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Swabian-Alemannic Carnival in German Society Today

A Qualitative Research on the Contemporary Role of Carnival

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Abstract

Research in carnival studies mainly focuses on the origins, purpose and the interpretation of symbolism of carnival traditions. Moreover, most scientific research is conducted focusing on the historic development, while only little research is focusing on contemporary variations and the role of carnival for society today. Therefore, this thesis puts the experience of people into the spotlight by answering the following research question: *What role does carnival play in society today and how do participants create identification with carnival?* Hence, it concentrates on how people make sense of carnival and how their identification process enables them to foster community cohesion. The base of this research is interviews conducted among participants of carnival associations. By using a thematic analysation approach the respondents' statements were sorted into themes, which were brought into context in order to answer the research question. As a result of numerous changes in society, but mainly due to growing prosperity and mobility, carnival is not the only opportunity to escape from constraints of daily life, diminishing one of its traditionally ascribed functions for (national) society. However, when looking at it on a more local scale, carnival still plays an essential role in (local) community, as it creates a neutral space, where regardless of a person's societal background, people can come together.

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Introduction

Growing up, the sound of drums, bells and shouting jesters always meant the beginning of an exciting period, where the "fools" take over village living and turn the world upside down. In the week before *Ash Wednesday*, the South-West of Germany is being transformed into a place where jesters rule and the normal order of things is interrupted; carnival. My ties to carnival begin in my early childhood, as my parents took me with them, even before I was able to walk. This meant for me, getting up at 4:30 in the morning on *Dirty Thursday* to wake up the village at six o'clock, the beginning of a draining week of daily celebrations, showcasing costumes, interacting with all sorts of people, and living the carnival spirit. Growing up like this, carnival was always a topic at the dinner table, not only for the week, but already after Christmas, when the preparations for the coming carnival season started to take place. This left an indelible mark, which is part of my personality, and pulls me back to my roots, the village I grew up in and where I still celebrate carnival every year. This is my experience with carnival, but the variety of carnival celebrations are sheer endless, and therefore everyone experiences it in a different way. Because there is an enormous diversity in carnival celebrations, the focus of this thesis is specifically on the Swabian-Alemannic carnival. Especially, because it is the variety I have grown up with and therefore, I can better pick up on cultural nuances. Although it shares many similarities with Rhinish carnival, because of its complex and multi-layered nature, it deserves to be researched on a separate base. Throughout the centuries, the cultural phenomenon of carnival has captivated researchers, participants and observants alike. It is one of the oldest German festival traditions, that is still celebrated and safe-guarded, which might explain the fascination to some extent (Mezger, 1991). But what makes German carnival this alluring today? This thesis aims at putting this phenomenon in the spotlight by answering the following research question: *What role does carnival play in society today and how do participants create identification with carnival?*

Comparing carnival celebrations and its role in society today with the past centuries, it can be seen, that it changed drastically. While archaic elements like mock trials, societal criticism and the freedom of the jester are still part of the customs, their purpose have changed, as has society. There are many debates to whether society is in a state of modern, or a postmodern era and the attempt to answer this question would exceed beyond the limit of this thesis. According to Delanty, the essence of modernity is the tension between autonomy of the individual and social fragmentation, which according to him is the reason why we still live in a modern age, as this conflict is still ongoing. Others argue that society has exceeded the modern era and went on to postmodernity, where universalisms are no longer representative (Harvey, 1990; Docherty, 2014), and as Sharpley (2018) argues, the focus is on distinction between reality and its representation. Yet, there is no consensus among scholars when it comes to a definition of postmodernity, nor whether or not we have actually entered an era

of postmodernity (Sharpley, 2018). All in all, it can be said, that not only the institutions have experienced a need to re-define their role and place in society, but the same goes for cultural celebrations, which are in need of re-defining their place, as society is never static but constantly evolving. Therefore, the importance of carnival for today's society needs to be re-evaluated.

To do so, carnival will be considered a cultural event, as according to Ferdinand and Williams (2012) it can promote cultural heritage and identity, regenerate communities, create jobs and economic opportunities by attracting visitors. Further, the contemporary role of carnival needs to be determined by first taking a look at three historic turns and later establishing the contemporary role through the analysed data. Comparing these three major turns it can be seen, that carnival has been used by many to convey their belief system, morals and norms. To do so, carnival was strategically (mis)interpreted to fit the purpose. While in the 16th and 17th century the focus was on trying to make the people live up to Christian standards, the 19th century focused on creating a more civil form of carnival that corresponded to the emancipation of the new middle class, and in the 20th century, the Nazi-regime re-interpreted it to fit their ideological beliefs and to convey these to the people by using carnival as a propaganda tool. All in all, it can be said that carnival went through numerous turns, that closely corresponded to the societal values of the time, usually the ruling authority. Today, heritage studies go towards a more inclusive approach, which questions not only how traditions were interpreted in the past, but also how they are represented today. By using what Harrison (2012, p. 205) describes as dialogical heritage discourse, he argues that heritage could be used to approach "broader issues of environmental, political and social concern." Therefore, I want to argue in this thesis, that the role of carnival today can be used as a tool of community cohesion.

In an attempt to answer the research question, the contemporary role of carnival and the implications on the community will be discussed by applying the qualitative research method of semi-structured interviews. In the interviews, members of carnival associations were asked about their experience with carnival, how they celebrate it and what they identify with. In the analysis different factors that have influenced the changed role in society will be discussed. By applying a thematic analysis, the contemporary role of carnival will be established and implications on the community discussed.

Theoretical Framework

Before discussing local Swabian-Alemannic carnival traditions and talking about its role and importance in a society which is increasingly characterized by ongoing processes of globalisation and digitization, carnival needs to be defined as a cultural event with a longstanding history, its ties to local communities and sense of identity.

Cultural celebrations such as carnival are being re-interpreted and re-evaluated constantly and adapt to social changes. It can be seen, that cultural celebrations find a new place in society, are regaining importance and are bound to the zeitgeist of the era they occur in. In the 1990s, many countries experienced a power change when the communist system collapsed and left behind a power vacuum that needed to be refilled. This led to a series of academic debates about not only the political future, but also the development of history and culture. The role of culture in society today is a heavily debated topic. Two main contributions come from Fukuyama (1992) and Huntington (1996). It is no surprise, that these debates were of such importance around the turn of the millennium. Huntington himself states in his introduction, "the years after the Cold War witnessed the beginnings of dramatic changes in people's identities and the symbols of those identities" (1996, p. 2). After the enormous power shifts after the fall of the Soviet Union the academic discussion about the further development of society were unavoidable. On the one side, Fukuyama (1992) argues for the emergence of a global culture and the end of history, while Huntington (1996) on the other side, argues that as a result of increased interconnectedness, people will retreat into local or national identities. Therefore, cultural festivals and the role they play in local communities will be a focus of this thesis. There is no doubt, that society has changed dramatically, and social structures cannot be compared to the ones that were normal in the Middle Ages. Nevertheless, carnival customs and traditions are some of the oldest, still celebrated and safeguarded traditions and because of its social and cultural importance an ideal research topic. Today, globalization and digitization are two of the predominant factors that influence society, and therefore, will be discussed in this chapter.

First, Jensen, Arnett & McKenzie (2011, p.3) argue, that globalization is characterized by "a multidirectional flow of people, goods, and ideas," which is based on theories by Hermans & Kempen (1998) and Tomlinson (1999). They argue, that this globalization is a worldwide phenomenon, which nevertheless, is experienced differently depending on the location. Therefore, people increasingly get in touch with others from diverse cultural backgrounds, hence have to negotiate multiple cultures in order to develop a cultural identity (Jensen, Arnett, & McKenzie, 2011). As a result of this interconnectedness, cultural identity formation becomes more complex. While in the past, identity formation was relatively simple (Schlegel & Barry, 1991), "the range of possible identity paths […] has expanded vastly," as concepts of societal categories etc. get blurred (Jensen, Arnett, & McKenzie, 2011,

p. 6). This global development has further implications on identity formations, as not only more people move to urban areas within their country, but also migrate between countries, which results in diversification, as Jensen, Arnett & McKenzie (2011) argue. In order to assess, how people adapt their cultural identity if they move to a different cultural context, Berry (1997) presents a model in which he discusses the process of moving from one cultural context to another. He argues, that people acculturate following four different patterns. Firstly, *assimilation*, which describes people who when moving to a new cultural context, do not wish to maintain their cultural identity, but instead adopt the new culture in their identity formation, rejecting the old one. Secondly, *separation*, which is characterized by people holding on to their original culture, separating themselves from the new cultural context. Thirdly, *integration*, which is defined by people combining elements from both original, and new culture in their cultural identity. Lastly, *marginalization*, which assumes that people are neither interested in keeping up their old culture, but also are rejecting the new culture.

