competitions. According to a study by Lucerne University of Applied Sciences and Arts, between 2001 and 2013, there has been an increase of over 100,000 viewers at this festival.

During my fieldwork of 2014, I interviewed former Schwingen champion and then (as of the interview) elected, though volunteer position, as the president of the Middle Land Schwingen Association Marco W[63]., in Hochstetten, Switzerland. I also attended the practice of a local boys Schwingen club in Bolligen Switzerland, and

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[62] This information is according to Swiss Info, an online newsource. Retrieved from http://www.swissinfo.ch/eng/culture/swiss-wrestling-championships_schwingen--from-a-sawdust-ring-to-a-mega-event/36792148

[63] Interviewed Marco on July 1, 2014.

participated during that practice. Finally I attended a larger competition on a farm in the Emmental region.[64] In my interview with Marco he explicitly expressed that there was a relationship between the landscape and a Swiss identity. He said that this was obvious when one visited the various regions of Switzerland and saw the stark differences in "Swiss character" found throughout the nation. He mentioned the classic difference of the person from Bern being slow and the person from Zürich as a quick doer and quick talker[65]. He felt this was true of any Swiss citizen. In relation to Schwingen, he drew connections between the history of Schwingen and the test of strength between those living in the Alps, saying that Schwingen was in its roots a "strength testing of the herdsmen in the Alps during the Fall, when underway to the Alps, would stop and test one another to see who was stronger." He also made the clear distinction between the "turneschwinger", which evolved later, and the "senneschwinger", the herdsman wrestler. A distinction he described as one based on wrestlers as being from the urban or rural areas. He also added that initially this difference caused a great deal of conflict. The main ways he distinguished these sets of wrestlers was to say that city wrestlers were more technically savvy and wore white clothes under their wrestling pants, and the "senne" or country wrestlers were often stronger and from the rural areas of Canton Bern and wore dark pants and blue flannel shirts with Edelweiss on them.

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[64] This is not the first time I have attended such an event, but the first time doing so with the explicit intent of analyzing it.

[65] This is a widely-held differentiation between the two areas of Switzerland, immortalized in cultural sayings (i.e. "slow as a bear" in order to refer to those from Bern, whose cultural symbol is the bear) and even songs.

The event itself is one surrounded by symbolic nationalism, emblems of Heimat and sport rituals that are inculcated in the sport regulations. Before every match the wrestlers shake hands and after every match each wrestler must wipe the sawdust off of their opponent's shoulders. Advertising is not allowed at events and the prizes come in the form of a variety of cultural objects, including handmade clocks, wreaths, cowbells and furniture. The top prize is a young bull, which the winner can sell. The sport centers itself on a masculine Swissness, with women generally regulated to the traditional areas of cooking the food and organizing of prizes. There are female wrestlers, though they are rare and, as with Hornussen, are often considered to be a spectacle of interest rather than athletes pursuing a serious endeavor in the sport. This aspect of Schwingen arose in my interview with Marco and while he opined that it was healthy for young girls to wrestle, ultimately it would be harmful to them physically because women, in his estimation, were not strong enough to wrestle in a sustained way without injury. When I told him I had wrestled at a local practice he merely laughed. He also insisted that the traditional role of women at Schwingen events was essential to the nature of the event itself and that only women could take on these tasks.

In the interview Marco overlapped ideologies of Heimat, family, masculinity and landscape. His emphasis on the history of the sport and its local and rural roots, as well as the men who played, seemed to articulate to him a personal responsibility and investment in the sport as former player, but also as a quasi-historian and a traditional Swiss man. This was for him one of the "true" national sports (along with Hornussen and

stone throwing) where young men could test themselves among other similar men. The vision of Swissness seen through the lens of Schwingen becomes a masculine egalitarian landscape with deep ties to nature and an agrarian lifestyle. What this silences however are the increasingly opening up of Schwingen to international competition as well as the closing down of this sport to “secundos” or those non-national Swiss born in Switzerland. According to Thomas Renggli (2010), because of the conservative reputation that Schwingen has among urban youth, many secundos do not opt to join a Schwingen club (p. 102-103). So while the numbers of participants from rural areas increases every year, the same is not true of the urban areas.

The Emmentaler landscape, like the Berner Oberland, is commonly found in the popular images of Hornussen and Schwingen. Inserted into this landscape however is not just the social possibilities offered up by the land, but personal Heimat claims that offer up political connections between a “Volk sport art” and Heimat. Political leaders are often found attending regional Schwingen or Hornussen events as well as being involved in the sport. In addition to the objects present at the Hornussen match that are relevant in some way to the sports history or the enactment of the sport, there is also the presence of the SVP. Throughout official Schwingen and Hornussen events, for example, you will find the SVP logo on material used for the event itself: pens, fans, sun hats and so on. There is nothing overtly political about the discretely placed logos. The material objects with the logo are blandly inserted into the ritual of paraphernalia that aid attendees in more fully participating, for example providing pens to help keep track of scores, or sun hats to minimize sun exposure.

This connection of these sports to a local community is one that is seen as across time and bound to place. This is especially evident in the way in which the *Berner Zeitung* reported the story in March 2014 of the Hornussen team that was without Heimat ("Happy End für Heimatlos Hornusser", http://www.bernerzeitung.ch/region/emmental/Happy-End-fuer--heimatlose-Hornusser-/story/25947517). In 2014 the Kirchberger Hornussen team, located in Canton Bern, lost its home playing field. There is a great deal attached to home playing fields as there is often a considerable historical timeline associated between teams and respective playing fields, as well as huts for storing equipment, and mini snack bar/kitchen arrangements for socializing. This was the case with the Kirchberger team who was about to celebrate their 125th anniversary in their Heimat playing field. The arch of the article in the *Berner Zeitung* is a narrative about a team that is Heimatlos (has no home), even comparing them to being in asylum (Asyl), and then finding a way home. At one point the team does find a benefactor that provides the team a spot to practice, but is is not located in the team's Heimat, as the article states that despite the lovely gesture (of being allowed to use the field), it was not the team's "Heimat". ("Eine liebe Geste zwar – trotz allem war es eben nicht die Heimat und nicht die eigene Reis"). Ultimately the team is able to return to their Heimat through the donation of a strip of land to the team by conservative center BDP (Conservative Democratic Party) politician Walter Bütikofer who is described in the article as "BDP regional council, farmer and entrepreneur" ("BDP Gemeidrat, Landwirt und Unternehmer"). This story is discursive practice of identity

acting within the frame of Hornussen and land. Heimat is at once a location that is bound to time and place and politics.

In an increase in popularity for “back to land” experiences of the kind that Christian R. mentioned in our interview, older hegemonic narratives about the nation come to life in the material. Hornussen and Schwingen take on new meaning within the backdrop of landscape. Landscape inarguably pre-cedes any knowable rural life in Switzerland. It is its birthplace. The nostalgia derived from local land features has become the focus of ad campaigns which front experiences of rural landscapes as authentic Swisness. An ad campaign in Bern for example, showed an electronic image of a man on a billboard talking to urban residents in real time. In homespun cloth and a folksy dialect, the older gentleman teases passersby to drop everything and visit Grindlewald. In another instance, as of the time of the writing of this dissertation, the Swiss Radio (SRF) has an online advertisement seeking contestants for their show “Farmer’s Kitchen”). The ad shows women wearing traditional Swiss clothing walking across a field, not in a kitchen. The old and the new merge. In the former, the ad campaign uses the static and timeless image of the Alpine herdsman but employs modern technology to make the image interactive. The experience of and practices surrounding materiality help strengthen the bond between the nation and the self, past and present. “Material enactment” allows private individuals to use material objects of national identity in order to identify as a national subject. However, this material enactment can also be used to reveal a gap in the debate on national subjectivity wherein a certain portion of the population is denied access to ownership of the

national identity or appropriates material enactments to make oppositional claims, such as in the case of Secundos. Either way, everyday material culture found in Hornussen and Schwingen is used to make a claim on or about the nation and enables public memory as emergent and historical. The ways in which these claims are supported are not just in how the sports are enacted or experience, but also in the formal ways that aspects of their play is framed. Given the centrality of the role of landscape to Swiss national identity and more regional expressions of that identity, I now turn to the framing of landscape through legal and formal practices.

Denkmal and Heimat Schutz

Heimatschutzgesetz (Swiss heritage law) is a set of legal requirements that construction companies, organizations, businesses and even private families, encounter when building, adding on or renovating an older site or a site deemed as culturally significant. These laws are a result of the 1966 Federal Act on the Protection of Nature and Cultural Heritage. The Organization of Swiss Architectural Conservationists (Konferenz der Schweizer Denkmalpflegerinnen und Denkmalpfleger, or KSD), is responsible for the protection of historical objects important to a commune and/or region (Canton) in particular, and Heimatschutz (Swiss Heritage) is the concern with the landscape of a Canton that is designated as relevant to Switzerland generally and thus engenders national protection. Overall, Cantons and municipalities are responsible for directing the protection of objects deemed to be of local historical and cultural importance, however the Canton can apply for federal aid in the protection or upgrade of monuments. Additionally, the Cantons are responsible for maintaining an inventory

of objects (natural or otherwise) that are of national rather than merely regional significance and provide these updated lists to the Federal government. Objects are understood as both natural and human made objects (i.e.. a large boulder left behind by a glacier or an older building) critical in maintaining a "landscape picture" (Ortsbild) in keeping with particular localities, so that while the larger Swiss heritage laws are directed from the federal level, they are instituted at the Cantonal and even municipal levels.

In short the organization of managing cultural heritage sites is such that the Cantons are tasked with administering Denkmalschutz, through the nonprofit Schweizer Heimatschutz (SHS) and the Organization of Swiss Architectural Conservationists (KSD). The Federal Inventory of Landscapes and Natural Monuments of National Importance (Bundesiventar der Landschaften und Naturdenkmäler von nationaler Bedeutung, or BLN), is concerned with the preservation of natural objects significant for the beauty, their uniqueness or their historical importance. The BLN was a result of an initiative ProNatura, an environmental protection group in Switzerland, Schweizer Heimatschutz and the Schweizer Alpen Club and they receive their inventory of objects to be protected from the Cantons. The organization of preservation is significant in that we see a proto-nationalist framing that privileges localized identity constructs. This is evident when traveling in Switzerland and noticing the change in regional architecture that can happen even between valleys. The purpose of the maintenance of these objects is in maintaining local and regional differences that are seen as cultural. In all

three of these organizations, landscape is part of the overall conceptual framing of the object.

The Federal Office for Culture (Bundesamt für Kultur), under which Heimatschutz falls, states on its website that the federal government has supported architectural heritage since 1886 and that “Monuments are a piece of history. On them hang experiences and memories. They bear witness to earlier times and social changes. They outlast centuries and assert themselves in a changing environment. In this way monuments are made present. The give Switzerland an unmistakable face and situate her people”.[66] The monuments then are mediators of the past, they are the silent witnesses, but more importantly they are the arbiters of experience and memory. In other words, the protection of monuments is not just that they provide a kind of cultural material present of a past that authenticates the present nation, but they are also forces of nature with which we interact. We discover ourselves through our embodied experiences with them but also because of the experiences that cling to the monuments themselves. Unlike a museum, where the objects in question are “out of circulation” and are reminders of another time, the monuments that concern Heimatschutz are considered to be still relevant to an ongoing sense of a “natural” Swiss identity, but also a belief that the material object can tell us about the past. The act of

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[66] “Denkmäler sind ein Stück Geschichte. An sie knüpfen sich Erlebnisse und Erinnerungen. Sie zeugen von früheren Zeiten und gesellschaftlichem Wandel. Sie überdauern die Jahrhunderte und behaupten sich in einem sich verändernden Umfeld. Daher sind Denkmäler auch ein Stück Gegenwart. Sie verleihen der Schweiz ihr unverkennbares Gesicht und verorten die Menschen.” (http://www.bak.admin.ch/kulturerbe/04273/?lang=de)

living with and within these monuments as well as the way in which the landscape appears with them means that they become the currency by which identity is managed and understood.

In Worb, Switzerland a schoolhouse and communal bread baking kitchen for the town, are both covered under culture heritage laws. While the former is considered to be fairly typical of a heritage building, an older school house, the latter is what is typed as “Hoch Denkmal” or “high heritage” which means that is a building of more significance than a typical heritage monument and thereby exists within stricter parameters (images 9 and 10 below). To be considered a Hoch Denkmal the architecture or monument in question receives financial support from the Canton for its renovation and upkeep. In the case of the schoolhouse, which was allowed to be renovated as an apartment complex, internal elements and some practical features, such as the garage, are reconfigured for modern use while external elements such as the window shutters and the window frames were strictly interpreted by local ordinances in order to fit the historical time period of the building. As is evident from the photo, the schoolhouse exists near other modern buildings that while architecturally distinct form the schoolhouse, are not taller or more dominant. The baking kitchen, on the other hand, because of its uniqueness and ongoing use by the local community, must be strictly interpreted so that it is “maintained” as historically accurate. The local contractor who worked on the schoolhouse spoke to me about the need for such preservation so that the regional landscape didn’t lose its “character” while also expressing frustration over

details, seemingly inconsequential and impractical for renovations such as the schoolhouse, that he was forced to accommodate.