This does not only have an impact on cultural identity formation, but also the place of traditions and celebrations in society today. While cultural celebrations used to serve a specific purpose in society (Scribner, 1978; Mezger, 1999), today this original purpose is often either constituted by other factors or does not play a role in society anymore, which will be discussed in more detail later in this thesis. In short, one of the main developments that had an impact on the role of cultural celebrations today, is the advancement of information and communication technology, the so-called digitization, which goes hand in hand with globalization. The digital revolution, according to Benckendorff et al. (2014) is based on the development of computers in the 1950s and since accelerated with the emergence of microprocessors, and more importantly, internet networks. Therefore, it is not only the foundation of global communications, but also impacts the way culture is perceived and can be transmitted to the people. Bachi et al. (2014) describe how digitization could make cultural heritage more visible, as it can be accessed online, which fosters interaction and participation.

Taking all these developments in mind, the contemporary role certainly needs to be re-defined. Therefore, the following chapters will first discuss carnival as a cultural event with a longstanding history, before focusing on the ties to the community and the identification process.

Cultural Events

Many cultural celebrations are a fusion between contemporary and historical heritage practice and are re-interpreting a cultural legacy (Del Barrio, Devesa, & Herrero, 2012). They offer people the space to "(re(present) their past, celebrate their existence and reinterpret stories and myths about their culture" (Quan-Haase, A. & Martin, K., 2013, p. 524). Many researchers argue, that cultural festivals can be strategically used to develop not only culture, but can also achieve economic improvement, e.g. by creating work and infrastructure (Muresherwa, 2017). Muresherwa, who focuses on the perception of host communities, points out the many benefits from hosting cultural heritage events, such as the Cape Town carnival, and emphasizes not only the economic benefits for the community, but also the importance of cultural exchange. This is especially important for the hosting community, as it does not only bring social opportunities, but also creates a sense of pride and identity (Dwyer et al., 2000; Shone & Parry, 2005; Arcodia & Whitford, 2007).

According to Ferdinand and Williams (2012), cultural festivals are organized in all societies, with a wide range of goals, from "celebrating and promoting cultural heritage and identity, regenerating communities, creating jobs and economic opportunities, and attracting audience," as cited by Taylor & Kneafsey (2016, p. 184). Many agree on the possibilities to promote a place through tangible and intangible cultural resources, hence creating an economic base to attract visitors (Attanasi et al., 2013). Nevertheless, this thesis does not want to discuss the influence of festivals in economic terms. Instead, the focus of this thesis is on the influence of cultural festivals on the community, and more specifically on the factors that influence community cohesion.

While researchers agree on the importance of cultural events in the points mentioned above, they mainly focus on bigger events, that are supposed to attract tourists or visitors. When it comes to carnival celebrations in Germany, we can find a variety of different carnival events, but not all of them aim to attract a huge crowd but are celebrated and performed by locals for locals. Therefore, we will have to identify some patterns, that will make it easier to assess the different events. In the literature, events can be placed into different categories, including criteria like size, form and content of the event (Muresherwa, 2017; Allen, O'Toole, Harris & McDonnell, 2005; Getz, 2005; Getz, 2008; Getz, Svenson, Peterssen & Gunnervall, 2012). Furthermore, researchers established four main categories of events. The first category are mega events, like the football World Cup or the Formula 1, are probably the most researched category of the four, as they are of international interest and their role in image making and meeting economic and touristic goals are widely established (Getz, 2008). The second category are the "hallmark events". Getz (2008) quotes Ritchie (1984, p. 2), who describes them as "Major one-time or recurring events of limited duration, developed primarily to enhance the awareness, appeal and profitability of a tourism destination […]" (pp. 407). In an earlier article, Getz (2005) relates the

term "hallmark event" more specifically to image/ place marketing and destination branding. An example here fore would be the carnival celebrations in Rottweil. The oldest town in Baden-Württemberg, in the south of Germany, has a longstanding carnival tradition and became one of the most known carnival capitals of the Swabian-Alemannic carnival celebrations. The main event (*Narrensprung*) on Monday and Tuesday morning attracts thousands of visitors every year. This is a prime example for the use of these events for destination branding, as Rottweil uses the image as historical town with an old carnival tradition and famous carnival figures and creates a self-image that appeals to tourists from around the world. The pristine status is further established when the Narrenverein introduced a committee to ensure the quality of the costumes. This led to an artificial scarcity of the costumes and therefore, owning an official Rottweiler costume, and participating in the event became a privilege. Nevertheless, only people who were born in Rottweil or live in the town for more than 10 years are allowed to participate in the event (Metzger, 2004). The third and fourth categories are regional and local events. While regional events have a medium tourist demand, local events attract little to no tourists. The majority of carnival events fall into the last two categories, as they are celebrated only locally and are scarcely visited by outsiders. These events usually live off a big community engagement and are filled with local tales and costumes, that are hard to understand from an outsider perspective. Swabian-Alemannic carnival events range between hallmark events, like in Rottweil, Villingen, Elzach, Konstanz etc., regional events like the multitude of gatherings (*Narrentreffen*), to local events, where the associations celebrate locally. The main difference between these events is the involvement of tourists and visitors.

Apart from the economic benefits, many researchers describe the social importance of cultural festivals and events (Getz, 2010; Turok & Bailey, 2004; Hamez, 2005; Attanasi et al., 2013; Del Barrio et al., 2012; Quan-Haase & Martin, 2013; Taylor & Kneafsey, 2016). In addition to acting as an active space for locals and visitors to engage with heritage, it plays a role in shaping and creating a connection between participants and culture (Taylor & Kneafsey, 2016). Moreover, cultural heritage festivals contribute in creating a sense of belonging, "they can help binding people to their communities, foster and reinforce group identity, and are central to the transmission of tradition" (Getz, 2010). Therefore, this thesis will focus on this

Community Cohesion

After having defined carnival as a cultural event, it seems important to demonstrate the influences cultural events have on community. Therefore, this chapter will focus on community cohesion, a concepts some researchers approach focusing on the negative aspects like society becoming more fragmented and unequal, which leads to more crime and violence etc., Turok and Bailey (2004), emphasize the positive side of social cohesion, which binds a community together. In their publication they raise the question of whether strengthening community cohesion not only on a neighbourhood scale but also on a city level could help to improve trust and co-operation between rival cities (p.175). Taylor & Kneafsey (2016, p. 183) define community cohesion as "a sense of togetherness and connectedness between groups or individuals, usually in a defined geographical area, such as region, city or neighbourhood." Turok and Bailey (2004) argue, that through community cohesion problems like increasing fragmentation and inequality between different social and ethnic groups could be minimized, if not resolved. And indeed, even the EU spent 35% of their budget on cohesion initiatives between 2007 and 2013 (Taylor & Kneafsey, 2016). Even though the measures and policies with which cohesion should be achieved are wide-ranging, they all "seek to recognize and celebrate diversity and yet also create a sense of belonging to a social context, which provides meaning and identity to members" (Taylor & Kneafsey, 2016, p. 183). Additionally, Turok and Bailey (2004) suggest that by achieving community cohesion, there would be more tolerance between communities, which would be important to prevent a cultural clash as suggested by Fukuyama (1992). In their work, Turok and Bailey (2004) have identified five dimensions of cohesion, which will be discussed more in depth in the following paragraphs: equality and inclusion, social connectedness, common social values, social order and place attachment.

Firstly, cohesion is linked to equality and inclusion, as it promotes the equality of status and opportunity. Hence, an individual's circumstances do not limit them from reaching their full potential and therefore, do not create a barrier. These social inequalities can be minimized through social solidarity and public policies. This is important, as Turok and Bailey (2004, p. 176) identify inequality as the cause for "poorer social relationships, more violence, less involvement in community life, worse health and lower quality of life for society overall," which could be resolved by strengthening community cohesion. Secondly, community cohesion suggests social connectedness. According to Turok & Bailey (2004), a strong cohesion on community level entails strong social relationships and networks. Therefore, the high social interactions within the communities can be seen as a 'glue' that provides social support, that serves identity development and stimulates co-operations and trust within the communities. Analyzing cohesion in city neighborhoods, they argue, that poorer neighborhoods have a stronger sense of community, bonds between families, sense of belonging and

solidarity among each other, than mixed neighborhoods. While this is certainly of use in community regeneration projects, we can also use this concept to evaluate community cohesion among carnival participants and the influence on the local community. Thirdly, Turok & Bailey (2004) emphasize the importance of shared social values, which inspire shared "moral principles" and "sets of rules and code of behavior" (pp.182). Moreover, they create more tolerance which results in lesser conflict between social groups. Lastly, community cohesion entails some sort of place attachment or local identity. According to Turok and Bailey (2004), "people learn certain ways of life and form identities through their experiences in particular places" (p.186). Place attachment is closely tied to the identification process. While Turok and Bailey's (2004) theory of community cohesion mainly aims at city neighbourhoods, it can be argued that cultural festivals essentially can be seen as a microcosmos of these themes (Taylor & Kneafsey, 2016). This argument can be backed up by Attanasi et al. (2013), who attribute cultural heritage festivals the role of a "virtual community." They describe that for some visitors the attendance of such festivals "can satisfy their desire for congenial space to mingle carefree with a trust that belies the instantaneity of their acquaintances and the occasion" (p. 243). Or how Taylor and Kneafsey see it, "where festivalgoers act and behave as if they know each other, are engaged in relationships, or have shared a connection over a period of time (p.185).

Identification and Invented Traditions

As mentioned, cultural events are connected to the identification process, not only fostering community cohesion, but also stimulating group identity (Taylor & Kneafsey, 2016; Turok & Bailey, 2004; Getz, 2010). Hence, the identification is a key concept which will be discussed in detail in this chapter. The concept of identification is ambiguous. Even though it is used more frequently, the concept of identification is not clearly defined in academia (Schicht, 2003). A clear definition becomes especially challenging, as it does not only refer to the identification process of an individual, but also refers to characteristics of collective identity. Pfetsch (1997, p. 104) argues, that identification is characterized by an individual's position within a societal and political context and the definition and testing of this context against others. Hence, identity is not only individual, but has further dimensions like ethnic, national or local identity (Schicht, 2003). Further, Bausinger (1977) argues that the ability to identify with something is extrinsic and depends on societal influences. Hence, it is a learned process and individuals develop identity by constantly testing their own actions against others (Schicht, 2003). In other words, the identity of the individual expresses the values, morals and norms of the social group they associate with. Therefore, identity is an individual set of values that continuously adapts depending on the societal circles the person is in. This results in a multi-layered construct that is influenced by e.g. family, neighbourhood, religious groups, nation, country etc. (Pfetsch, 1997). These influences are of subjective. While some feel strongly connected to their identity as being part of a nation, others feel that the connection to e.g. a religious group, a fandom or a region is of more importance. It has to be noted, that individual identity is always influenced by a collective identity. A person can never fully detach himself from the milieu he internalized during the process of socialization (Schicht, 2003). According to Schicht, these characteristics cannot be denied and are expressed in form of clothing, language, food, style of housing etc. (Assmann, 1994). While identity creates a sense of belonging on the one hand, it can also be used to exclude people on the other hand. Especially taking a look at the term "ethnic identity," which has been frequently used to exclude people. Differences that are usually perceived as of little importance such as different types of clothing, living or cooking, are used to disassociate from another group (Weber, 1980). Further, because identity is created by constantly testing against other contexts, culture, among other factors, is often used to not only create identity for an in-group, but also dissociate out-groups (Schwengel, 2000). Therefore, culture was often put to political use in e.g. the creation of nationalist identities, especially in the 18th and 19th century (Harrison, 2012).

"People identify themselves in terms of ancestry, religion, language, history,
values, customs and institutions. They identify with cultural groups: tribes, ethnic
groups, religious communities, nations, and, at the broadest level, civilizations.
People use politics not just to advance their interests but also to define their
identity" (Huntington, 1996, p. 4).

In recent years, scientific research went from seeking the origins of traditions to uncovering the construction and invention of traditions, in order to observe broader historical shifts (De Waal, 2013). A researcher that has to be mentioned, is Hobsbawm (1983), who talks about the invention of tradition and points out, that "traditions which appear or claim to be old are often quite recent in origin and sometimes invented" (p. 1). Other publications, although not specifically dealing with the topic of reinvention, can be taken from memory studies. According to De Waal (2013, p. 495), these studies have shown, how notions of "national, regional and local 'traditions' could be reshaped" depending on the historical events that have been remembered, which are deliberately ignored, and how these events are celebrated. Before having a look into three key turns of the German carnival tradition, the terminology will have to be defined. The terms tradition and custom are often used colloquial and entail an ample set of ideas surrounding cultural heritage that is passed on from one generation to another. According to Merriam-Webster, tradition is "an inherited, established, or customary pattern of thought, action, or behavior (such as a religious practice or social custom)." In short, tradition is a set of beliefs and values that are common within a social group and is passed on from generation to generation. From this definition we can conclude, that tradition gains value through e.g. a process of e.g. oral transmission among others(Morrison, 2003). While this exemplifies the continuity of tradition, it does not include the function of tradition. If we take a look at community, Morrison (2003) brings up a second definition by Béla Bartók (1929), who describes tradition "as the spontaneous expression of a people molded within its community" (Morrison, 2003, p. 4). This definition by Bartók adds the function of tradition as expression of a community's identity. This implies an active role of tradition in forming a collective identity, an approach that is shared by Hobsbawm (1983), who talks about to functions of invented tradition in a society. He describes it as follows:

"'Invented tradition' is taken to mean a set of practices, normally governed by
overtly or tacitly accepted rules and of a ritual or symbolic nature, which seek to
inculcate certain values and norms of behavior by repetition, which automatically
implies continuity with the past. In fact, where possible, they normally attempt to
establish continuity with a suitable historic past." (Hobsbawm, 1983, p. 1)

Hobsbawm emphasizes that tradition functions as a tool that is used to establish certain values in a community and by doing so can create a sense of belonging (Morley, 2001). A prime example for this practice can be found over the past 200 years, as a result of rising nation-states and colonialism

(Harrison, 2012). And indeed, traces of invented traditions can be found, not only in the history of Swabian-Alemannic carnival, but also in Rhinish carnival. Both varieties share a lot of their origins and have been influenced by the same social changes. In fact, up until the mid 19th century, carnival was celebrated in such a similar fashion, that Rottweil, one of the most important places of Swabian-Alemannic carnival, was compared to Cologne, the center of Rhinish carnival. Today, this would be unthinkable, as the two varieties only have little in common (Mezger, 1999). This standpoint is shared by Bob Scribner (1978), who did some further research into the phenomenon and tried to uncover the role of carnival celebrations in the spread of Protestantism. In his publication he identifies six different approaches to carnival, some of which are of more importance for modern carnival celebrations than others.

1. **Youthful High Spirits**

   Carnival as safety valve to make adolescent transition easier and to prevent the youth from rebelling.

2. **Play and Game**

   Separation from criticism in real-life to keep it in the space of carnival folly in the play world.

3. **Containment of Discontent**

   Carnival celebrations as ritualization of rebellion. By enacting rebellious acts, they are contained in real-life. Separation of criticism in real-life, keeping it in the space of carnival folly and therefore without consequence.

4. **Carnival as Alternative Mass Medium**

   Massages are conveyed simplified in carnival. E.g. the church was stripped off its mystery and became observable and reduced to grotesque realism, addressing rulers and contemporaries.

5. **Ritual Desacralization**

   By challenging the power of objects first and then destroying them, these objects are stripped off their power and reduced to the materialistic level. Usually this was done with religious objects to demonstrate the lack of their physical power. This also works for people which can be seen in the burning of puppets and others.

6. **The World Turned Upside Down**

   As one of the most important aspects, this is a frequent and universal term. The motif of invasion can be found everywhere: e.g. old vs. young, pretty vs. ugly or the fool who is made king.

First of all, the role of *youthful high spirits*. Scribner concludes, that the carnival week functions as a safety valve, in order to control the adolescents within the doctrine of the church. By allowing the

youth to unrestricted excesses, they hoped to contain their urge for rebellion throughout the year. Interesting here is, that adolescence and youth marks the transition from childhood to adulthood. In testing themselves against these values, Scribner argues, society expects them to assimilate them into their personality. He further states, that by doing so, the societal values are not only put up for acceptance, but there is also a danger of revolt against them. Hence, many societies organize such transitional stages of life as a ritualized practice, so called *rites of passage*. By enabling the youth to contest societal values in an organized and ritualized environment during carnival is supposed to ensure an undisrupted transition from childhood to adulthood.

This approach is especially interesting, keeping in mind that in Medieval society children and jesters were on the same level of society, excluded from societal norm. The jester as an identification figure of carnival has a long history and throughout the centuries was attributed with different characteristic. As a result of their intellectual limitedness they are both outside of societal norms, as they do not understand their place in the divine order (Mezger, 1991, p. 31). Nevertheless, children have the advantage over the jester, as they are getting wiser while they are growing up and therefore are able to find their space in medieval society. Through this picture of the jester as being an outcast, Mezger distills the first characteristic of the jester as someone with the conscious of a child, who is flawed by stupidity, unreasonableness, intellectual limitedness or even mental illness (p.31). If we take this comparison between the jester and children into account, the ritualization of this *rite of passage* makes sense, as the carnival week allows the youth to test themselves. Moreover, by having a set period of time, the adolescents move on from the realm of the jester and into their position in society.