Image 9: Worb, Switzerland, schoolhouse next to modern apartments, July 2014

Image 10: Worb, Switzerland, community bread baking house, “offehüsli”, July 2014

Contractors are often located at the convergence of state requirements for Denkmalschutz, the interpretation of Heimatschutz as a larger conceptual frame and their own memory and experience of the landscape in which the monuments occur. In nearby Grosshochstetten, a local contracting firm is in continuous conversation with the local Heimatschutz and Denkmalschutz offices of Bern as they work on retrofits, new construction and remodeling in the local area. In my interview with one of the owners and operators of the contracting firm, said about the schoolhouse, said he didn't quite understand why, in the end, the schoolhouse fell under "Denkmalschutz" given 1) it's relatively young age (it had been built in the 1930s) and 2) there had been modern buildings built directly next to the schoolhouse in 2011 (the modern buildings can be seen in image 9 above). These two characteristics, he felt, should excuse the schoolhouse in particular from any kind of Denkmalschutz regulations. More to the point however, the contractor complained that the modern buildings had been built at all, given that the bread baking house was of such a high protected status and was connected to the schoolhouse in terms of its use and that the modern buildings didn't fit with the landscape picture. He said that building the modern buildings wasn't a problem but that the new buildings should have fit in with the image of the village. According to him that there was a local outcry concerning the modern gray buildings, but that it had gone through anyway and there was rumor of nepotism and bribes.

The contractor's frustration becomes a site of where the state's operative power comes in contact with the banal. On the one hand the contractor, and local resident himself, is grateful for the intervention of the state on the landscape in order to

preserve it's Swissness. On the other hand, he is also frustrated by the uneven application of the laws and at times, the contradictory nature of their implementation. He mentioned, for example, that the retrofit on the school house windows had to be exactly in keeping with its time period, however other features, such as the basement door were not included. This contention over the amount of "authenticity" that goes into the building seems to arise out of practical constraints, such as not having the exact material from the era in question, cost of retrofits that seek an "authentic look", the dependence on which inspector comes to view the site and their predilections as well as the nepotism that he felt was a part of the process. The local Heimat here is constructed in law, in personal sensibilities and in the demands of the existing architecture that change with the demands of new technology and needs of the residents.

In the legal and social framework of landscaping, the state and nation intersect at local sites of belonging. Instead of mapping a region such as a cartographer would do by scaling relative space, an important aspect of nation building, Heimatshutz, starting in the 19th Century, maps a region by a scaling of cultural hierarchy through institutional and social practices that prioritize land as psychologically productive. So while, on one hand the geographical space of Worb is seen as an ontological given, a territory produced as representative set of coordinates and measures, it is, on the other hand, produced as proto-national, a region of the nation particularized through features of time (how old something is), history (in this case the perceived historical relevance of the object in question) and cultural practices (activities engendered by the nature of the artifact). Narratives about rural tradition, feminine domesticity and local connectivity

are produced by the way in which these sites are marked by their status and use. In the case of the kitchen, not preserved as a museum piece, but as a place for local people to come together, women in particular as was mentioned in my interview twice, to bake bread for public occasions. This public kitchen also provides a discourse through notes left behind about the occasions for bread baking through a communal log book. The domestic, the home, is made public through the use of the baking kitchen. A sense of continuity with the past is enacted not just through preservation then but through the ongoing access to, and use of, the kitchen by local women. It is this continuity that gives the kitchen it's proto-national magic. These considerations of time, history and local practice produce spaces as tangible articulations of unique characteristics of landscape and sites for practicing belonging. This material heritage, circumscribed within state practices, is commensurate with a sense of public subjectivity that adheres to a sense of belonging. The political and civic organizations structure the landscape, but people live in the landscape, experiencing the particularities of a space that make it a personal place.

Trails/Paths

Modern state structures and political practices centering on landscape, arise out of 19th and early 20th Century philosophical, scientific and artistic discourses about the relationship between a nation and land. These state structures provide sites of social practice wherein public subjectivity is experienced in relation to materiality. Natural and material culture in Switzerland are often produced as nodes of nostalgia in the day-to-day. Denkmalschutz, for example, institutionalizes the everyday practices naturalizing

the nation by both maintaining the historical artifacts in the public and by institutionalizing their social relevance as sites of cultural practice. In addition to creating a landscape of memory, there is a dialogical relationship between a public memory of Swiss myths and founding narratives and the embodied experience of the self as experienced within, because of and through landscape. In other words, one experiences the nation and oneself through materiality and the moving through space. This sensibility of landscape as knowledge through mobility is especially evident in the way in which the trail or path has been institutionalized in Switzerland as connecting local and national identity as well existing as an unspectacular means of pedestrian transport.

"Hiking trails…utilize the practical [existing] trails and incorporate a network of informal footpaths and streets as connection pieces. Hiking trails should open up places to rest, beautiful landscapes, cultural facilities, public transportation and tourist facilities"[67] (Swiss Hiking Federation, Federal Law on Footpaths and Hiking Trails, Article 3, 1985, p. 1). "And what a dynamic handsome object is a path! How precise the familiar hill paths remain for our muscular consciousness!" (Gaston, p. 11). The "Hauswegen" of

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67 "Wanderwegnetze dienen vorwiegend der Erholung und liegen in der Regel ausser-halb des Siedlungsgebietes. Sie umfassen untereinander zweckmässig verbundene Wanderwege. Andere Wege, Teile von Fusswegnetzen und schwach befahrene Strassen können als Verbindungs- stücke dienen. Historische Wegstrecken sind nach Möglichkeit einzubeziehen. Wanderwegnetze erschliessen insbesondere für die Erholung geeignete Gebiete, schöne Landschaften (Aussichtslagen, Ufer usw.), kulturelle Sehenswürdigkeiten, Haltestellen des öffentlichen Verkehrs sowie touristische Einrichtungen." (Retrieved from http://www.wandern.ch/de/verband)

the Berner (home trails of Bern) Heimatschutz and the "Swiss Path" on the southern portion of Lake Lucerne, from the Rütli meadow to Brunnen are two of many examples of the highly produced aspect of the nation hiking network. Their aesthetic and presence function to engage physically experienced narratives of the nation. These narratives exist within the network of trails through symbolic and material culture, providing discursive sites around which embodied engagement is productive of the self as a national subject. The "home trails" (Hauswege) of Bern (of which there are 5) take pedestrians on a meandering trail in the countryside past examples of local Swiss architectural heritage. The Swiss Path, located in central Switzerland was established in 1991 on the occasion of the public celebrations of Switzerland's 700th year. This path is 35 km long and has 26 sections, each dedicated to a Canton, and is marked with historical monuments and towns that engage with the foundation story of Switzerland. While the marking of these paths occur as explicitly state practices connecting landscape to the nation, the paths themselves existed before their official incorporation by the National Federation for Hiking in 1934. These two trails exist as part of a network of trails that compromise 65,000 km and are a common component of Swiss landscapes found both in urban and rural landscapes. (Image 11 below)

Image 11: Trail markers, Laufenbad, 2014

Moving through the landscape in a car or on a train, we are met with landscape as a whole and we are bound for a destination. When we hike, or walk through the landscape we enter into the landscape as active and co-productive. Ingold (2010) in talking about “ambulatory knowledge” distinguishes between the wayfarer and the instance of transport that “carries a passenger” from point A to point B (p 26). The former, according to him, is engaged in improvised movement and the latter moves in a linear fashion “across a pre-prepared, planar surface”. In this transformation of nonlinear movement, we are not just apprehending the landscape, but rather are brought into it to become part of it, familiarizing ourselves with the varied topography, with the houses along the way, the trees, the signposts. We read the landscape and our bodies allow for a personal reading as the earth impresses upon us its shapes, textures, smells and so forth. Part of the hiking paths in Switzerland are paved, but then transition

again into dirt. The dirt paths have been formed, in some instances by years of other feet, even hooves in some instances, that have scarred the earth's surface. Temporality is our existence within a plane of historical experiences, but also in the travel we participate in at eye level. Our bodies, the more familiar the trails become to us, comprehend temporal units with muscle memory. Traversing from one point to another there is labor legs pick up speed or remain at a languid pace. When we are met with obstacles, a tree falls in the path or the creek along the way has flooded, we improvise with our bodies. Changes in vegetation or street formations in the vicinity can alter the temperature or the smells encountered and perhaps change our perception.

I pass empty pastures during the day in the summer, the smell of grass and the singing of grasshoppers and the buzzing of flies mingle with the wet heat. The road is dirt and passes high onto one side with a precarious drop off if entering by car, or traverses at the "V" in the road on a low side that is less direct. On foot, the high road is more interesting and offers a better vantage point when entering the farm. At night, the temperature cools and cowbells can be heard on the meadows. Past the forest and down the backside of the hill the dirt path becomes paved as one enters town. Before reaching town we wander through forest glades exploring an old cave we played in as children and we seek out the gigantic, cavernous stone face that echoes are voices. In town, our wandering is less direct. We proceed to our original destination, the graveyard. Our grandparents' tombstones will be gone by my next return; their remains will be placed in a common grave. The path empties into the graveyard and we wander from stone to stone reminiscing on people we once knew or that were connected to us

in some way. We are hunting and gathering names, places, memories and childhood. Our pace is one marked by stopping, but not by hesitation. Heimat is here in the graveyard. Heimat is the old farmhouse we turn to once the graveyard has been tested by our narratives. The path in the dark of the forest near my mother's farm is "home" once the big glacial stone appears on the south side of the path. There are no yellow state markers in the forest here but when the rain comes the trees drip and the earth is pungent in that way that smells like home. The path pushes back at me, demands my attention. "When I relive dynamically the road that "climbed" the hill, I am quite sure that the road had muscles, or rather, counter-muscles" (Gaston, p. 11). My body makes memories that I can reflect on but also the details found in the landscape are "doing" things to me and the countryside. The glacial stone in the forest near my mother's home is "holding up" the hill in which it is embedded and the trees are "whispering" with their feathery tips.

Conclusion

Landscape as a material narrative provides a structure of meaning within which to engage in practices that personalize national identity. The past is not only something remembered but also it is "incarnate in the things we build and the landscapes we create" (Lowenthal, 1975, p. 6). The presence of the past moves us from observation to action, from object to subject. The past as something remembered is not without a point of view, it is encumbered with nostalgia. It is this nostalgia that is part of what produces Heimat. The past in my field work is manifested in the material which is brought into immediate subjective experience. Public and private memory intersect

around these sites. The state practices officiating landscapes disappears in the banal social and practices of the self that accumulate on paths, in ancestral homes and public spaces. The body becomes an intimate aspect of the landscape articulated with hyper nostalgic nodes. Walking, experiencing and seeing is personal knowledge upon which memories accumulate. Spaces "are products and tools of politically inflected forms of life" that are at once "physical, social and imagined" (Mukerji, p. 509, 2012). The experience of a spaces then is both temporal and actual but in the case where the state meets up with the experience of materiality, as is the case with the contractor, the the state re-emerges. Through Denkmalschutz places make arguments about who is is imagined as belonging to the national subjectivity. Immigration control is an argument about place and history and culture. It articulates ideologies, myths and provides scaffolding for the legal framework of citizenship.

Landscapes are not just legal and mental frameworks, they are not just symbols, but rather they are part of everyday lived experiences. They "work" precisely because they exist outside of "the nation" and within the private terrain of memory and experience. Landscapes is a thing of lived accounts and a mapped ontological reality represented symbolically, legally and culturally. Landscape is material evidence of a territory defined by coordinates as well as arenas of personal experience. In this way well known tropes such as bucolic Swiss farm houses in the Emmental, or famous mountains such as the Matterhorn, are not just reproduced culturally and politically, but are physically apprehended, hiked, experienced and observed. Swiss landscape takes up mental space and symbolic space as much as it takes up actual space. This is important

to articulate as it is a reminder of the fluidity between the raw material of what is perceived of, and claimed, as territory and the imagined space of the territory as a thing of personal and national meaning. In every interview I asked if there was a relationship between Heimat and landscape and the answer was always yes. The romantic ideal of a naturalized nation with regional specificity permeates everyday formations of knowledge that is institutionalized by state practices. "Yes, there is a relationship…especially because of the customized living in the areas and valleys. There is especially a relationship between the land and the mountain and the mountain and the valley. I think that this is rather a land of regions, that there is a strong relationship to the regions." (Andrea Salzmann, personal communication).

Peter Sommer: "The Swiss is more apt to be correct and a bit more conservative and wants to preserve the beautiful places that we have and my job is exactly that. We are proud of the landscape that we look at here and we want to keep it beautiful…and pass it on to the next generation." I asked him what he meant by "beautiful" and his answer was "Beautiful for me is diversity of the landscape and ecosystems. Beautiful for me is when that in God's name we don't just have trash left and right and broken down cars on the side of the road like in many other parts of the world but rather there is an intact landscape. Beautiful for me is cleaned up. Beautiful for me is a richly varied landscape. Beautiful for me is maintained."

"George Sand, dreaming beside a path of yellow sand, saw life flowing by. 'What is more beautiful than a road?' she wrote. 'It is the symbol and the image of an active, varied life.' "(Consuelo, vol II, p. 116). Each one of us, then, should speak of his roads, his

roadside benches; each one of us should make a surveyor's map of his lost fields and meadows. Thoreau said that he had the map of his fields engraved in his soul" (Gason, p. 11). It is these inscriptions within landscape that personalize national belonging and nostalgia. Heimat is continuity with the past, a past that is forever crumbling and that must be physically engraved and experienced not just as an ontological reality but as a subjective knowledge of the self. Heimat is a personal memory of a public place. Heimweh is the paranoid expression that insists nothing can save Heimat. It is Heimweh that has produced a market for Heimat. Heimat becomes an image of itself, a representation that enters into a stream of other images about rural Switzerland. In Switzerland, Heimat has become a third party commoditized representation of itself, flattened and up for grabs, the subject for my next chapter.