Carnival celebrations as *play and game* is the second role Scribner (1978) talks about. He emphasizes the importance of satire and parody in carnival celebrations and the role this plays in society. Therefore, he compares it with the work from Huizinga (1949), who points out three essential components of play. "First, he saw it as creating a world apart from reality. Second, this world was permeated with a fundamental seriousness, as earnest within its own context as that of the non-play world. Third, it was agonistic – play was always a matter of contest" (Scribner, 1978, p. 318). This approach can be contested though, "as play can be seen as another form of reality, none the less real for being set apart from the non-play world" (Scribner, 1978, p. 318, quoting Ehrmann, p. 33). Other researchers like Mikhail Bahkthin (1968) agree with this approach, highlighting the importance of a "second life of the people," having autonomy in the world of play. It can be said that "symbolic actions" are performed in the autonomous realm of carnival, which have all the constraints of reality (Scribner, 1978, p. 318). Similar to the rebellious youth, Scribner argues that the barriers between the non-play world and society need to be controlled and structured so the people can be contained in their place of society. The importance to keep up the clear barriers between play and non-play can be seen in the

practice of mock trials. People who were considered of having escaped justice in the real world were put on trial in the realm of carnival. If these mock trials would be put out of the realm of carnival and into the real world it would be an act of rebellion.

The next role Scribner mentions; carnival celebrations to "contain discontent." This role is closely connected to the previous. During the carnival week participants did not need to fear persecution for kicking over the traces, their actions were separated from the non-play world and therefore were not considered punishable. Despite this notion of freedom, the confined space of carnival is vital, as it is supposed to limit rebellious acts to stay within this carefully constructed and policed realm of play. Scribner compares this phenomenon to Gluckman's (1954) theory of ritualized rebellion, in which social tensions were openly expressed and the people were allowed to voice their outrage. By institutionalizing this act of rebellion, Gluckman argues, the people's discontent is being purged, which reaffirms "the unity of the social system and strengthens the established order" (Scribner, 1978, p. 320).

Taking these acts of ritualized rebellion in the realm of carnival play into account, it is interesting to have another look at the jester. By making the jester a figure of identification, the distinction between play world and the non-play world was more clearly separated and rebellious acts like criticizing the feudal system, religion etc. would stay in this realm of carnival. As mentioned earlier, the jester did not have a place in the society and therefore was not bound to societal norms. This gave them the opportunity to voice their criticism freely, which would have dire consequences for one who is bound by societal rules. Thus, jesters had an everlasting place in history on the side of kings and other dignitaries. Nevertheless, this *Narrenfreiheit* (to have the freedom to do whatever one wants) that was taken over by ordinary people was only temporary and after Ash Wednesday the people would go back to their place in society, leaving behind the freedoms of a jester.

According to Scribner (1978), this approach "does not sanction and reinforce the given pattern of things but presents an alternative" (p. 322). Therefore, Scribner considers carnival as a form of alternative mass medium in accordance with Baumann's definition, which he summarizes as follows:

> *"the communication of the same information to many people at the same time, without*
> *any differentiation according to status of the addressees; communication in an*
> *irreversible direction; and the persuasiveness of the information passed on, because of*
> *the conviction that everyone is listening to the same message" (p.322f).*

And indeed, during carnival celebrations the boundaries between the participants get blurred as people get stripped off their status which allows "freer forms of speech and gesture" (Scribner, 1978, p. 322). This equality between participants is still one of the most relevant features today and still plays a substantial role in contemporary carnival celebrations, as we will discuss later. As a result, people

were able to make practices of the ruling class observable to the masses by integrating criticism into carnival celebrations. Today, this sort of criticism can still be seen in many places, especially on a local level as politicians and the decisions, or lack of, are being criticized in mock trials, costumes or carnival newspapers etc.

Looking into the past, it can be seen that carnival celebrations had different roles in society and were used by different actors to convey their norms and beliefs. Here it has to be mentioned, that not only ecclesiastical and worldly authorities tried to convey and strengthen their doctrine, beliefs and norms, but also the commoners could use carnival as a medium to express their discontent. The topic of how carnival was used by both Protestantism and Catholicism would still hold plentiful material that could be discussed. For the purpose of this thesis, this short introduction to the subject should demonstrate how carnival traditions were used to convey the believes and norms during the Middle Ages. This shows the long history of invented traditions that still, in one way or another, can be found in modern forms of celebrations. Thus, carnival as a social tool can be explored throughout history. In case of German carnival, and especially the development of the Swabian-Alemannic Carnival, this phenomenon can be best observed looking at the following three examples, that mark major turns in the celebration of carnival traditions in the 16th Century, 19th Century and post-WW2.

Carnival Traditions in Germany

"Carnival is a feeling. If you don't have it, you will never fully become one with this thing." (Interview König)

Swabian-Alemannic carnival is celebrated in the South-West of Germany and has a long history, the first mentioning dating back to the Middle Ages. A special characteristic of the celebration is the use of a costume (*Häs*) that fully disguises the wearer. In addition to the Häs, a participant usually wears a mask (*Larve*) that is crafted from lime wood. The masks are unique and emphasize the characteristic of the jester (*Narr*). In many cases, a complete Häs could cost around €3.500 or more, depending on the type and the materials. As a result, it is re-used every year and passed on, often from generation to generation. Wearing such a costume comes with a lot of responsibility and often the wearer identifies with the figure. This will be discussed at a later point of this thesis. Because of the full disguise of the jester, the anonymous person behind the mask is free to criticize the environment, politicians or wrong doings of others. This tradition goes back to the so called *Narrenfreiheit* (to have the freedom to do whatever one wants) and the idea of the *Narrenspiegel* (a jester's tool to make someone see their own flaws)*,* The jester is of great importance to the Swabian-Alemannic carnival and the jester's nature has great influence on the carnival traditions. Hence, mock traditions like Maschgern[1] and playfully making fun of and with people is part of the interactions between the different actors participating in carnival celebrations.

While there is a lot of similarities in the celebrations, the diversity of the traditions is already implied by the name given to carnival It can differ from region to region and even within neighbouring villages, from Fasnacht, Fasnet, Fasching to Karneval. Another important characteristic of the Swabian-Alemannic Carnival traditions is the showcasing of the costumes, not only within the place of origin, but also on gatherings and parades that take place in the period between Epiphany and Ash Wednesday. This brings me to a short outline of the chronological sequence of the events, which is similar in most places. Unlike the Rhinish carnival, the Swabian-Alemannic carnival does not begin on the 11th of November but on the 6th of December. This is the day, when the costume is taken out of the closet and many associations cherish the tradition of dusting the costume. In many places, this is the first-time carnivalists come together again and the general meetings of many associations take place. From January onwards, the programme looks different for every association, but it mainly consists of different gatherings (*Narrentreffen*) where the costumes are being showcased in a parade that is followed by celebrations. The main carnival week always takes place before Ash Wednesday

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[1] Maschgern: A fully disguised person playfully teasing people on the streets. In some places it also refers to performances, where a jester recites a local person's mishap in rhymes. Another form of this would be the sale of Narrenzeitungen (Carnival Papers), where mishaps are being collected throughout the year and are being presented in the carnival paper, which can be purchased before and during the carnival week.

and marks the last week before *Lent*[2]. In the course of this week, many different events take place, that are different from village to village, and usually showcase a deep connection with the place. It is important to say, that during the main carnival week, the celebrations are mainly taking place within the villages, which is important for deep-rooted jesters, as carnival lives of knowing the people you are celebrating with. Therefore, according to Niethammer, even if celebrations would need to change because of social developments like the loss of establishments to host the celebrations, the people would find different ways to celebrate carnival with their village community[3].

As diverse as the celebrations and traditions itself, are the debates about the origin of the celebrations. Hence this topic is widely covered in academia. For a long time, the consensus was that the origins of carnival can be found in Germanic traditions, a belief that was mainly propagated in the Third Reich, when the Nazis tried to control the celebrations and craft a more appropriate origin (De Waal, 2013). Mezger (1991) criticizes this approach and points out that the interpretations of Höfler (1934, 1937) and Stumpfl (1936) are based on a misconception of the term "heidnisch" (pagan). According to Mezger, the ground for misinterpretation of the word can be found in the 16th and 17th century. After the Reformation, the perception of carnival was based on religious beliefs. While Protestants viewed it as diabolic and try to abolish this non-Christian behaviour, Catholics tolerated it. Nevertheless, both religious beliefs called the carnival celebrations, of which they disapprove "heidnisch," which simply refers to something being "non-Christian" (Mezger, 1991: p. 10). As a result of the zeitgeist of the 1930s, Höfler and Stumpfl, by re-interpreting "heidnisch" as pre-Christian, paved the road to the misconception of carnival as being of Germanic origin, which is still widely believed among non-professionals.