Chapter 5: Tourism and Historical Nostalgia

Introduction

Until now, I have been considering the ways in which the discursive materiality of Heimat becomes the means by which the nation is experienced as a personal dimension of self. I have been searching the interiority of Swissness that exists in relationship to an exterior reality shaped by objects, social life, histories, memory and embodied ways of knowing. People come to perceive themselves as part of a larger community but also as individuated Swiss subjects, through the ways in which objects allow them to integrate the past into their lives and maintain or revise parts of who they are. Objects are part of identity maintenance because of the ways in which a person's actions and thoughts are expanded and restricted by these them. (Kroger and Adiar, 2008, p. 8) In the case of a personalized Swiss national identity, some of what is incorporated into expressions of the national Heimat is also what is replicated in tourism. I am not entering into a debate about authentic and "inauthentic" experiences of "Swissness", but only offering this last chapter as means by which to layer the way in which the Swiss Heimat is perceived, understood and experienced. For over 200 years Switzerland has had a steady stream of tourism, especially Alpine tourism. While today's tourism is more diffuse in the sense that it encompasses many sites around the nation, earlier the tourism largely depended on the Alps and lakes for what is considered to be "health tourism" and "adventure tourism". These earlier forms of tourism coincide

directly with the rise of romantic nationalism, the nation-state as a political project and industrialization. So, in the Swiss case, tourism co-creates conceptualizations of a national and, sometimes, even a communal home.

The relationship between nostalgia and a national Swiss Heimat materializes in consumerism and a tourist culture that memorializes a Romantic vision of Swiss Volk culture. We see this with places and objects such as the Heidi House, the bear pits of Bern, Alp excursions and the St. Bernard museum in Martigny. Central aspects of this relationship is both in the act of acquiring commodities that have cultural signification, and in the layered stories that attach themselves to the purchasing and use of the objects. These objects however are not the giant state objects that curate public spaces, nor the personal objects that mediate home, but are mass produced objects made available for tourism. And yet, they are expressions of a national Heimat in the way that they echo dominant narratives of Switzerland. They are mass produced and come with little variety, falling into the category of kitsch. This material formation is a specific set of cultural signifiers that have entered the market of commodities. Here they exceed the commune and the state, but not Heimat. Marx noted commodities takes on a symbolic meaning once transformed from having a use value to an exchange value. In this way commodities, or material objects, resemble language, in fact every product becomes a "social hieroglyph". (Marx, 1867, The Fetishism of Commodities and the Secret Thereof section, para. 7). Cow bells, for example, still adorn the animals, as is evident in rural arenas and sites of ritual, but they transcend their original use value and are decontextualized significations of Swissness that are deeply nostalgic.

The intimate relationship between Romantic nationalism and capitalism in Switzerland found in the abundant cultural kitsch of tourism highlights nostalgia, or Heimweh as a central aspect of Swiss Heimat. The Swiss forever longing for Switzerland. Both the imagery and the sentiment is an occupying force in populist politics and popular culture. Recently, for example, the album Heimweh created by the Swiss singer Georg Schlunegger who brought together traditional male Volk singers from all over Switzerland, to create an album based in sentimental longing. None of the lyrics or the images in the music video would contradict imagery or representations found in Swiss tourism. Interestingly, while this material discursivity acts as a social hieroglyph for a Switzerland caught forever in an anti-cosmopolitan 19th Century mystic age of natural reason and beauty, the objects directed at the desires of the deeply cosmopolitan character of the international traveler and resulting from the structures of today's global economy blend and those that express a personal Heimat, merge. Switzerland's international economy of consumable identity is based on a historical and nostalgic Volk fetish that is widely expressed, and is concentrated and reflected in tourist kitsch.

Kitsch, the mass-produced object based in sentimentality, and widely available in Swiss tourist shops, is re-circulated within the process of politicizing Heimat. We see this in artifacts populating the politics of the Swiss People's Party. Their populist imagery is replete with goats, stuffed Bernese mountain dogs, cowbells and rural and Alpine backdrops. The relationship of Volk ideology to state, political and economic functions dates back to the nation-building era of the 19th Century when historians, and civic and political societies began to catalogue and import local forms of identity into the national

story. Of course, this process was piece meal and decontextualized and thus had a reductive effect. Hobsbawm calls this "invented tradition". But given the embedded nature of some of these objects in local practices, it could also be noted that the state colonized localized practices for the national project. Because of this, these objects are available for appropriation in political discourses and rhetorical displays narrating the national imagination, but they do not lose their emotional weight.

To understand the role that tourist kitsch has in producing the nationalist Heimat of Switzerland, it is necessary to explore the roots of the relationship between industrialization, the birth of the nation-state Switzerland, Romantic nationalism and the birth of tourism. The banal and everyday practices that I have until now been focusing now, become extraordinary because they are transformed as performances and social hieroglyphs readily available for appropriation and consumption. Heimat is flattened and re-circulated and returns to rest in national imaginings of Heimat. But even as this process further sanitizes the project of a Swiss nationalism, a nationalism based at once in Heimweh and a forgetting, it also leaves it open for interpretation. This last aspect I leave for a brief mention in my conclusion.

Romantic Nationalism, the Natural Sciences, Mountaineering and Kitsch

Romantic nationalism was indispensable in constructing nation-state identity and mythology in the 19th century. Historiography, civic and social organizations, the museum industry, artwork and literature were all elements attending this development. As Zimmer extensively wrote about in his "A Contested Nation" (2003), this was an uneven but cross cutting process that enveloped many strata of the confederation's

society. Given the lack of an ethnic center, Romantic nationalism was indispensable to providing Switzerland its national "navel", a project the surrounding nations, such as Germany, were not struggling with. Everyday material Volk culture, the landscape, and the "natural" Swiss that was seen as arising out of a love of open air, alpine ruggedness, democracy and self-reliance became the hallmarks of representing a Swiss ethnie. These catalogued and formalized elements of Swissness coincided with the rise of the tourism industry, scientific inquiry and concerns about the human relationship to nature. The philosophical, literary and spiritual bent to 19th century Romantic nationalism are particularly sympathetic to features of Swiss nationalism. A Volk as tied to the land, and a Volk as "naturally" democratic and a Volk that lived in a geographically rugged topography are all elements that pre-cede Romantic ideals and are reified through them. Nowhere did this happen more vividly or to such an extent, as in regard to the Alps. These massive peaks, with imposing glaciers and steep hillsides, at once ensconced Switzerland in a protective, snowy mantle and also provided the herdsmen with a livelihood and dramatic vistas. Before the 18th and 19th Century however, the Alps were a terrifying landscape filled with stories of witches, and unforgivable weather and terrain.

Romantic travelers of the 18th and 19th, and even early 20th Century transformed the Alps from terrifying geological objects into subjective expressions of natural divinity, making them popular destination for artists, tourists, scientists and adventurers seeking the sublime (Schama, 1995). Swiss nationalism has layered within its nostalgic formations of Heimat the work of these earlier foreign visitors as much as it is a result of

deliberate state networking of proto-nationalisms and the emerging capitalist market. Swiss nostalgia then, is directly related to the tourist as traveler and the tourist gaze, a gaze that looks back in nostalgia as much as it is captured by it. The outsider who comes to visit and purchase or paint or write and then turns away from the exotic locale but leaves the impression behind. It is important to quote Swiss historian Dr. Daniel Speich (2008) at length here on the impact of this historical memory of tourism on modern Swiss Heimat nostalgia:

> "Swiss nationalism consists of a specific blend of historical and geographical imagination. In this, the idealization of simple rural life, as acclaimed in the pastoral ideal of the Baroque period, became a leitmotif. In the 18th Century, intellectuals from all over Europe projected their image of a pristine society upon the remote alpine valleys. Many visitors stopped at one of the villages on their tours to the classic Italian sites, enjoying the sublime landscape and marveling at the customs of its inhabitants. Modern tourism built heavily upon these stereotypes.
>
> As was the case in Scotland or Tyrol, the Swiss themselves took up the image of the free herdsman and made it and made it a centerpiece of a national identity. With industrialization, the percentage of farmers within the Swiss workforce quickly dropped to a level that was comparable to England. At the same time, the farmer became the prototype of the democratic Swiss citizen. He should be upright in character, distrust fashionable modernity, and cherish a deep love for the land. Displays of rural villages were highlights at the national fairs 1896, 1914, and 1938. In the 20th Century, the ideology of the pastoral ideal ultimately led to substantial government subsidies for agriculture." (245).

As travelers entered Swiss landscapes with the Romantic spirit in the 1800s, they were intersecting with the contemporary Swiss state formation process underway and spearheaded by societies like the Helvetic Society and the local ideas of Bodmer[68],

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[68] Johann Jakob Bodmer was a leader in the radical wing of the patriotic movement from the 1750s and onward. Considered to be progressive and "charismatic" Bodmer, an

Rousseau, von Haller and others that called for an identity based on rural values. This domestic trend was part of one of the two "ideological pillars of Switzerland's emerging national movement" that Zimmer (2003) notes in his book, "A Contested Nation: History, Memory and Nationalism in Switzerland, 1761 – 1891". The first pillar was "the preoccupation with the Confederate past" and the second was "the rejection of cosmopolitan cultural influences" (p. 51). It is this latter pillar that coheres with the national imagination about German speaking Switzerland both from within and outside of the country and rejects the French cultural elements and sections of Switzerland. The tourist's imagination is well documented by the famous European Romantic literary, artistic, scientific and adventurer circles, as well as in state institutions that formally collaborated with the burgeoning tourist industry. Tourism and the sense of national identity as a material experience in Switzerland, as a whole, can be directly traced to the Romantics.

Switzerland and the Romantics

The relationship between Switzerland and those Romantics that idealized the pastoral rustic and associated republican ideology with Alpine shepherds, changed to disappointment after Napoleon's 1798 and 1802 invasions. Switzerland had fallen to the conqueror Napoleon. Wordsworth in 1807 wrote in lament about Napoleon's invasion of Switzerland,

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instructor at the Collegium Carolinum, "taught a secular subject matter based on Enlightenment values and beliefs. In his lectures, he acquainted his students with the natural law doctrine and with Rousseau's philosophical works, and expressed criticism of the political status quo." (Zimmer, 2003, p. 43)

"…There came a Tyrant, and with holy glee Thou fought'st against Him; but has vainly striven; Thou from the Alpine Holds at length art driven…"

Though Worsdworth's poem, "Thoughts of a Briton on the Subjugation of Switzerland" were in fact a somewhat inaccurate recounting of the events, the dye had been cast[69]. With glowing recommendations by continental writers such as Lord Byron, William Wordsworth, Friedrich Schiller, John Keats, and Samuel Taylor Coleridge, the Alps came to represent a liberty intertwined with a wilderness virtue. Given the vast attention paid to the Alps by such prominent thinkers and literary figures, they became a destination for adventurer seekers, scientists and those seeking health cures. As the capitalist tourist industry merged with the ideals of the Romantic moralists, tensions arose. There were those who distinguished themselves from the intentions of the "tourists" coming to visit the Alps. The famous naturalist and mountain climber John Ruskin (1900) specifically deplored the merging of the tourist with the purist climber, and wrote in *Sesame and Lilies* about this group:

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[69] Wordsworth's depiction of the invasion of Switzerland by Napoleon as an act of tyranny reveals to be a far more complicated affair in academic histories. The invasion of Switzerland by France was encouraged by residents in Basel and Vaud and other revolutionary elements inside of the confederation who were unhappy with the Ancien Regime. The Helvetic was established in this time in order to centralize rule, limit Cantonal power and increase citizenship rights. The period between 1798 and 1802 was highly unstable. In 1803 a delegation of Swiss representatives went to Napoleon to mediate conflict among the progressive, radicals and conservatives. It was considerable insight when on December 10, 1803 he said, "A federal constitution is a point of prime necessity for you. Nature herself has adapted Switzerland for it." Two days later, he remarked, "The only constitution for Switzerland, considering its small extent and its poverty, is such a one as shall not involve an oppressive load of taxation. Federalism weakens larger states by splitting their forces, while it strengthens small ones by leaving a free range to individual energies." (Lardner & Fitzgerald, 1832, p. 258)

> "You have despised nature; that is to say, all the deep and sacred sanctions of natural scenery…Your one conception of pleasure is to drive in railroad carriages round their aisles, and eat off their alters. You have put a railroad bridge over the falls of Schaffhausen. You have tunneled the cliffs of Lucerne by Tell's chapel; you have destroyed the Clarens shore of the Lake of Geneva…The Alps themselves, which your own poets used to love so reverently, you look upon as soaped poles in a bear-garden, which you set yourselves to climb, and slide down again, with 'shrieks of delight.'" (pp. 54-55)

Ruskin's' nostalgia yearns for a Switzerland unharmed by the ambitions of this new age of tourist. The poem reveals the tension between the representation of Switzerland as the site of an authentic freedom based in nature and historical legacy, and the Switzerland as a land of tourist enterprises based in a passing pleasure. The vision of Ruskin reveals the internal workings of a nation bent on forming and a nation bent on surviving. Ruskin's longing for a Switzerland was sans the tourist adventurers he saw bent on unenlightened form of experience. The tension Ruskin expressed remains to this day in villages and valleys, that bemoan the changes made to accommodate tourism (such as the removal of cowbells or the silencing of churchbells).

The relationship between Swiss alpine and tourism however was cemented. The Romantics and their works were what enticed people to visit this "backbone" of Europe. The relationship between Swiss alpine tourism and the Romantic impulse was even institutionalized. The relationship, for example, between the Helvetic Society of Natural Sciences (founded in 1815), a society that was interested in documenting and preserving

the Alps, and the Swiss Alpine Club, a mountaineering club (founded in 1863), which worked together in protecting erratic blocks (large granite boulders left behind by glaciers). It was in collaboration that these two clubs, one dedicated to the natural sciences in Switzerland and the other to climbing, that glacial data was studied, especially glacier movement. John Tyndall, an Irish scientist and geologist, as well as an avid climber, produced prototypical narratives that come out of this kind of collaboration.

Tyndall joined the British Alpine Club in 1858, climbed the popular Mount Blanc three times and made the summit of the Matterhorn in 1868 (Tyndall, 1860/2011). He immortalized his mountaineering feats in "The Glaciers of the Alps: Being a Narrative of Excursions and Ascents, an Account of the Origin and Phenomena of Glaciers and an Exposition of the Physical Principles to Which They Are Related" (1860/2011). With passages that bordered on worship, exclaiming the beauty and grandeur of the Alps, a work that deliberately brought together "narratives and science", his book entered into the lexicon that brought together tourism, science and a romantic narrative of alpine nature. Tyndall's work echoed the earlier work of Swiss author, Albrecht von Haller, a physician, naturalist and a poet, but brought it to a wider audience. Von Haller produced works such as *Die Alpen*, a poem, wherein the flora of the Swiss Alps are presented in a manner that is both poetic and scientific. This work, written in metric, increased knowledge about the flora of the Alps, but also offered up observations about the moral importance of the Alpine landscape and people. It was in this blend of nature and Romantic idealization that Switzerland became an idea as much as it was a place.

Tyndall and von Haller's accounts popularize the Alps as objects of scientific exploration and, in turn as a tourist destination.

Through the organizations and societies such as the Helvetic Society, the Helvetic Society of Natural Sciences, the Swiss Alpine Club, Heimatschutz and a booming tourism industry, a national ideology was developing deeply indebted to materiality as much as it was to mythological narratives such as Wilhelm Tell. The institutionalization of nationalist mythology and ideology also gave birth to the form of materiality that would become part of tourism industry, kitsch. It is the folklore narratives of the early and middle ages, the "navel" of the Swiss nation, that come to be solidified in the material of the 1800s and, important to the background of my research, to the populist politics of Switzerland today. Trains taking tourists to Lauterbrunnen and the harsh environment of the Jungfrau, the story of Wilhelm Tell immortalized in the play by German playwright Schiller that continues to be played in the outdoor theater in Interlaken since 1914, the statue of Tell in Altdorf (1895), the fictional story of Heidi (1881) concretized in the Heidi House and Heidi Village in Maienfeld, and the 12th Century Castle Chillon in Vaud "restored" in 1877 are all examples of 19th Century efforts to enhance the material documentation of the nation. In each of these instances, these sites provide innumerable artifacts to purchase and/or are replicated as artifacts to be purchased. These sites provide a mediating experience of the "original" based in a sentimental orientation to that original. It is this sentimentality that is core to the experience of Kitsch.

In the historical nostalgia of Volk objects and Kitsch there is a ready market of "Swissness" decontextualized from their proto-nationalist frameworks and re-framed as part of the national backstory. This decontextualization erases the specificity and the attending particularities and variations of Volk memories found in less formal traditions, such as oral traditions, and instead re-frames these as national narratives. So, while the emotional roots of Switzerland are publicly celebrated as starting in 1291, what becomes clear is that much of the institutionalized material culture that relates to this ancient national Heimat is often dated to the 1800s. Heimat is "born" in 1291, but it is produced beginning in 1762 with the foundation of the Helvetic and other societies. This was a contested process, at times violent that later even confounded Napoleon. Heimweh becomes an expression of emotional trauma arising out of this dislocation of regional affiliations. Industrialization and the Romantic response further gave voice to this experience, materially depicted throughout Switzerland. There is a concerted effort to collect, represent and produce the nation in songs, sites and objects, as I have explored in the previous chapters, however kitsch plays a central role in this process in its very banality, sentimentality and easy appropriation, consumption and creation. Heimat is defended and revived in kitsch objects found in the domestic space, while the kitsch of tourism proliferates images and even experiences that become the kind of fun-park explorations of Swissness that upset Ruskin.

I will explore the way in which materiality plays out in personal and tourist practices of consumption by exploring kitsch that I have found in private spaces, including my own, as well as in sites of tourism. I visited many field sites during my

research, but in the interest of space I will focus on the Jungfraujoch "Top of Europe" experience in the Bernese Alps on the upper regions of the Aletsch Glacier. To analyze the ways in which material culture and capitalism contribute to historical nostalgia, I will explore 1) kitsch material objects that can be purchased in everyday locations, 2) kitsch objects and the interactive tourist site Jungfraujoch 3) the embodied experience of that highly managed tourist site and 4) the politicization of kitsch by the Swiss People's Party. Before I begin I will clarify my use of the word "kitsch".

Kitsch and Volk Fetish

The German word "kitsch" refers to something that is "sentimental, artistic poor taste; commodity designed in poor taste" (Duden dictionary, 1996)[70]. While the style of art likely existed before being named, it was recognized as "kitsch" in the mid 1800s, attending mass production, capitalism and Romantic nationalism, according to "Das Buch vom Kitsch" by Hans Reimann (1934) and "Kitsch: The World of Bad Taste" by Gillo Dorfles (1969). Marita Sturken in "Tourists of History" (2007) explains that kitsch is "banal, trite, predictable and in bad taste…" but can have a double reading where the "original aesthetic status" of an object might be considered to be in poor taste (she provides the lava lamp as an example) an object that is "twice removed" exists as an example of past popular culture and enters into a playful nostalgia, such as a Coca Cola souvenir displayed anachronistically next to religious symbolism (my example) (p. 20-21). This anachronism arose in my fieldwork where Heidi was displayed next to St.

[70] "Süßlich, sentimentale, geschmacklose Kunst; geschmacklos gestalteter Gebrauchsgegenstand" p. 408

Bernard stuffed animals and army knives. All objects from different times and different areas of Switzerland.

Sturken is helpful in moving beyond considerations of inauthenticity/authenticity or high/low culture binaries as central aspects of defining kitsch and instead investigates way which kitsch "works". In her investigation of how people navigate a memory or site of public trauma, Sturken articulates the ways in which kitsch helps produce clear narratives that don't question the culpability of the state even as it draws out its relationship to political culture. Kitsch is "meant to produce predetermined and conscribed emotional responses, to encourage pathos and sympathy not anger and outrage….Kitsch does not emerge in a political vacuum; rather, it responds to particular kinds of historical events and indicates particular kinds of political acquiescence" (p. 21-22). Sturken goes on to note that kitsch is also seen as related to a rise in fascism, such as in Nazi Germany, where kitsch artifacts proliferated. That the material culture of totalitarian regimes centers on kitsch is not only the pre-packaged sentiment but also that it appeals to a universal truth and a denial of anything that might be deemed unacceptable. This understanding also enters into my examination toward the end of the chapter of the Swiss People's Party and their reliance on kitsch as a political strategy.

Like Sturken's work where she explores kitsch, "caught up in the act of tourism" in the U.S. post 9/11 environment as part of the act of mourning, I am exploring kitsch as part of the act of mourning Heimat, as well as a means of inscribing and practicing the self. On the one hand, kitsch objects and kitschification of a place attempt to

recreate the emotional intensity of some "original" as part of a healing re-enactment. On the other hand, kitsch produces a historical pastiche that allows the buyer and user of that kitsch overturn historical objectification into a subjective practice. Kitsch, then, helps deal with and make sense of generalized loss, not just specific and traumatic events, such as 9/11 that Sturken explores, and it also works as a medium that makes the national personal. Kitsch is banal and extraodinary, like the nationalism attending its utopic vision of history. As I have mentioned throughout, Heimat is forever threatened in Swiss nationalist conceptions, be they political or personal. Heimweh becomes the nostalgic emotion of return and kitsch becomes the unapologetic vehicle for that return.

Kitsch is found in locations of tourism, but is also in daily commercial markets of the non-tourist. Kitsch is widely available, especially in a nation where tourism makes up approximately 11% of the economic sector[i], such as in Switzerland and, as I have said elsewhere, the tourism economy is rooted in Romantic nationalism, the era out of which kitsch is seen as arising. Mass produced objects such as key chains, fondue pots with the Swiss flag or Volk designs, red pens with white crosses, snow globes with Heidi scenes and so forth are widely available beyond strictly tourist markets. And some of these objects move between markets and often can hover between use and exchange value. For example, the widely varied iteration of the "Swiss knife" is a tool and not uncommonly found in a household just as it is found in tourist shops, kiosks and destinations such as Jungfraujoch. These knives are produced by Wenger and Victorinox. Ideologically they represent the French and German speaking parts of Switzerland with the former produced in the French Canton Jura in the capital Delémont, while the latter

is produced in Ibach, Switzerland in Canton Schwyz, the dominant Swiss German narrative of the cultural heart of Heimat. Both companies, since 1908, produce knives for the Swiss army, symbolically bringing together the French and the German speaking companies into the national fold. While kitsch is generally seen as “low brow” and somehow inauthentic, it is important to move beyond this understanding in order to see the ways in which kitsch is used as a practice of the self and a practice of belonging, but also in the way in which such objects can move along a continuum.

For my purposes kitsch materializes nodes of historical memory that aim at an emotional register centered on the nation. Kitsch is pre-packaged and available for immediate emotional and aesthetic comprehension and acts, as Heimat does, to collapse conceptions and even experiences of time and space. Kitsch encourages nostalgia and Heimweh. In the case of tourism kitsch becomes a site where the object and subject of national identity merge. Kitsch glorifies the national and produces products that miniaturize mythologies or Volk ways. “Values become engulfed in miniature, and miniature causes men to dream” (Bachelard, 1958/1994, p. 152). Kitsch then is nostalgic but in a way that bypasses a reflective historical perspective and instead works to instantiate a Heimat of loss and longing. Kitsch is also found in the landscaping or curation of a historical and natural site such as Jungfraujoch. My research at Jungfraujoch revealed the fractured nature of kitsch. Its effect is a kind of prism or (re)fraction of historical memory where the memory is blurred and multiplied by the uses and interpretations conferred on decontextualized, banal and mass produced material artifacts. These artifacts at once embrace and lionize a sentimental notion of

the local and the national and yet circulate within a global economy of labor and movement. I will review this process of kitsch as a node of historical memory that acts to bend historical memory to a subjective experience through 1) kitsch and Jungfraujoch and 3) kitsch and populist politics, namely the Swiss People's Party.

Jungfraujoch – The Top of Europe

The journey to Jungfraujoch[71] via the Jungfraujoch Railway to "The Top of Europe", is one that is intended to transport the visitor across time and space via a "culturally constructed spectacle" (Bell & Lyell, p. 24). This spectacle centers on moving through the dramatic landscape of the Eiger, Monch and Jungfrau such that it at once removes the visitor from the terrain, while immersing the visitor in the image, framed

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[71] Junfraujoch is considered a cultural heritage sight by UNESCO (designated in 2001) and is near the peak tourist destination of Grindelwald and the Eiger peak. 2012 was celebrated as the 100-year anniversary of the Jungfrau Railway, and in commemorating this anniversary the "Alpine Sensation" tour was installed. In my fieldwork of 2014 this installment was still in place. As the website clearly describes, "A 250-metre-long tunnel and two halls have been created between the Sphinx Hall and the Ice Palace to provide space for staged presentations. Switzerland is presented as a wonderland. In a hall decorated with edelweiss lights, stands a giant snow globe depicting life in the Jungfrau Region and Switzerland. In a teeming crowd of wooden figures, the public are shown typical clichés and surprises in a constant interchange of day and night. On a moving walkway, visitors pass a 90-metre-long mural showing Romantic paintings and illustrating the passion for the Alps and the development of tourism.The founder of the Jungfrau Railway, Adolf Guyer-Zeller, and his ground-breaking vision are also themes in the Alpine Sensation. The idea of constructing a railway to the Jungfrau is linked to other great technical achievements realized during the belle époque era. Historical photos are a reminder of the construction workers, most of whom came from Italy, and one century ago blasted a tunnel through the rock of the Eiger and Mönch. A memorial commemorates the names of all 30 workers who lost their lives during construction of the Jungfrau Railway. As a finale to the round tour, visitors cross a bridge through Europe's highest-altitude karst cave." (http://www.jungfrau.ch/nc/en/tourism/news-events/news/detail/archive/2012/03/article/alpine-sensation-auf-dem-jungfraujoch-eroeffnet-1048/)

by the train's windows, of the grandeur of alpine nature. Dates mark the trip: 1893 the opening of the Wengeralp Railway, 1898 the opening of the Kleine Scheidegg-Eigergletscher section, etc. Taking the train from Interlaken to the Jungfraujoch one moves from the lower reaches of the Alps to the highest railway station in Europe, at just over 11,000 feet. Built from 1896-1912, the Jungfraujoch Railway, traverses steep mountain terrain, encounters many days of harsh alpine weather and tunnels through the mountains Eiger and Monch, framing the encounter with the surrounding terrain historically and aesthetically. Indeed, the ride is one that moves past the experience of the terrain as a physical challenge and instead frames it as an image, an image both familiar and epic and, in its accessibility, domesticated. "Great images have both a history and a prehistory; they are always a blend of memory and legend, with the result that we never experience an image directly. Indeed, every great image has an unfathomable oneiric depth to which the personal past adds special color" (Bachelard, 1958/1994, p. 33). Public memory collides with the phantasmal and the material world of the Alps.