In contemporary studies, researchers mostly agree, that the origins of the celebrations can be traced back to the Middle Ages and are rooted in Christian symbology (Mezger, 1991). One indicator for this could be the geographical distribution of Swabian-Alemannic carnival, compared to the distribution of Catholics in Germany (see Picture 2). This ties into the fact that carnival was a common practice among the catholic population of Germany. In Protestant areas it is a rather new phenomenon as the Protestant movement condemned the celebrations as diabolic (Mezger, 1991). Moreover, it is one explanation of why it is an important period in the South-West of Germany, while the North has little understanding for the traditions and customs and the "weird behaviour" of their countrymen. This theory is not undisputed though, as other researchers trace back the origin of carnival to the Roman Occupation, arguing that the main carnival locations, with a long-standing history, are based alongside

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[2]   The period of Lent is the 40 days of fasting between Ash Wednesday and Easter.

[3]   "Aber ich glaube, selbst wenn es bei uns nichts mehr gibt. Wird man nicht auf mehr Auswärtstermine gehen, weil einfach dann sucht man sich andere Möglichkeiten die Fasnacht im Ort zu feiern mit den Leuten, die man kennt. Denn die Fasnacht lebt auch davon, dass man die Leute kennt." (Interview Niethammer, 00:16:10)

the Limes, such as Cologne and Mainz (Interview Topka). Nevertheless, there is no concrete evidence to back up this approach, as no continuous proof can be presented which would connect Roman celebrations to carnival, as a result of the long-time span between and the absence of documents. Hence, the general consensus is that carnival celebrations are closely connected to Christian symbolism and is intertwined with the church year. One of the main arguments to support this theory is the yearly changing date of the celebration, which is not at all arbitrary but depends on the Easter week, which varies from year to year, depending on the first full moon in spring (Mezger, 1991: p. 482). This approach is not only shared by Mezger, but also others like Rosenfeld (1969), and Moser, who in numerous publications researched and documented this phenomenon since the 1950s.
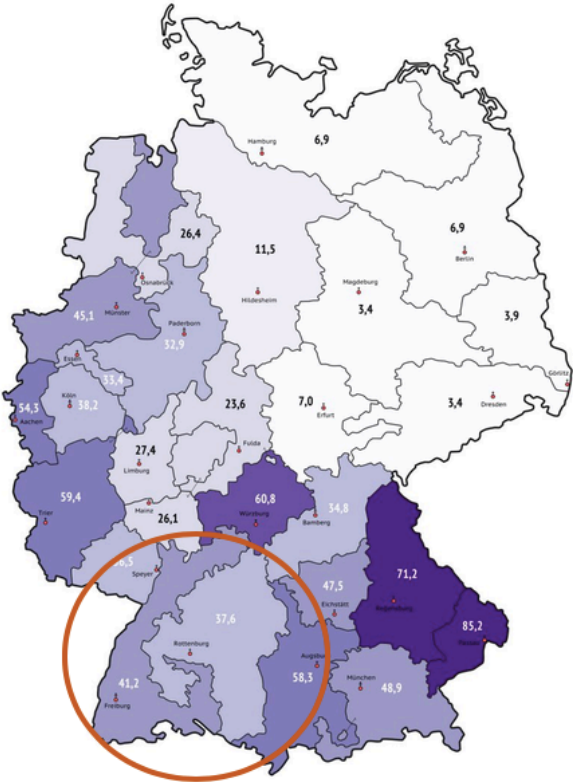
Picture 1: Members of the roman catholic church in Germany at the end of 2012. The boundaries are showing the contours of the German dioceses, the colours the percentage of catholic people in these dioceses.

The circle is indicating the area in which Swabian-Alemannic carnival is celebrated.

Over 70
60-70
50-60
40-50
30-40
20-30
10-20
Under 10
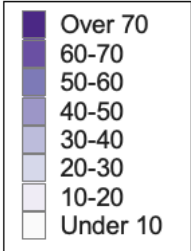
Tying into the discussions about the origins of carnival is the debate about the purpose of the celebrations. The majority of researchers agree, that the week before Lent was an opportunity, especially in the Middle Ages and all the way into Modernity, to enjoy the last week before the hardship of fasting would begin and to finish perishable foods that were not allowed during Lent. Nevertheless, another topic is in the spotlight and is passionately debated by two opposing sides trying to answer the question if carnival traditions are influenced by the church or whether they are a social creation? On one side of the debate, Moser argues that every carnival custom is very much thought through and encouraged by the church. He (1983) argues, that by allowing the people to live out the folly, with all the positive and negative associations, they would be reminded of the importance of Lent and contemplation, which is why, going to church on Ash Wednesday is still part of carnival customs. On

the other side of this debate is Rosenfeld (1969), who, although a defender of the catholic origins of carnival, disagrees with Moser and denies any influence of the church on the development of customs. Rosenfeld is convinced that carnival celebrations are created through the playfulness of people and is used as a social valve. While both sides surely found some truth, it has to be said, that both Rosenfeld and Moser cannot claim to have contributed to an ample understanding of the phenomenon. On the one hand, Rosenfeld ignores obvious ties to catholic symbolism. Mezger (1991) criticizes his simplified analysis and adds, that the highly differentiated variations of customs and their geographical distribution in similar forms contradict Rosenfeld's approach (p.483). On the other hand, Moser's theory idealizes the Christian ties and it can be argued, that, while probably closer to the truth than Rosenfeld, Moser, does not take the people into account. Despite the obvious connections, it cannot go unmentioned, that during carnival participants have always let go of their inhibitions and in combination with the consumption of alcohol, are far from executing ecclesiastical orders (p.483). Considering this, the truth is hidden somewhere in the middle, but an extensive explanation of the purpose of carnival and the influence it has on society still needs to be written. Scribner (1978) argues, that this has not been done yet, as it requires the approach from different disciplines, as it "involves questions of folklore, social anthropology, social psychology and philosophy" (p. 314). Moreover, most attempts that try to explain carnival, aim to uncover its role in the 16th and 17th century. Hence, they cannot be directly translated into a postmodern era. In order to get a better understanding of why carnival is celebrated today and why it is still relevant in a fast-changing world, it will be analysed how the celebrations have changed throughout times and how social changes have had their influence on changing traditions and customs.

Civitas Dei vs. Civitas Diavoli

When we look back to how carnival was celebrated in the Middle Ages, there is no doubt, that many things have changed, and it has only little to do with our customs of today. According to Mezger (1999), in some of the earliest sources, carnival is described as the week before Lent, in which people had to finish perishable groceries, as many of them were not allowed to be consumed during Lent, such as eggs, butter, meat etc. As a result, it evolved into a celebration, where neighbours would come together to celebrate and feast. If we compare it to today's festivities, it can be assumed that this is the base of the excesses and morally limited atmosphere surrounding carnival. Although the forty days between Ash Wednesday and Easter, for many people today, do not entail pressure to give up certain foods, alcoholic beverages or sexual contacts as it was the case in the Middle Ages. Nevertheless, this opportunity to act out these vices without being punished did not lose its appeal and got carried through the centuries.

Mezger (1999) also describes, how in the 14th and 15th Century, many new customs were added such as mock tournaments and theatres. This is when, carnival as a celebration of gluttony and pleasures of the flesh reached its peak. In the 16th century, the Catholic church was one of the most influential institutions, having authority over kings and dictating social life. Yet, it was a turbulent century for the Catholic church, as Protestantism challenged their claim of universality and forced them to reposition themselves. This led to radical counter reformations, that culminated in the Thirty Years War and into witch hunts. This ecclesial war for power was not only supported by monarchs, like King James I of England, who in 1599 published his philosophical dissertation *Daemonology*, but the church also tried to instrumentalize customs and traditions to convey Christian morals and behavioural norms. Before we will have a look at how the Catholic church influenced and invented carnival tradition, it has to be mentioned, that they have not been the only ones who tried to manipulate tradition this way. As Bob Scribner (1978) sums up, "when the new belief [Protestantism] sought to express itself collectively it turns not only to new forms of collective expression it had created itself […] but prior to this, to modes such as carnival which were deeply embedded in the cultural experience of the people" (p. 328). Scribner argues, that through the use and manipulation of carnival customs, the Reformation could spread, and the transition was made easier because the medium was already well known to the people. The adaptation of existing practice to ease in a new one is common in many cultures. Especially, if we think of examples such as the transition from Paganism to Catholicism or other power shifts in history. As Hobsbawm (1983) describes that traditions are being invented more frequently "when a rapid transformation of society weakens or destroys the social patterns for which 'old' traditions had been designed, producing new ones to which they were not applicable, or when such old traditions and their institutional carriers and promulgators no longer prove sufficiently adaptable and flexible, or are otherwise eliminated" (p. 4).