The Phantasmal and the Material

(Field Notes) *As the funicular climbs and the international and dense crowd*[72] *of visitors clutch their "Jungfrau Railways Passport", the oxygen begins to get noticeably thinner and the chatter in the train seems to settle into a low murmur. Looking around, many are clutching cameras, phones and iPads looking out of the train's windows and*

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[72] There were over 3,000 visitors that day because it coincided with a publicity event attended by Swiss tennis star Roger Federer and U.S. ski star Lindsay Vonn.

taking selfies or photos of the landscape and each other, exclaiming in a breathtaking amount of languages on the scenery unfolding in front of us. Looking around me at fellow passengers, clothed in shorts, sandals and without sun glasses for this sunny excursion high in the rocky, snow barren Alps, it is almost surreal to think that we are passing through the Eiger, behind the north face also known as “murder wall” (Mordwand) and entering a terrain as unforgiving as one could imagine. As we take a break in the tunnel of the north face we are treated to window,s blasted out rock, that provide an incredible view from the Eiger of the glacier field and valley of Lauterbrunnen far below us. I cannot ignore the difference between my comfortable train journey and that of many adventurers, but especially of those long ago rail workers in this treacherous location. This murder wall, from which I so comfortably view my surroundings, has seen over 60 climbing deaths since the 1930s, and 30 railway workers’ deaths in the time of the construction of the railway. A lady next to me tells her daughter that the tunnels are haunted by the dead railway workers.

The experience from the train, is the experience of the landscape and of the phantasmal. The terrain gives us glimpses of the terrain surrounding Jungfraujoch. It is illusory in that its very accessibility of the view the train provides, obscures the physical demands of such a geography. This pleasant, rocking journey is perhaps only impeded on by the decreasing amount of oxygen that attends such heights. It isn’t just that the peaks of this territory are impressive as they are laid open to the eye, but they are also familiar. The Eiger itself has been in five films. Where the Eiger appears often as a more menacing Alp, it’s equally famous cousin the Matterhorn, has a more benign

signification though its slopes have led to the death of over 500 people. At the Top of Europe, the final stop on the tram ascent to the Jungfraujoch, these narratives collide. This is captured in the mountain's Disneyesque portrayal and the way in which diffuse claims of Swissness are transported to its environment, both in the curation of objects that provide the visitor with photo opportunities and in the gift shop. This is the ultimate Swiss experience loaded with the well-known symbols.

From the moment one is transported on the vintage tram with the red "Jungfrau Railways Passport", a passport that is reminiscent of the actual red and white Swiss passport, to the moment one enters the "Top of Europe" "high-Alpine wonderland experience", billed as an "adventure platform at 3454 meters above sea level"[73]. The journey is not one of reflection on Swiss history or on the history of Grindelwald or Lauterbrunnen where the peak is located, but of nostalgia for a past of Swiss peasantry and the steadfastness of the Swiss populace in carving out their expertise as engineers. One is bodily entering the material manifestation of Swissness (the Alps, sitting on a train, eating chocolate and so forth) while also safely apart from the dangers of the terrain. The tourist enters an economy of signs that make claims about authenticity and an economy of sensations, the adventure advertised, that demand little apart from the capital to experience Jungfraujoch. One never needs to step outside into the snowy terrain to witness the alpine grandeur because inside the building, a glass walled viewing platform with a 360-degree view of the surrounding landscape is available just

[73] This information can be found on the Jungfrau, Top of Europe website: https://www.jungfrau.ch/en-gb/

beyond the “Ice Palace”. In fact, for those who fear heights and prefer to avoid the viewing platform, find that the platform is replicated within the “Jungfrau Panorama”, a cinematic “audiovisual journey through the Alpine world” that reinforces “the distinctiveness of this location and the immense power and fragile beauty of nature” (http://www.jungfrau.ch/en/tourism/destinations/jungfraujoch-top-of-europe/experiences/#jungfrau-panorama_784). The “Top of Europe” is an excess of imagery and sensation not unlike an amusement park, located centrally at the site of the sources for the images displayed. The mountain becomes turned in on itself, an image of what it is, as one is walking through and around it.

Pastiche at Jungfraujoch brings together disparate parts of Swissness into one concentrated and material experience. The wooden bench with Heidi’s grandfather and nearby wooden Heidi carved in a moment of quiet repose with a goat where tourists can stop to take pictures. The piped in Volk music distinctively Swiss with extended phrases of yodeling and alphorn accompaniment. The sound of cowbells, not unlike the sounds greeting on the tram through the Zürich airport. The sensations are surreal and the feedback is a concentration of all the stereotypes of Swissness. The music that I have heard sung in intimate settings that included yodeling, were suddenly taken up here in a bland recreation of that yodel, detached from any particular song. The sound of cowbells, the sound of the farmland, was echoed here over loud speakers and in the tourists shaking miniature bells in the gift shop. A St Bernard strolls casually with a handler for photo opportunities. The images produce an echo of regional particularities. That yodeling is usually part of a song, or an expression of loneliness, or a rif within an

accompaniment, that Heidi's story, fictional as it is, comes from Canton Graubünden and that St. Bernard's were bred in a monastery in Valias near Mont Blanc are all unnecessary details. The necessary details are the national story and a backward looking to a time when mountain trams were the engineering and technological feats of their day.

The "Alpine Sensation" tour, marked at its entrance by the statue of Heidi and her grandfather and a giant snow globes displaying the local village of Lauterbrunnen, marks the 100 year anniversary of the Jungfrau Railway. Romantic paintings of the areas alpine scenery adorn the walls, greet the visitor. Deep inside the glacier, where the Top of Europe is located, is also the "Ice Palace". This walking self-guided tour takes the visitor through tunnels of ice offer a seemingly endless array of ice sculptures and ice tunnels. In both environs guests can comfortably make their way in sandals, shorts and a comfortable gate t possible because of the flat terrain that has been engineered for this purpose. Outside of this ice mountain experience one can venture onto the slopes of Jungfraujoch itself, and indeed some have even hiked from the village below the Top of Europe. From here it is possible walk to other locations, pay to sled or snowboard down a short slope or just stand about long enough to have claimed the outdoor experience of Jungfraujoch. The sun burns brightly if it is out and without proper eye protection it is impossible to stay on the snow and ice for long. In the afternoon when I was there, a sunny day, most guests congregated in the indoor portion of the Top of Europe, especially in the souvenir shop. (see Image 12)

Kitsch catalyzes nostalgia by its lack of specificity. It brings together the phantasmal and the material. Theorists studying souvenirs and thinking about their relationship to memory, argue that they are important for person purchasing them in the way that they serve to document unrepeatable events, such as a visit to an exotic locale (Hume, 2014; Stewart, 1984). Souvenirs in the instance of the tourist shop in Switzerland do two things. They, as Stewart suggests, become "the trace of an authentic experience", the medium for memory as time proceeds and the trip where the souvenir was purchased, fades into the background. The object, a knife or bell, purchased at the Top of Europe store becomes the 'secondhand' experience of its owner/possessor" when reflecting on the occasion of its purchase (Stewart, 1993, p. 135). Souvenirs are also the visual representations of places both visited and imagined and are "banal nationalism" and kitsch. (Urry, 2002) The possessor of kitsch possesses a "system of values" less so than a piece of cultural art or artifact (Dorfles,1969, p. 72).

Kitsch found among the souvenirs of the Jungfraujoch experience is not kitsch for its cheapness, but for the way in which convey the symbolic tropes of Switzerland grounded in the national imagination of the Alpine wilderness. Kitsch, according to Dofles (1969) is meant to overcome death, which in this instance is to commute the finite experience of the 19th Century adventurers and herdsman. Kitsch is retrospective, and nostalgic, the very materialization of Romantic ideals, where history becomes a mirror of the dreams of the traveler had before arriving. It is an escape to history just as it is an escape from history. There are the older buildings and the tram and the scattered artifacts of Swiss, but there are no goiters here on the necks of the mountain

villagers as there were in the 1800s, there is no grinding Alpine poverty. The place, the Heimat, is an assembled one, but the body experiences it as a concrete and cohesive whole. It does not matter that, as an example, Heidi is a fictive character. For, she has gained, outside of Spyri's novel, a birth place, a mountain and even a face. She is once removed from the novel, a figurative character in a historical novel, and then twice removed at Jungfraujoch, where her character has no connection to the region. Similarly, images and stuffed toys depicting St. Bernard's with their casks, available from the store, help create a nationally inflected rendering of the snowy summit. The souvenir is just as much, or even more so, about the possessor as it is about the object itself. It is the modern social hieroglyph within the space of a privatized public memory that invites the possessor to finish the story.

Image 12: Top of Europe souvenir shop, 2014

In the middle of the excess that is the "Top of Europe" experience with colorful walk displays, ice sculptures, Volk music, expensive luxury items and kitsch, there exists a memorial dedicated to the railway workers who died in the construction of the tram to the Jungfraujoch. One can pause here to consider the labor necessary to produce the tourist destination of Jungfraujoch. Along with images of the workers there is a wall of rock, presumably the inside of the mountain (not a façade), that displays the "names of the fallen" on floating name placards with dates (see image 13). Produced in a manner reminiscent of a museum experience, the visitor walks through a cool hall, a burrowed tunnel in the rock of the mountain, to view this display – photos, mining equipment, the names of the workers and death dates. Briefly mentioned, is their Italian background. The facts of their existence and death on the mountain are objective and accented with work tools or items, such as rope, that such workers might have carried or used, producing for the visitor a trace of the experience of what it meant to be in the confines of such a corridor, among these faces and as part of the story of Jungfraujoch and Swiss railway prowess. The memorial is a somber, though stark and unsentimental public memory of a history far more troubled than the experience of the display engenders. The memorial, by inviting the visitor to trace a faint echo of this labor (walking past the rough rock, through the cool hall on a gritty floor) creates a subjective experience. It is nostalgia for technological "greatness" that erases Switzerland's larger troubled historical relationship to foreign labor by re-casting this group within the public memory of the "Top of Europe".

The Italian labor memorialized in the dark recesses of the "Top of Europe", certainly provides a contrast to the rest of the alpine experience, in its muted sepia colors and cavern roughness. The materiality offered up here, the ropes, picks and images offer an opportunity to reflect. To think about the way in which the labor of these long-ago builders was a material exchange for the pleasure of well-to-do tourists. The memory of these workers is made concrete, with one's own imagination arrested by the details offered. The laborers are the trace on the rock, they are the phantasmal and the material that, in their "old timiness", argue against nostalgia, but without disturbing the narrative of the rustic and pastoral Swissness on display elsewhere. In fact, their presence highlights this narrative even as it banishes the specificity of cultural ostracizing such laborers faced. The visitor can be impressed with the effects of their back breaking work, and the difficulty of the working conditions, without confronting the history of anti-Italian sentiment and larger discourses in Switzerland embracing an ideology of überfremdung ("over foreignization"). The long-ago laborers stare silently back from the photographs. Jungfraujoch is indeed haunted, as my fellow traveler suggested to her child. Heimat is preserved in the details provided and in the details omitted. I will take a moment here to address this omission.

"Over foreignization" is a persistent symbolic and discursive framework of foreign labor, immigrants, asylum seekers and migrants long utilized by the radical right to construct and to politicize the boundary between 'us' and 'other'" since before World War I (Skenderovic, 2009, p.49). Italian labor emerged in Switzerland in the late 1800s just as industrialization was beginning and as Swiss themselves were emigrating from

Switzerland. Invited by the Swiss government through migrant work incentives, these laborers were hired for infrastructure projects, especially for building and expanding the railway system. Subjected to racial and ethnic prejudice however Italian laborers was often forced to live outside of villages. This condition worsened after 1931 when, with the passing of "Law on the Residence and Settlement of Foreigners", their ability to enter and settle in Switzerland was severely restricted (Riano & Wastl-Walter, 2005, p. 1698). Italian laborers and Italian-Swiss were the targets of racial and ethnic hatred that resulted in violence. This anti-Italian sentiment culminated and was captured in the 1970 Schwarzenbach initiative, named for the politician James Schwarzenbach who had been a member of the Nazi sympathizing party, the National Front. Though finally rejected by voters, this initiative would have limited foreign, especially Italian labor, to 10% of the population and would have deported over 300,000 workers. The damage however had been done. Immigrants, in the discourse of "over-foreignization" had become official targets of the modern nation-state. The Jungfraujoch experience immersed as it is in nostalgia, allows this memorialization's to rehabilitate these railway workers as heroes.

Image 13: “Names of the Fallen”, Summer 2014

Nostalgia through the kitsch available at Jungfraujoch’s “Top of Europe” experience, structures a landscape in which conflict and alternative narratives are rendered silent, though not invisible. The tourist site, enmeshed in state and economic narratives, provides the visitor, primarily a foreign one in this case, with consumable identities that invite a cultural imagination where the line between the authentic and the imitation are blurred. One can purchase the national Swiss Heimat with an army knife, still issued to soldiers today, or a “beanie” with “Switzerland” and a goat emblazoned on the front, for the colder temperatures of the alpine experience. These items, as well as the framing of the surrounding views and the opportunity to “play” in and on the glacier, is done *through* landscape brings the consumer into a relationship with Swissness alpine mythology through materiality. In my interview with the Tourist Office of the Canton Bern employee Harry John, he emphasized the centrality of

landscape to the advertising of tourism in Switzerland as the sin qua non of Swissness that tourists expect to experience. These expectations are fulfilled in the tour of Jungfraujoch through the "Top of Europe" framing. The only aspect of this intricately and yet bluntly managed experience that was left unframed, was the effect of the altitude and sun. The lack of oxygen, the blinding sun on the white snow and even the crunch of the groomed snow, permeate the edges of the kitschified exhibit.

Nostalgia here involves emotional ambivalence moving between melancholy and pleasure. It also provides continuity with the past and links a person's individual history with the present and as a materialized memory for the future. The visitor experiences the past as nostalgia, and it is this nostalgia that is at the heart of cultural memory and is a political, state and commercial resource to mine for anthropologized narratives through "consumable identities" (Kannike, 2013, p. 153). Identities are made consumable in kitsch, and Volk objects whose affective dimensions hinge on both nostalgia and an aesthetics of personalized cultural authenticity. It is through kitsch that one experiences the subjective relationship to the nation as material and non-reflective. Whereas in the personal objects I analyzed in chapter 2 were concerned with how people not only expressed and reflected on their relationship to nation, kitsch is about how one consumes the nation through an immediate emotional apprehension of its mythology. The cultural kitsch objects that I included here, attend dominant narratives and so are recognizable throughout Switzerland. The story of Heidi, the Alps, rustic independence, technological ingenuity and wealth are readily available as components to public and national subjectivity. In sites of tourism they are available to be

appropriated interpretations of the self as a national subject or as means of touring the cultural history of the exoticized "other". In either instance it id doing so without confronting narratives that defy the dominant narratives. Kitsch has long been interpreted as the aesthetic of a conservative and political impulse. Fascism generally, and Hitler in particular, have, for example, been linked to the kitsch aesthetic. This is no less true in the populist Swiss People's Party in Switzerland today.

Swiss People's Party – Heimat as a Site of practice, Kitsch as a Political Tool

My research and field word revealed the strong parallel between Romantic era nationalism and modern day Volk narratives in populist politics. Kitsch is a commodity that arises out of Volk art and Volk ways starting in the 19th century and similarly, the populist imagination generated by the SVP is dependent on a Volk fetish with roots in Romantic nationalism. Because kitsch enters the home as a talisman and as a messenger of the faith in Volk culture, as much as it signals the death of a living local (and possibly progressive) Heimat, it becomes a tool of the SVP "farmer's party" to signal cultural authenticity. Kitsch in Switzerland celebrates rusticity, the peasant and the landscape as a reminder that these components of Heimat are endangered. Kitsch also offers the means of celebrating and mourning Heimat through tangible artifacts. Populist kitsch found in the campaigning of the Swiss People's Party transforms daily experience and the Swiss citizen as an exceptional self, based in Swissness. The Swiss People's Party uses kitsch in piecing together its vision of Switzerland as innocent, exceptional, forever threatened and on the edge of cultural extinction. The material culture of the SVP is dependent on kitsch as a means to return to the past and an easy, unreflective way to

participate in a flattened national Heimat. This past is the grounds for a utopic glimpse into the future where the ideals of Swiss Romanticism find refuge from the threat of the loss of the national Heimat.

While traditionally kitsch is understood as an emotional aesthetic that provokes an sentimental and irrational impulse, in the case of tourist kitsch, this aesthetic falls within the rational constraints and demands of the capital market. Political kitsch, on the other hand, is used to provoke an irrational impulse. It is responding to the need for national identity and cohesion within the structure produced by a political elite. It is not enough to have imitation goods, such as kitsch, but to invest those goods within a discourse of citizenship as cultural practice. Kitsch is especially useful in populist causes, where the political elite are able to disguise themselves as a party of the people. This is because of the ways in which kitsch becomes part of cultural, economic and symbolic processes used to uphold the nationalist imagination. In the case of Switzerland this nationalist imagination is animated by Heimat and nostalgia, key elements of Swiss kitsch.

The SVP produces an identity movement, centered on the crisis of Heimat, that is constituted of discourse and practices of the self that personalize the nation. The fantasy of a marginalized Swiss culture and homeland is thus rich with the decorations of Swiss mythology that create accessible political kitsch. “Starting from an excessive involvement of the irrational, of emotions and fantasies, one can easily reach the conclusion that political movements do not rest upon rational premises but upon representations, images and archetypes which together from some kind of political

kitsch" (Božilović, 2007, p 44). The SVP has more so than any party in Switzerland created political kitsch. I am exploring their use of mascots and music that attends a German Swiss cultural iconography. Kitsch gives the SVP the means by which to elude rational premise in their campaigning and polarize debates through identity politics that emphasize the death of Heimat. By laying claim to such discourse and by instantiating Heimat through material practices they authenticate their claims to a Heimat.

Willy der Wachhund (Willy the Guard Dog) - Mascots and Music

The SVP has, as part of its political kitsch repertoire, incorporated into its political discourse, farm animals ubiquitous to Switzerland, Volk music and events, such as a Chilbi[74]. The SVP also has a mascot, and is the only political party in Switzerland to incorporate a mascot into its political campaigning. These symbols, more often than not, signal both a national Switzerland, as well as a Swiss-German nationalism. The party's mascot (currently Willy and previously the goat Zottel), and the music are incorporated into political rallies, featured in media events, and are designed to be interactive. You can, for example, purchase the mascot for example, and previously, in the case of the goat, you could "embody" it in an online game on the party's website where the video's goal was to kick out as many black sheep as possible. The game however, has long since been removed from the party's website. The music, especially in the example of the latest "freedom song", is replete with a video and sing along lyrics that are featured in political rallies. While these are not the only examples of political kitsch utilized by the

[74] A Chilbi is a summer tent festival. They can be found throughout Switzerland and feature beer, food, music and dancing. They are usually set up on a farmer's field.

SVP, they provide an excellent example of the ways in which the nation is personalized through materiality that is both banal and spectacular.

Since retiring Zottel in 2014, the live goat and mascot of the SVP until then, the mascot has been changed to stuffed toy “Willy” representing the Bernese Mountain Dog. Both “characters” have links and express a kind of Heimat longing to agricultural and pastoral Switzerland, however the latter becomes even more decontextualized. While Zottel was in fact a live goat, Willy is a stuffed animal. Zottel was also the goat in the famous Swiss children’s story “Zottel, Zwick und Zwerg”, and Willy is both an update to the “Swiss dog” image, which is the older and more traditional St. Bernard, but is also localized in the region of Bern. Willy modernizes the cultural legacy of the role dogs played in rural Switzerland, which previous to the 1980s had been primarily St Bernard’s[75]. While the Swiss legends of St. Bernard’s are alive and well, legends that inspired the summer 2014 museum exhibit of “Barry” (the “original” St. Bernard) at the Natural History Museum in Bern, the Bernese Mountain dog is a modern iteration of this older story. Additionally, the Bernese mountain dog, similar to so much of the tourist kitsch at the start of this chapter, has found an audience outside of Switzerland. In 2016

[75] The monks of the hospice in the St. Bernard pass that had bred St. Bernard’s since the 17th century sold the dogs in 2004 to two private foundations that work together. According to the *Musée et Chiens du Saint Bernard* (a result of one of the foundations) in Martigny, Valais which I visited in my fieldwork in 2014, the St. Bernard was the first breed registered in the Swiss stud book in 1884. They are now part of the the museum in Martigny. The decline in the breed’s popularity was evident throughout the 1990s as farms switched from St. Bernard’s to various varieties of Swiss Mountain dogs, of which there are four distinct breeds.

the American Kennel Association ranked this breed as one of the top 30 breeds in the US (http://www.akc.org/news/the-most-popular-dog-breeds-in-america/).

In August 2015, Albert Rösti, a Berner representative of the SVP in the national assembly, held a political rally for his run for State Council. During the rally he led the audience in singing in Swiss German, along with the SVP, the “freedom song” "Wo e Willy isch, isch ou e Wäg" (“Where there is a Willy, there is also a way” or, alternatively a play on “where there is a will, there is a way”) with the audience simultaneously watching the video made for the song by Willy Tell, a Swiss folk rock artist. Seen throughout the video are alpine vistas, farm pastures, and Bernese Mountain dogs and puppies that resemble the current SVP mascot Willy der Wachhund (“Willy the Guard dog) running and playing. A minute into the video presentation, the singer leads SVP president Tony Brunner, the chemical tycoon and former president of the SVP, Christoph Blocher and others (Brunner with the plush Willy dog toy under arm), singing the refrain to this campaign song. In the music video the lyrics begin, after quickly changing images of pastoral vistas, clear running rivers, yodeling and some barking Bernese mountain dogs, “Hey, our land is wonderful, but sadly this is not clear to everyone. Where will this path lead us? For our freedom, we all need to stand together. Where there is a Willy, there is also a way…” set to a catchy pop tune. Throughout the video is a montage of Swiss industry and scenery and politics with the repeating through-line of “Where there is a Willy, there is also a way”.

The SVP “freedom song “has the “character of a model” and is the “outline and draft of an objectively compelling, pre-established forms that have lost their content in

history". (Adorno, 1932, p. 501-505) Political kitsch is the parasite of history and national narrative in the broadest strokes. Well known images and sounds are "put to work" by bringing together commonly referenced themes on Heimat through hyper-romantic Swissness. The song does a lot of work. It is sung in Swiss-German dialect so that it draws on a Heimat intimacy of locality, and it animates a pastiche of motifs including agriculture, pastoral scenes, the alps, Wilhelm Tell and the "legendary" foundation date of 1291. The Bernese Mountain dog as symbol engages with the populist discourse of freedom as an inheritance directly tied into the myth of Tell and rugged character. The dog "Willy", an obvious abbreviation for Wilhelm Tell, becomes the guard dog for Swiss freedom (sitting at an SVP rally with an SVP bandana) in a loveable and approachable way (playing, sitting at a bar with a beer). Throughout the song a dog barks in the background and at one point the singer intones that, when need be, he can bite. Willy is forever protecting Switzerland. This image of Swissness as small, innocent and exceptional and as needing protection is a common motif for the SVP. The SVP here and in their political discourse, is the protector. The singer, named Willy Tell, yodels, plays an accordion with Holstein cow markings and is shown at a concert scene taking place in a tent, which many Swiss would recognize as a Chilbi, the common feature of rural entertainment during the summertime. This style of imagining Swissness through the Swiss-German lens and by incorporating the materialization of mythical motifs of Swiss-German Swissness is the hallmark of SVP isolationist politics.

The longing for home however moves beyond just sentimentalizing Switzerland and Swiss people, though of course it does this too. But also invites personal investment

in “keeping Switzerland Swiss”. During the time of the 2007 sheep poster, an image that recently was revived and updated (see image 14), when the SVP had the live goat Zottel as their party mascot there was also a video game, “Zottel rettet die Schweiz” (“Zottel rescues Switzerland”), on their website. Here the website visitor could play Zottel in a pastoral landscape and kick out immigrants (among a variety of other tasks, including kicking out Green Party members or shooting EU tax collectors)[76]. First the name of the goat echoed a well-known children’s book, “Zottel, Zwick und Zwerg” so that the audience was instantly drawn into a familiar territory of signs and meanings, aligning the political character with a childhood one. Second the game encouraged people to participate in carrying out political on the party’s websitte. This tradition of the online game that engages the mascot and the SVP supporter is continued with the new mascot Willy. There are three different games you can play on the party’s website, including one where the player is the dog Willy and keeps rats at bay. The number of the rats is so numerous it is impossible to win and the player is soon overwhelmed. This game draws specifically on party imagery in posters that align rats with immigrants and asylum seekers.

[76] The current mascot is Willy, a Swiss Mountain Dog, whose name is short for Wilhelm Tell. The SVP is the only political party with a mascot.

Image 14: Forever working security![77]

Heimat here is part of a participatory agency for the SVP supporter that draws on "traditions" (Swiss-German in nature) that could be said to be part of cultural memory that incorporates the modern online community as well as in the historically rooted sense of childhood in localized cultural materiality in childhood books, common domesticated livestock and narratives of personal perseverance as an inheritance of alpine fortitude. The SVP in the pop music and online games provides modernized iterations of older motifs, such as peaceful, small and neutral Switzerland in an uncertain world of transmigration and globalization. In the Zottel game the player is in an unframed landscape that is evergreen and pastoral and potently unarmed, a long imagined cultural memory of Switzerland held dear in political rallies and position papers of the SVP and tourist pamphlets as well as the international imagination of Switzerland. Heimat is actively engaged with in the games, the purchasing of Willy plush

[77] Retrieved from https://www.svp.ch on 1/29/16

toys and participating in singing the "freedom song" both at rallies and in the privacy of the home.