As a result of this fundamental transformation, and the repositioning of Catholicism and Protestantism, carnival emerged as a counterpart to Christian doctrine. Mezger (1999) traces this back to the decline of mysticism, crucial turns in scholastic views and a pronounced interest in the teachings of St. Augustine (p. 10). His work *De civitate Dei* ("About the City of God") was written in the 5th Century and heavily influenced Christian doctrines. According to Peeters-Nunes (2014) from the University library of Utrecht, where a copy of the *De civitate Dei* can be found, Augustine describes the mindset of Christians towards culture, keeping in mind that the Kingdom of God is the ultimate goal. He further expresses that world history can be understood as a fight between those believing in the Kingdom of God and the people who focus on secular pleasures. This Augustinian model of two opposing cities, was picked up by clerics and carnival was equated with the *Civitas Diavoli* ("City of the Devil"), while Lent was put on one level with the *Civitas Dei* ("City of God") (Mezger, 1999).

First of all, it needs to be mentioned, that when talking about the jester it's usually referred to the artificial one. In a publication by Werner Mezger (1991), the figure of the jester is being analyzed and the importance throughout a changing society emphasized. Mezger distinguishes between natural and artificial jesters, which will proof to be of great importance. While the natural jester is being attributed with numerous negative associations, the artificial jester is being adored, sympathized with and is closely related to the modern sense of the carnival jester. As we will see, the social changes also transformed the jester, from the social outcast to a demonic figure. The medieval idea of the jester includes every phenomenon that is useless, incomplete or wrong in their worldview and explains the jester as being associated with evil. In their worldview, according to Genesis 1:27, god created the people in his own image, therefore, people with psychological or physical abnormalities were considered as not being created by god but instead were associated with devilish creation. As a result, jesters and cripples were often portrayed as of the same level, as outcasts of society.

In the course of the 16th Century, the jester was transformed into a negative figure associated with sin and evil. This was a result of the changing society, that went from a feudal system dominated by the church and Christianity to a society where status was not determined by birth and descent anymore, but by possessions and wealth (p.52). This led to a growing fear of the end of the world, which came to a tragic peak with the persecution of witches. Mezger argues, that the transformation of the jester into a diabolic figure and the witch hunts originate from the same fear of evil driving out the divine order and taking over. Subsequently, being a fool was equated with a pandemic and the idea of everyone having foolish qualities took over. These qualities were not of a positive nature at all. One of the most important publications of the time is the so called *Narrenschiff* (Ship of Fools) by Sebastian Brandt, which was published in 1494. Brandt deliberately creates the jester as an identification figure and connects the jester's foolish qualities with negatively associated human qualities. With this

publication he contributed to the negative association of the jester and the interpretation of the kingdom of evil taking over before Lent, which has been an interpretation of the carnival celebrations for a long time. The interpretation of the jester as a diabolic figure which was present during the transition from the Middle Ages to the Modern Times changed again with the publication of *Praise of Folly* by Erasmus of Rotterdam. According to Mezger (1991), Erasmus successfully helped transforming the image of the jester into a more positive figure by ironically criticizing his contemporaries. This publication indicates a new era for the figure of the jester. He transformed into a multifaceted figure that becomes a playful actor who, because of his free nature, can slip into different roles (p.71).

During this turn, the jester became a more positive figure to identify with, which led to a worldview in which everyone has foolishness in themselves. One example here fore, is a copperplate engraving from the late 16th Century, in which the globe is wearing a jester's hat with donkey ears. On the image, the Latin phrases incorporated in the image emphasize this new image. "O caput elleboro dignum" (O thee head worthy of hellebore[4]) is written on the forehead of the jester, while "Auriculus asini, quis non habet?" (Who does not have donkey ears?) is written on the ears (Mezger, 1991: p.72). Turning away from the natural jesters and towards the artificial jesters has also had its effects on carnival celebrations. The ambiguity between normality and folly, reason and stupidity etc. created a tension between the participants of the celebrations and e.g. church, which made carnival a catalysator of modern ideas and able to criticize society. Scribner (1978) goes as far as arguing that carnival played an important role in the success of the Reformation in the 16th and 17th Century by adapting some of the previously mentioned dimensions.

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[4] Hellebore was regarded to cure folly since the antiquity (Mezger, 1991: p.72).

The Romanticizing of Carnival

Another significant turn was marked by the emergence of modernity and the Enlightenment movement in the 17th century. According to Mezger (1999), carnival adapted baroque style elements. This cannot only be seen in costumes like the ones still in use in Rottweil, but also in the way intricate designs of the masks and different accessories. Further, an Italian influence found their way into local traditions, which can still be seen e.g. in the jester figures in Wilflingen. But this new era for carnival did not only have stylistic influences but also on the way carnival was celebrated. While a new aristocracy and educated middle class emerged, the rough hustle and bustle of carnival did not apply to the new modernist views and was met with a lack of understanding. As a result, the archetypical carnival was sanctioned and lost its status more and more. Mezger (1999) argues, that it would have been forgotten, if not the Romantic period would have revived it, although in a more sophisticated way. Instead of the rough celebrations on the street with numerous coarse jokes, carnival was revived giving it a more noble appearance. This for example can be seen in the introduction of Prince Carnival and other figures that were supposed to take the place of the old grotesque and fright figures. These outdated figures were only showcased in so called historic parades. This led to a two-tier carnival, the romantic carnival of the aristocracy and the rough street carnival of the proletariat. Nevertheless, this two-tier system did not last for long, as carnival was used again during the emancipation of the proletariat around the turn of the century. While in Cologne, Mainz etc. this version is still established today, in the South the proletariat did revolt against this top-to-bottom re-organization of their traditions. Especially craftsmen who used to be in the center of carnival protested and old costumes re-appeared, and numerous carnival associations were founded with the premise of safeguarding the old carnival traditions. Nonetheless it was no fast transition that led to the distinction between Rhinish carnival and Swabian-Alemannic carnival. As Mezger (2004) describes, in Rottweil for example, the majority of the old costumes disappeared and in 1903 only 9 people participated in the *Narrensprung*. This led to a crucial turn and craftsmen formed a new carnival association to revive carnival as it was celebrated in the old days. Important here fore, was the myth of Rottweil as free imperial city with the aim to bring back the glory of the old days, including the carnival as it was celebrated before 1802. This nostalgia theme can be discovered in many places. During this time, it can be seen that carnival was again instrumentalized by different social groups to convey their morals and norms which leads to a transformation of carnival and an adaptation to contemporary ideals. Unfortunately, there is only little known about the experiences of jesters from the time, but it can be assumed that this turn marked the beginning of carnival as an expression of local identity.

Ideological Instrumentalization

The consequences of the third turn are the base of a misconception that is still present today. As Mezger (1999) describes, the origins of carnival were fought to be Germanic, which comes from a misinterpretation of the word "heidnisch". During the Romantic period, scientists first used the term associating it with pre-Christianity and in 1835 the Brothers Grimm published their "Deutsche Mythology" (German Mythology), in which they picked up on this misinterpretation. This led to scientists concluding that carnival among other German traditions are based on Germanic rites and mythology. Especially Busse who, according to Mezger, was one of the first to scientifically accompany carnival, has taken this approach and argues for the pre-Christian origins and German mythology. In his publication "Alemannische Volksfasnacht" from 1936 he not only creates an origin story of carnival that goes hand in hand with Nazi ideology of the time, but he also conveys antisemitic messages. In one instance, he describes the carnival masks as having "Jewish noses" because they are symbolizing an evil counterfigure (Mezger, 1999, p. 29). Moreover, he describes carnival and traditions as "religious cult of the nation," which are symbolizing the "inner language of a nation" (Busse, 1936). Thus, he incorporates Nazi ideology into the existing carnival traditions by not only re-interpreting them, but also omitting other factors like the Christian ties of carnival. Many carnival associations felt acknowledged by this new ascribed importance which sparked a wave of pride in this folklore. This practice corresponds to the process of nation building and the construction of origin myths. Harrison (2012, p. 142), who summarizes Hobsbawm's (1983) theory of nation-building emphasizes, that this construction establishes "not only the norms of the current system of political and social power in individual societies, but also the series of behaviours and systems of class, gender and ethnic (racial) inequalities on which power rests." In other words, by creating an appropriate origin story and re-interpreting of existing tradition, the belief system of the ruling class can be conveyed to the people. And indeed, the organization of carnival was taken over by governmental organizations more and more. As can be seen in Mezger's (1999, p. 29) description of government produced manuals on the correct application of carnival. He further describes how the Nazi-regime strategically constructed carnival to convey their ideology by firstly, taking it out of the Christian context and creating a new origin story, and secondly, by propagating this new origin and therefore instrumentalizing carnival for political purposes. Carnival is only one of many traditions and customs that were appropriated by the Nazis, nevertheless, the origin myth of Germanic influence persistently stuck within the minds of the people. Indeed, growing up I still remember this claim of carnival being of Germanic celebration of spring.