Just as Jungfraujoch's "Top of Europe" is an experience of excess that requires a great amount of capital both to sustain and participate in, the political campaigning of the SVP incorporates kitsch that, while the product of elite fantasies of the nation, interroplates a narrow public as a broader national identity that adheres to the images of Switzerland made famous in tourism. The cultural nationalism invented by the SVP disguises the party's neo-liberal policies and financial wealth. Through kitsch as an embodiment of Swissness, the SVP's rhetoric blurs the reality of Switzerland with the longed for Heimat of memory. The SVP has cornered the discourse on Swissness by bringing older hegemonic narratives about the nation to life in the material. Through material enactment a gap is revealed in the debate on national subjectivity wherein a certain portion of the population is denied access to ownership of the national identity. Material culture is used to make a political and personal claim on the nation.

Conclusion

As I noted at the beginning of this chapter, in the historical nostalgia present in kitsch there is a ready market of "Swissness" decontextualized from proto-nationalist frameworks and re-fashioned for populist politics and in sites of tourism. This decontextualization is part of the process of de-historicization that happens in kitsch mobilizing accessible cultural narratives of the nation. This present day phenomenon is the continuity of Romantic nationalism and "its mobilization of culture for political nation-building", the same "run up to the 20th-century nation-state"(Leerssen, 2014, p.

34). It is, as Ignatieff (1993) mentions in “Blood and Belonging”, that “there is no nationalist art that is not kitsch”, however he also states that “nationalist art, by definition, cannot be personal” (p. 71-72). While I am certainly in agreement with the former point, given in particular the connection between kitsch and Romantic nationalism, my fieldwork and Swiss nationalism reveals that this nationalist art is deeply personal. Nationalist art must be personalized for it to have meaning. The nation isn’t just imagined, it is experienced through this kind of materiality that mark our relationship to the state and the nation. Who acquires the kitsch and how it is used is where the turn is made towards the “personalizing of the nation”.

In acquiring kitsch one acquires a talisman of the nation that exceeds the “real” and compresses time and space. Much as a rabbit foot brings good luck to the wearer, Swiss kitsch is the talisman of Heimat protecting against cosmopolitanism, immigration, and globalization. It inoculates against the loss of Heimat through the act of mourning, or Heimweh. Kitsch becomes the means to re-create the experience of a “Swiss Heimat” to the tourist, yes, but it is also a kind of self-worship. A worship that beckons the past forward even as it is rooted firmly in the vision of a past. Offering up this experience, kitsch re-remembers Heimat fragments, circulates them and reifies Switzerland as an idea. Here the “spirit” of the nation is found in the material enactment of that nation and national subjectivity is mediated by capitalism. The Jungfraujoch, for example, is a physical space and material experience that exceeds itself in the presentation of images, consumerism and the mountain itself. The visitor participates in the national ideology through consumer practices that encourage nostalgia as a leisure activity. What is public

is made private, and representations of the mountain and of Swiss iconography are-domesticated into personalized landscapes of experience. The flattened national Heimat initially envisioned through kitsch Heimat is re-integrated into subjective narratives of national identity of the user as he imagines, through the object, a memory or time or place that fits into a discourse about the experience of the self. This tourist kitsch allows for individuated Swiss-German conceptualizations of the nation so that the narrative of multiple imagined communities is rehabilitated for the international tourist, in keeping with the Federalist ideology and "civic nationalism" that dominates domestic Swiss discourse on nationalism.

Tourism kitsch are social hieroglyphs taken up as experiences, as traces of some original place and time, that mark "having been there". Three important results of understanding the market of these goods is the ways in which they 1) echo Romantic nationalism 2) fetishize German Swiss cultural objects as national, 3) enter into political discourse and practices of individualized national subjectivity and 4) render invisible practices and Volk materiality that do not subscribe to the Romantic narrative. In the political ideology of the SVP, where the sacred Heimat is under threat, material artefacts become the means by which to experience Swissness as an act embedded in a legacy attached to rural domesticity and landscaped wilderness in the image of the Alps. The political kitsch of the SVP is directly rooted to Romantic nationalism but rather than rendering practices of the national self invisible through banal and everyday practices, materiality is used to render the national self both visible and spectacular. The goal with

political kitsch is to provide materiality for selectively remembered Heimat that stabilizes a German Swiss imagining as both national and personal.

Within sites of kitsch consumerism, Heimat as nostalgic nationalism is one that mourns Swiss Heimat and attempts to revive it. It is a "fetish for the past", but here the past is trapped in souvenirs and mediated landscapes (Sturken, 2007, p. 20). Switzerland's past, trapped in tourist kitsch, becomes a generalized sense of loss of the "natural", rustic citizen and the desire to capture pieces that might overturn historical alienation. For the Romantic traveler[78], a person who moves between "home" and "away", and is continuously investigating the sites of "then" and "now", this process is particularly acute because of the relationship to materiality of "otherness". Historically for such travelers, "The accumulation of exotic and artistic pieces went hand in hand with a highly developed self image and the desire to create a world within a world" (Pearce, 1995, pp 130-131). This desire for trapping the past, miniaturizing and capturing cultural expressions as a kind of self ethnography for the traveler, was a classed experience valorized collecting artefacts as part of the project of expanding the self. Just as in the dominant narrative of the "noble savage", the Alpine shepherd was ushered in, so too was the narrative of the noble traveler (as opposed to tourist). Consuming *kitsch and Volk fetish* are central aspects of banal Swiss material nostalgia and are practices directly related to the not only historical consumer practices of

[78] I use the present tense here only to indicate that "Romantic" travelers are not just historical figures, but exist today with the same enthusiasm and approach of their forbearers.

Romantic nationalism but also the political right of Switzerland today. The material language of nostalgia and Heimat found in consumer practices and populist politics work together in an intertwined memory system. In populist politics, Volk kitsch and alpine tourism, the nation turns in on itself in a never-ending search for a “navel”.

Chapter 6: Conclusion

I have attempted in the course of this dissertation to show the ways in which material culture and familiar objects of everyday life convey collective sentiments of nationalism and national belonging, and the how individuals interact with object reinforce personal and collective attachment to the modern nation-state. Materiality attached to historical narrative overcomes the gap between the present and the past, and also allows for the past to be reassembled by the modern subject. This process, driven by collective and personal memory and experience, makes the national, personal. Tracing this process has been important for several reasons. They are: 1) to be able to interrogate the dominant narratives on Swiss rational civic nationalism, 2) to illustrate the myopia of national political and popular culture as a dominantly Swiss-German Heimat, 3) to the foreground the politicization of Heimat within Switzerland that silences other formations of nationalism, and 4) extract the case of Swiss nationalism from larger studies on nationalism within Western Europe that often overlook Switzerland and so either sweep Switzerland in those discussions or set Switzerland aside as a footnote. The profound mythicization of the Swiss national narrative through popular images both within and without the country hides the ways in which Volk heritage was taken up by rational state processes in the 19th century, long after the mythical date of 1291. It is important to render some transparency to the process of the

national imagination that is desperately potent in Switzerland's current political and social atmosphere.

In each chapter I describe the ways in which the objects being are understood as material representations of a personal and historical past, how they are "used" and become part of daily practices and social life and, also, how they bring together larger and personalized national identity claims. The gigantic object of the nation-state in chapter 2, publicly curates the sacred nation, making it available as a social fact, or as Stewart (2005) puts it, "the gigantic is appropriated by the state and its institutions and is put on parade with great seriousness". (p. 81) The gigantic objects, live a dual life as sacred and secular, and become part of the ways in which people use, think about, feel about and navigate the landscape. Chapter 3 analyzes the role of the personal object in creating a sense of personal nationalism. Here the objects enter the intimate domain of home and Heimat. It is the daily, often unnoticed, and even utilitarian quality of these objects that allows them to shape the ways in which we understand ourselves and ourselves in relation to concepts of Heimat and nation. Just like the gigantic objects they allow subjectivity to be embodied and curated and, even as the nation-state appropriates locality, the nation-state is appropriated by the individual. Chapter 4 is about the pre-modern object, the landscape. Swiss landscapes, especially the Alps, memorialize the historical narrative of Heimat as based in an ethnic and linguistic particularity. In chapter 5, landscape becomes the spectacle of Swissness and the spectacle of the Swiss commodity. This natural gigantic object is taken "out of the natural landscape" and is placed within the "milieu of market relations". (Stweart, 2005,

p. 84) The object, now a souvenir, is more attractive and more emotionally evocative than the original that it represents. Throughout the explorations of these objects that make up the materially discursive universe of Swissness, Heimat becomes a nostalgic cosmos littered with symbols and inhabited with feeling that, even when decontextualized and ahistorical, is rooted in memory and body.

Throughout, my approach has accounted for the way in which these practices come into direct contact with presumptions about the historicity of the landscapes and objects. This means that the objects are embedded in a nation-state history, but also in the personal histories of those encountering and using the objects. History here is a messy experience rather than a collection of objective facts. The object in face rather re-shapes history as a memory. It concretizes that which has gone before and offers an idealized retrospective. It is this that drives their nostalgic power. Personal memories, or re-rememberings of historical narratives are produced as social facts when they take on material form. And it is the material form that, in turn, mediates one's relationship to that memory. The material experience of history through objects representing that history and memories of that history, are a nexus where the personal and national merge.

The subjectivity of nationality, alongside state and historical processes, arises, I have argued, through the experience of the material. The physical experience of objects, symbolizing the nation or Canton, elicit emotional responses and create a system of knowledge about nation that is implicated at the personal, even neurological level. In the case of Switzerland, the nostalgia of Heimat as an affective dimension of nationalism

renders specific forms of materiality as especially potent. Nostalgia for Heimat is an experience prompted by a discursive materiality that casts the subject backwards into time and turns her into a historical subject. While nostalgia "concerns the relationship between individual biography and the biographies of groups and nations, between personal and collective memory", it is this nostalgia of Heimat, or Heimweh, in particular that is critical to Swiss nationalism (Kannike, 2013, p. 153). This Heimweh is based on time as a cultural resource, drawing and depending on memory as grounded in experience through artifacts that merge the individual with the national biography. Materiality becomes an important part in experiencing national memory and in rendering this memory as organic or authentic and thus important to belonging and identity and being at home. There is an emotional weight to this process that renders the materiality with agency. This aspect of my work links to other work on nationalism that recognizes the importance of material culture to diasporic communities and transnational experiences. Here we find that people bring material items as a way of carrying home with them into new territories. In other words, international migration, especially international migration seen and felt as homelessness, produces as situation in which material culture provides connection to a national subjectivity. Because my work is bounded by the geographical territory of Switzerland, this homelessness is not any actual migration but the imagined homelessness experienced as a threat to the death of Heimat.

Material culture, and most especially that considered to be authentic materiality, becomes a site of contestation over what considered original and who is considered

legitimate. Whereas the site of museum preserves cultural materiality and becomes a space in which this materiality mediates the relationship between the nation-state and the subject, these same objects can be taken up individually as well as being available for public consumption in other sites of framing. The political posters by the conservative Swiss People's Party, for example, rely on a contrast between national tropes about Swissness and "otherness". These posters become points in public space that draw awareness to "fields of meaning" about belongingness (Basso, 1996, p. 54). We see this in the case very clearly of the SVP anti-Minaret poster found in the major urban centers of Bern, Zürich and Geneva in 2009. The image of a woman, all in black lines and deep shadow, stands in a burqa in the foreground of the poster and in the background, on top of a Swiss flag acting as the "landscape", minarets that look like missiles clutter the image. These images put minarets, of which there are only four in Switzerland, into high relief, alongside the racialized and radicalized image of a Muslim woman, against the urban landscape that is without minarets or missiles. This poster is political but it is also an indigenous cultural form, that mediates the experience of the imagined national landscape and the actual landscape in which it is displayed. People experience these "symbolic vehicles" as a social exchange and a relationship to a place whether as interpolated in the meaning or left as an outsider. Later when the referendum was ultimately passed so that no more minarets could be built, the representation found in the poster becomes enacted and echoed within law. Place is expressed conceptually and concretely. The physical and social landscape is altered then both by the poster and the effects of the passing of the referendum itself.

These material practices are what transform the conceptual framing of nation into an embodied experience of the nation. And while we don't experience the physical world directly, because it is translated through our understanding of what is "out there", we do come to naturalize that which we experience as authentic and direct. Thus, when materiality is investigated as something that is part of situated practices, we are forced into a relationship with materiality that raises the question, what is "original"? What is understood as being authentic? The quest for nation-state belongingness becomes an self-reflective anthropological project of authenticity. Material objects are at the center of such an undertaking. Michael Taussig's *Mimesis and Alterity* and his analysis of how material objects and their uses are linchpins touching back on some original, an original apprehended through a memory system of objects, that is perceived to be legitimate or natural[79]. Objects relevant to the narrative of the nation-state are embedded in a myriad of sites such as urban and rural scapes, markets, homes, rituals and economic markets. These objects are not just "there" but enter situated practices around personally meaningful narratives that tie the user to the story of the nation-state. These objects are everyday tools and act as sites of memory. In this process "originality" and "authenticity" become the ephemeral traces that sanctify and legitimize the user or, alternatively, mark them as "other".

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[79] Michael Taussig in talking about importance of mimesis, the faculty for imitation, notes that it is both the act of copying and the "palpable, sensuous connection, between the body of the perceiver and the perceived" that allows us to "get hold of something" (p. 21). This process of mimesis is a search for authenticity, for an original that requires both the copy and the contact made available via the copy.