Contemporary Implications

After assessing the historic development of carnival and its development within different stages of society, numerous roles can be distilled. First, as Mezger (1999) describes, the practical role of finishing perishable groceries before *Lent.* While this formed the base of the celebration in the Middle Ages, today it plays a smaller role in society. This can be traced back to the diminished stance of religion in society, as fasting during *Lent* is of lesser importance than in the Middle ages, but also because foods which used to be only available during this carnival time like *Fasnachtsküchle* and *Berliner* etc. are now available all year. Second, carnival used to function as a tool to transmit values and norms of the leading authority of the time. In the Middle Ages the focus was on transporting Christian values, in the 18th and 19th century, the aristocracy used the celebrations to reflect their believes, which led to a romantic transformation and in the 20th century, carnival celebrations were idealized and used to transmit Nazi ideology by providing a suitable "academic" background. As described, identity formation used to be easier in the past, as cultural influences were limited (Schlegel & Barry, 1991). Hence, because of the globalization and the complexity of identity formation today, the role of carnival needs to be re-evaluated and the question of its contemporary role, influenced by globalization and digitization, needs to be posed. Third, carnival used to be one of the only opportunities during the year to escape from societal compulsions, and after WW2, also offered the possibility to get outside of one's place, which can also be seen as a form of escapism, as mobility was limited. Like the two previous roles, the importance of carnival has diminished, because on the one hand, mobility is now available for everyone, not only on a local, but also on a global scale, and on the other hand, digitization offers the possibility to escape from society immediately.

Thus, these developments imply that the role of carnival has changed drastically, which leads to a variety of questions. First of all, if the historical roles of carnival do not contribute to its contemporary standing, what factors influence the popularity of carnival today and what motivates people to participate in the celebrations? Further, how does globalization and digitization influence the importance of carnival within a culturally diverse society today and how does it influence the place of carnival in the community?

Methodology

Carnival is a multilayered and complex phenomenon and can be approached from a multitude of angles and academic fields. The choice to conduct qualitative research was made, as the interest of this thesis is to uncover the relations of Swabian-Alemannic carnival celebrations on community cohesion answering the research question: *What role does carnival play in society today and how do participants create identification with carnival?* This question cannot be answered with statistics, as the individual experience is subjective. Therefore, a quantitative methodology was chosen as it is "a key venue for exploring the ways in which subjects experience and understand their world. It provides a unique access to the lived world of the subjects, who in their own words describe their activities, experiences and opinions" (Kvale, 2007). Conducting interviews offers the possibility to uncover underlying themes that the interview partners are usually unaware of, especially complex processes, social phenomenon and constructions of meanings (Dresing & Pehl, 2015). Hence, it offers not only the insight into how interviewees evaluate the social phenomenon, but also what this evaluation entails and how they express their experiences and believes. Moreover, interviews make it possible to uncover communicational structures, constructed meanings and factual connections which can be analyzed (Dresing & Pehl, 2015). The choice to conduct interviews was made because it allows to be more flexible while engaging with interviewees. Hence, follow-up questions can be asked if interviewees touch upon a topic of interest, while less meaningful parts of the conversation can be shortened. Semi-structured interviews were chosen, as they do not used closed off questions, which assume that every interviewee has the same experiences and thoughts (Adler & Clark, 2011). While a semi-structured interview allows the interviewer to adapt to the interviewee, it is essential to use a consistent set of questions and themes. Therefore, an interview guide was created with questions that were categorized. This allows the interviewer to change the order of questions, while gaining a comparable set of information for the analysis. The main themes of the interview guide were sorted into personal context, local variety, changing traditions, cultural education, identification and concluding questions. The full questionnaire can be found in appendix C.

In this thesis, the selection of samples followed a purposive approach as defined by Bryman (2012).Therefore, the interviewees were selected as they are relevant to the research question. As a result of using this approach, the choice of sampling units needs to be clear and including or excluding certain units needs to serve a purpose. In the case of this thesis, the interviewees are all part of carnival associations and therefore, have a strong tie to carnival. It has to be mentioned, that the carnival associations and the events they are organizing are the center of local carnival events and create the framework for the celebrations, but they are not the only expression of carnival traditions. Hence, it has to be distinguished between organized traditions, usually set up by the associations e.g. parades

and the ritualized program within the local community, and free carnival celebrations, which entails everything from groups creating their costumes to mock traditions and pub carnival. The choice to interview members of carnival associations was made for different reasons. On the one hand, their involvement in carnival associations suggests that they are connected with the topic and therefore are knowledgeable, which allows them to reflect on their relationship with carnival and the community. On the other hand, reaching out to the interviewees was more feasible trying to reach association members, as most associations have a website where they can be contacted. While it would have been interesting to research free carnival, reaching the participants and assuring e.g. geographical diversity would not have been within the limits of this thesis. It has to be mentioned, that the choice of interviewing members of carnival associations might result in a more positive view of the celebrations and might be nostalgically transfigured. Nevertheless, they are more involved in carnival than other participants which enables them to reflect on their experiences, while including their knowledge.

The selection and sampling of the interview partners was realized online, just like the majority of the interviews itself, as the current Corona crisis has an impact on social interactions. Especially the lockdown from March to May made it impossible to conduct the interviews in person. Nevertheless, most interviews were conducted via Skype to ensure a good quality interview by facing the interviewee, which enables both sides to react to the other without interrupting. The interview partners responded to an e-mail request sent out to numerous associations. As the majority of requests came back with an assurance, fifteen interviewees were selected based on different criteria. Firstly, the associations were chosen based on their membership of the VSAN (Vereinigung Schwäbisch-Alemannischer Narrenzünfte), which is the biggest union of associations. Second, their geographical distribution. The fifteen associations are located in different parts of the area in which Swabian-Alemannic carnival is celebrated.
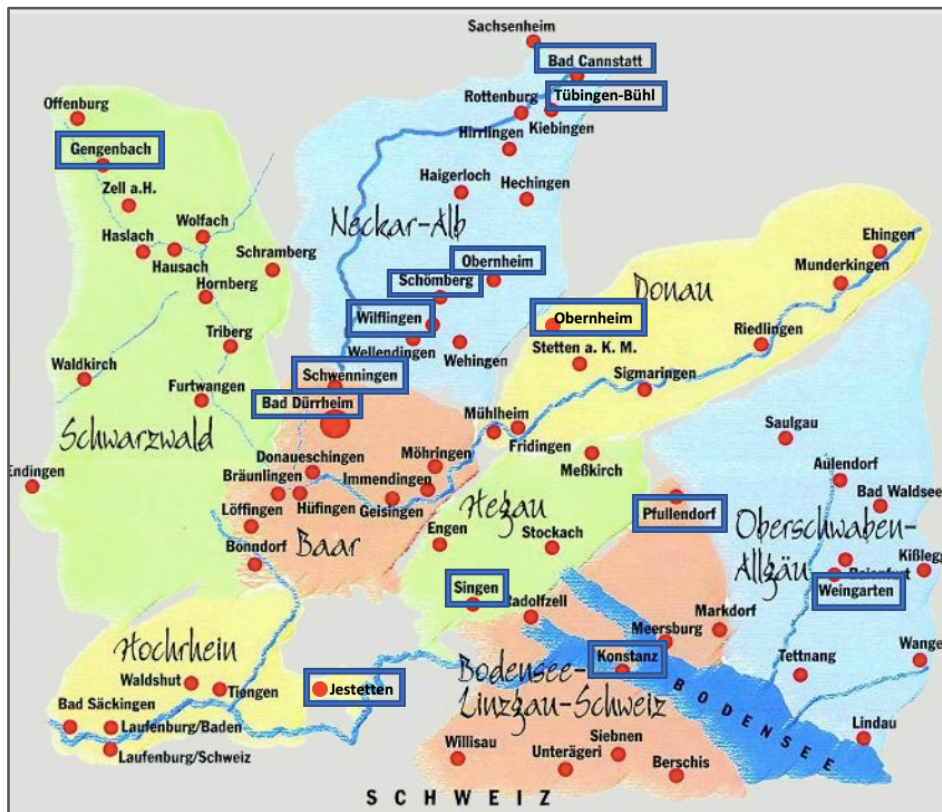
Picture 2: Distribution of carnival associations of the interviewees.