The study of material culture also "…becomes the exploration of sensory relationships and embodied experience within particular regimes or systems of cultural values" (Howes, p. 169) Volk materiality, whether kitsch or memorialized as national treasures, are a "fetish for the past" that one can physically experience in the present. Emotion is an inherently embodied phenomenon because the material element of history becomes an interpretive site, one involving our somatic and sensory-motor states.

While the objects in chapter 2 are officially created and recognized as part of Swiss cultural heritage belonging to the public, the objects from chapter 3, underscore a fetish for the labor and even materials involved that reflect on a personalized belonging by engaging with authenticity. In their materials and style of production, Volk materials both as heritage objects and consumer goods move between the mass consumerism of kitsch and the locally hand produced work of artisans or long ago laborers. In centers of consumerism that focus on artisanal Volk there is an echo of narratives about Switzerland that is pre-capitalism and defines labor as democratic and public and provides for a relationship framed within a subjectivity of the generalized national subject. Unlike kitsch, Volk fetish objects are nodes of restorative national identity and restorative nationalism. The object is seen as "authentic" in the manner of production that it undergoes. The labor is rendered visible in the local.

It is important to point this out because while attending to the productivity of language and materiality, I have been dealing with the essentialist product of the nation primarily as a Swiss-German construct. There are alternative interpretations and

instantiations of resistance to the tightly woven material narrative of Swiss Heimat that I have not had the time to attend to in my work here. I did take the opportunity during the course of my fieldwork to visit one such site in Bern, the Reithalle (Riding School) which continuously interrogate normative narratives of Swissness and overturns them by creating an alternative space of belonging for immigrants and those who do not feel they are welcome in larger Swiss society. This space as a site of resistance and has been the source of protests against government policies as well as alternative landscaping and market practices.

The Bern Reitschule (The Riding School of Bern) - Alternative Heimats

"Reitschule is shameful for Bern" said Erich Hess, an SVP parliamentary member, in 2010 to Bloomberg reporter Jan Schwalbe[80]. This alternative cultural center, one that until 2016 had received some funding from Bern, has been in operation since 1987, when it opened as a youth center. Previous to that the building has spent most of its existence housing horses and operated as a riding school. In the intervening years as a cultural center the riding school was known as a place for left wing activism, concerts, its vegetarian dining and art shows. It also however became of intense conflict around immigration and a counter-culture that defied Swissness. Police encounters with protesters and the arresting of immigrants without papers have time and again made

[80] 2010 was also the same year that Erich Hess, an SVP member of the Parliament from the Emmental region of Bern, authored a bill that would allow voters to de-fund the Reithalle. This was the fourth such bill in four years, and was ultimately rejected. Hess again has authored another initiative in 2016 and has gathered enough signatures for the fate of the Reithalle to go before the voters.

the headlines. The controversy around the riding school's existence as a youth center has especially escalated in the last five years. Five years after Hess' initial complaint, the official website for the youth wing of the Swiss People's Party (Junge SVP Kanton Bern) in Bern, posted September 4, 2015, was an article titled "No taxes for the Bern riding hall!" ("Keine Steuergelder für die Berner Reithalle!"[81], calls the old riding school the crucial point for terrorists and violent "chaotics" ("gewalttätige Chaoten").

I had never been to the Reithalle until my fieldwork in 2014. It had been a source of both shame and fear in my family and friend network. Shame that the graffitied façade and degraded state of the building was the first thing one sees on entering Bern on the train, and fear of the "chaote" (the people who cause chaos). I, admittedly, approached the site with some trepidation. I had heard many stories of murder and rape and general mayhem and it had been strictly off limits to me for years. Nonetheless, over the years, I had grown a kind of affection for the old building. It was an outpost of sort. Neglected by the official forces of the state so that it had grown, through the presence of an anarchist youth, into its modern iteration. It was nostalgic on the one hand, this grand building, built in 1897, a stone's throw from the Swiss National Bank and Parliament, that had long housed horses in the middle of the city. And yet, the graffitied façade bespoke a rebellion against this refinements of its earlier history and previous guests. But the uncertainty of what lay before me, the myth that the police won't help you if you go in and something elicit or violent occurs, had laid a

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[81] The official website url linking directly to the article is here: http://www.jsvpbern.ch/?p=883

foundation of fear. The building, its presence provoked in me an admixture of fear, awe, and excitement. I wanted to understand how the Reithalle fit into my understanding of Swissness narratives, the personalization of the nation-state and the affective dimensions of that personalization. Was the Reithalle part of Heimat?

In my tour of the Reithalle on July 23, 2014 I interviewed and heard the stories of the people living in this alternative space and it became evident through the ways in which residents described themselves and their deliberate and playful engagement with material culture, that it was also a kind of village of anti-Swissness in the heart of Bern. The building, divided up into theaters, a print office, bars, a woodworking shop, concert venues, book store and a restaurant, is run as a cooperative by collectivities of artists, intellectuals, activists and immigrants who occupy this space. The building acts as a kind of canvas for expressing opinions and feelings and there are no rules governing what is painted on its sides or by whom. The Reithalle is fashioned as a sort of an unofficial asylum center for the disenfranchised who shape home from the mobility of their lives.

If this is Heimat for the residents of the Reithalle, then it is a much different Heimat than what I have been researching. There is no evidence of nostalgia for a natural past as I move through the space in my tour of the building and its grounds, and yet Heimat re-surfaces. When, the person leading me on a tour of the building and grounds (he didn't wish to be identified), stopped to show me the woodworking shop, he pulled from the workbench a figure he'd recently made. It was the figure of a traditional male choir singer outfitted in a black jacket with his hands in his pockets. He handed me the figure as a gift and said to me that sometimes, it is these things that

remind him of Heimat. Later in the tour he also revealed to me conflicted feelings about the graffiti of the building. Acknowledging on the one hand, that he hated that the old stone was covered but on that, on the other hand, felt that such a space was necessary in a country where so much of national Heimat was in the control of conservative forces.

That the central purpose of these various collectives is to deliberately challenge state and national imagination on identity and to create a safe space for those who exist in the liminal space between national identity because of situations of asylum is of little doubt. This is evidenced in their political activities, such as the "removing of nationalism from the public" resulted in Reitschule activists stealing Swiss flags from public vegetable gardens in Bern. Heimat here however becomes ambiguous. It becomes a fluid project of the present that re-makes places and challenges the nation-state narrative. There is even a kind of hyper-locality to the Reitschule that the smallest valley in Switzerland would have difficulty replicating. Everybody knows one another, there are collective efforts to maintain the community and there is a universalist bent to their nationalism that understands people as a civic collective. I do not mean to paint the Reitschulle as utopic, as it certainly is not given its very real problems of internal strife and the violence that has occurred on its grounds with and without police presence, however the aim is one of belonging. But Heimat here exists without Heimweh.

Future Areas of Study

Future work should critique ideas of national identity at sites of rupture, or where the accounts of the nation-state seem to conflict or fall apart. In other words,

where the limits *and* possibilities in discourses on belonging merge to produce a stress in the overall narrative of what constitutes home. Places like the Reitschule or other locations in Switzerland could include asylum centers, prisons like the one found in Zürich and public monuments that challenge dominant nation-state narratives. Communities like the one found in the Reithalle, as well as others like it, would be important areas to conduct future German research on Heimat. To re-formulate Heimat are a progressive rather than regressive project, it would be valuable to understand the ways in which people remove themselves from the discourse of a normative national project, complicating national belonging even as they reside with the legal territory of a state and create home places.

Another possible area of study would be enactments of nation-state identity that produce counter narratives through cultural materiality. The national festival day on August 1st, for example, has at times become a site where avid Swiss nationalism exists alongside skepticism, critique and protest of that nationalism. There are also other material enactments that place the body at the center of the experience of nationalism. We see this in the work created by artist Athi-Patra Ruga in which he “speaks back” to the image created by the SVP in their famous poster of 2007, where the white sheep kick the black sheep of the image of the Swiss flag. In both a challenge and a plea to belonging, Ruga, who is a Black South African, dressed in a whimsical black sheep costume and had himself photographed in a flock of white sheep. The need for a Heimat is no less central to the Swissness invoked here (rural and agrarian), but it is done so without nostalgia.

Final Thoughts

Prioritizing a sense of home as a political platform has had dangerous political consequences because it has served to define a distinction between those who are "at home" and those who are not. This has been as true in Switzerland as it has elsewhere in Europe where immigration, especially as connected to the recent Syrian refugee crisis, has rallied far right political agendas. In the case of Switzerland, however a myth of humanitarian openness often silences the struggles of the stateless within Swiss borders. Articles like a March 2014 Newsweek article titled "Switzerland's Sudden Fear of Immigrants" indicates the depth to which Swiss mythology continues to constitute the understanding of what Swissness is both in Switzerland and abroad (Stcherbatcheff). The fear of immigrants is in fact not sudden or new, but is intimately linked with a robust material nationalism that supports, privileges and naturalizes the case for a native Swissness. A native belonging that is linked to both territory and discourses on a democracy rooted in alpine ruggedness. Heimat has been politicized with home making strategies that privilege material culture and experiences of "home". Material culture becomes part of the technology of the national self that negotiates belonging and citizenship.

Switzerland, much as any nation, is an idea, a symbol of itself as it is a territory of geography landscaped by state processes. The cultural memory of Switzerland has evolved out of the Romantic era and the Enlightenment. This is evident in the dating of

much of the nostalgic material culture to the 19th century even as the founding myth is officially places in the 13th century. "Heimat" and "Volk" are invoked in Swiss populist narratives where naturalized *and* romantic understandings of ethnie come together. Through the materialization of this vision in landscaping, public objects, heirloom objects, kitsch and tourism this Romantic vision continues to be conducted as the authentic version of a non-ethnic but land-bound people. It is a tightly woven story that incorporates the daily lived experience of those implicated in the founding myth by their local belonging. My analysis of these artifacts blends how the discourse works within a larger Swiss narrative, alongside the lived *experience* of that artifact. Material culture as a sensorial experience of the nation, is the key component to providing a framework within which banal nostalgia fronts a deep sensibility of a personal nationalism. The nostalgia here is one based in a kind of revivalism of Heimat as pre-modern inextricably tied to the past but managed as part of the daily present.

The SVP has tapped into a more virulent form of nationalism and turned it into a politically viable campaign tool in a nation historically largely disinclined towards this particular political ideology, given its highly de-centralized model of governance. This is because the SVP animates a central component to ordinary Swiss national identification, Heimat. More importantly Heimat in a populist rendering is precious resource and fount of belonging that is under siege. Because of Switzerland's republican roots emphasizing a decentralized model of governance, SVP ideology cannot alienate the strong cantonal and communal traditions and affiliations that have often subverted and dulled the edges of an overarching Swiss identity model. The SVP uses the Swiss nation-state structure,

the local Heimat as write large, to which to turn. The SVP's nationalist rhetorical devices in their Heimat schutz (homeland protection) campaigning operate in 3 key ways: 1) situating Switzerland as politically and culturally unique and outside of the European experience, 2) emphasizing objective criteria found in nationalism such as "national character" and territorial uniqueness of each of the regions and 3) by asserting the subjectivist vision of a nation of wills, or "Willensnation" as coined by the Swiss constitutional lawyer, Carl Hilty, in 1875. But the most striking aspect of their political discourse has been the way in which the SVP uses embodiment and material artifacts to invoke Heimat and Heimweh. They have created a tap into the emotional center of Swiss nationalism. How this has been accomplished is through deploying a symbolic terrain that maps onto a culture landscape, a catalogue of socially available "facts" readily present in museums, children's literature, public spaces, shops, and homes. This is a kind of vernacular nationalism especially salient to the Swiss nationalistic imagination, an imagination steeped in local cantonal and communal identity structures. In this way, the nation becomes the home writ large.

People, time, space, and ideas, all converge to form social and political worlds. Social and political world however are not just abstractions, but are concrete experiences rooted in local communities, and the sense of a larger national habitus that such communities engender. This happens through a constellation of associations we self-consciously consider when thinking about who we are and what "home" is, looks like and feels like. These associations find expression through talk, music, art, religious ritual, political acts, architecture and so forth. Social and political formations engage

with our material experiences; they take them up. So when museums have exhibits on national culture, like the "Barry"[82] exhibit in Bern at the Natural History museum that I visited in 2014, they tell the story not only of that particular artifact and locale, but they also take up a way of understanding the relationships that make up the political and social fabric of a place. In the case of the Barry exhibit, tropes of Swissness some of which include alpine ruggedness, self-reliance, bravery and selflessness, reflect on the relationship of the landscape to the character of Swissness, as well as the dog as an embodiment of that relationship. The people, like me, wandering the exhibit as both tourists and as Swiss and take up their own relationship to Barry as a historical reality and as a mythical abstraction. Barry, upon viewing his stuffed recreation, the films on mountain rescue, paintings depicting the heroic saving of a little girl, and the paraphernalia for sale becomes actualized knowledge about the state project that informs this view of Barry. The St. Bernard, the nation-state project and the experience can be mutually reinforcing and invites nationalist affect. And yet, there is also exile. Exile from the past, that must be (and only can be) preserved in a museum. This sense of exile over and again turns on memory in an effort to collapse the yawning gap of temporal displacement

[82] The "Barry" is a permanent exhibit at the Natural History Museum of Bern detailing the myths, legends and historical facts surrounding the first documented St. Bernard dog. I attended the exhibit in 2014.

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