By interviewing people from different locations, it should be ensured not to have a geographical bias. Further, to account for potential local differences and variations. As mentioned, carnival is celebrated differently from village to village, which makes it more important to ensure the geographical diversity. Especially, to account for potential local differences. Third, it was aimed for a wide range of age, because carnival is not specific to any age group. Further, society has changed drastically in the past century, which means that different age groups might have different experiences of carnival as they have been influenced by different factors, changing norms and values. Another limitation of the chosen sample is gender diversity. While today more and more women are part of associations this has not been the case in a long time. Many associations were restricted, and only men were able to become members. Indeed, many associations today, especially if they consider themselves as historic, keep this tradition alive which excludes women from personifying certain figures (Armas, 2019). Exemplary here fore is the association from Offenburg, where only men are allowed to impersonate witches. With the emancipation of women in the second half of the 20th century, more and more associations began to adopt female figures to give women the chance to participate in associations as well[5]. Nevertheless,

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[5]   „Um mehr Frauen Gelegenheit zu bieten, am fastnächtlichen Geschehen aktiv mitzuwirken, wurde eine weitere Fastnachtsfigur geschaffen, die von Karl Wacker 1956 angeregt wurde. Es war das Hansele, das mit seinem buntgemusterten Spättlehäs das Bild der Hexenzunft farblich beleben sollte und heute den weiblichen aktiven Mitgliedern der Zunft vorbehalten ist" (Obernheim, 2020).

many figures are still strictly for men. As a consequence of this late emancipation of women in carnival associations, only a small number of women are part of the association committee, which results in an underrepresentation of women in this study. Similar to the other limitations this would suggest a further, more wide-ranging research project, which would exceed the frame of this thesis. In total, 15 interviews of approximately an hour length each were conducted. The interviews were recorded after the participants have given their consent, either in the initial e-mail conversation or on tape. This formed the base of the transcription process, which is critical, as it "helps to correct natural limitations" of the memory and allows "repeated examinations" of the conversation (Bryman, 2011, p.482). Nevertheless, the interviews have not been transcribed in full, but in an edited transcription. This choice was made as the interviews are rather long and not everything is relevant to answering the research question. Because of the linguistic variety of dialects of the interviewees the decision was made to standardize the transcription in standard and not dialects, to make the interviews more coherent. Nevertheless, important term varieties were kept in the local dialect, as they are important contributions to the analysis. In order to standardize the transcription of the interviews, the guideline by Kruse (2015) was followed.

The nature of qualitative research is that the collected data is very subjective, which requires an approach that is specifically adapted to the research, and therefore cannot be compared to standardized procedures of quantitative research (Bryman, 2012). According to Bryman (2012), "there are few well-established and widely accepted rules for the analysis of qualitative data" (p.565), which allows a wide range of possible approaches. As a result, the analytical method needs to be chosen carefully to fit the research question. For this thesis, a thematic analysis, as described by Bryman (2012), was considered to be the best option. The transcribed text was carefully read multiple times and the statements were sorted into categories, which re-occurred throughout the interview. With every interview, the statements were either sorted into already existing categories or new ones if they have not been mentioned before. This led to numerous motifs, which then were further analyzed by sorting the statements into sub-categories. Ryan and Bernard (2003) especially emphasize the importance of repetition as one indicator of a theme, but also recommend looking for indigenous typologies or categories, metaphors and analogies, transitions, similarities and differences, linguistic connectors, missing data and theory-related material (Bryman, 2012, p. 580). Nevertheless, according to Bryman, in order to be considered a theme, the researcher needs to link the different initial codes to create a sense of continuity. In this thesis, the analysis will be divided in two parts. In the first part, the focus will be on the contemporary role of carnival in society and how the interviewees experience carnival today versus in the past. In the second part, the focus will be on how carnival influences community, what the interviewees identify with and what implications this has on community cohesion.

Carnival in a Contemporary Society

The point was made, that carnival is a living tradition that evolves over time and adapts to societal changes. Although the number of new association members skyrocketed in the past twenty years, all interviewees describe how carnival has changed and name possible implications this has for carnival. The decreasing importance is the main concern named by many interviewees. They describe the changing attitude towards carnival within society, which results in empty ball rooms and diminishing interest in the events and occasional visitors on the streets during parades. To answer the first part of the research question on what role carnival plays in society today, the interviewees were asked to describe how they experience carnival today and if they can identify changes in comparison with their experiences growing up. As mentioned earlier, the ongoing processes of globalization, digitization etc. come with numerous challenges, not only for society itself, but also for traditions. Delanty (1999, p. 11), talks about the challenge between "possibilities for the autonomy of the subject under the conditions of the fragmentation of the social and the increasing loss of unity in modern society," which is one of the main challenges carnival is facing today.

The first development in the spotlight is the surplus of carnival associations in the past decades. Unfortunately, no concrete numbers can be found online. Nevertheless, Andreas Reutter, cultural advisor for the VSAN, pointed out that carnival expanded further north over the years and new associations were founded, especially in protestant areas where carnival was not present. This boom in the 1990s and 2000s resulted in almost every small village having at least one carnival association[6]. This inflation of associations is partly responsible for the current problematic of declining visitor numbers, not only during the parades but also other events. As Reutter points out, for many decades after the war Weingarten was the only association in the area and therefore, many people came from the surrounding villages to visit the parades and the events there. Today every village has local events so there is no need to travel to a bigger town[7]. This observation is not only shared by many other interviewees, but also Mezger (1999). He describes the first wave of new carnival figures, as a response to the creation of *Narrentreffen* in 1928. After being able to get out of the place, people compared local customs and felt the need for re-invention and innovation. The second wave of interest in carnival, especially after the 1990s, can be explained looking at Huntington's (1996) theory that people retreat into cultural and local identities as a reaction to increasing interconnectedness. As a response to a diversification of society, local customs and traditions regain value. Today, this development

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[6] „Die Fasnacht hat sich immer weiter in den nördlichen Bereich, der früher evangelisch war und gar keine Fasnacht hatte, ausgebreitet. In den 1990ern und 2000ern gab es sicherlich einen extremen Boom an Narrenzünften. Mittlerweile findet man hier einen Ort mehr, der nicht mindestens eine Narrenzunft hat." (Interview Reutter)

[7] „Wenn man das mit früher vergleicht, da war Weingarten eigentlich die einzige Narrenzunft in der Umgebung. Da war natürlich der Besucherandrang ein ganz anderer, weil die umliegenden Orte keine eigene Fasnacht hatten kamen alle zu den Umzügen in die Stadt. Heute hat natürlich jeder Ort seine eigenen Veranstaltungen." (Interview Reutter)

seems to have reached a point of saturation. This can be compared to an economic saturation of the market. Hence, associations will need to think of alternatives, which will lead to a re-organization and re-interpretation of traditions and events in a contemporary context. One example here fore is the carnival in Bad Cannstatt. As Sarah König describes, the association participated in parades in other places. Hence, the local carnival was not very connected with the local community, which resulted in fewer visitor numbers. Taking these developments into account, the association restructured their carnival traditions. They do not leave the place anymore but organize more local events and integrate the community. This focus on the local led to raising visitor numbers. And indeed, this newly found interest in carnival can be seen in more places, which supports Huntington's (1996) theory, as tapping into local culture and traditions is more vital to the community than national or international cultural influences.

Nonetheless, the biggest challenge today is the changed place of carnival in society. After WW2 people had to work hard all year and there were only a handful of opportunities to get out of the daily routine. Summer holidays and carnival being the two most important once. Both occasions offer a form of escaping from the routine, which suggests a comparability. Sharpley (2018), quotes Krippendorf (1986, p. 525) and describes tourism as "social therapy, a safety valve keeping the everyday world in good working order." This shows similarities to Scribner (1978), who suggested that carnival works as a safety valve, not only for the adolescent youth, who can test themselves against societal norms, but also to express discontent with society within a realm of play, separated from every-day-life. Hence, escapism can be named as an important motivator for carnival participants, which was also pointed out during the interviews. Reutter for example emphasizes the importance of slipping into another role[8], and König describes participating in carnival as finally being able to be normal[9]. While carnival still holds the possibility for escape, it is not the only possibility to do so anymore. As Glunk reports, 30, 40 years ago carnival was one of them main events to go out and celebrate and therefore, was of great importance. Today, carnival is not the only opportunity to dress up, disguise the identity or go out and let go of societal rules. As Niethammer describes, people dress up for the Oktoberfest, Halloween, Christmas or other occasions. Hence, it lost its status as unique possibility to escape reality. Glunk describes, that in Singen, the carnival dances used to be one of the few occasions to go out and celebrate till late past midnight, today, nightclubs are open almost every day. Furthermore, leisure activities have become more diverse and available then they used to be. Hence, people do not need to anticipate carnival which reduces its importance. Many interviewees trace these developments back to growing prosperity. Many of the original customs like using-up eggs and other perishable groceries

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[8]   Das besondere an der Fasnacht ist das schlüpfen in eine andere Rolle. Also eigentlich die Narrenfreiheit, die ich habe, sobald ich mir die Maske aufsetze." (Interview Reutter)

[9]   „An der Fasnacht kann ich endlich wieder normal sein." (Interview König)

that were used up by making traditional food, which was only sold during carnival, like *Fasnachtsküchle,* lost their importance as people on the one hand, are not tied to ecclesial rules anymore, and on the other hand, as they can be purchased all year long. All in all, it can be observed that customs lose their original relevance and are integrated without a cultural purpose. These are all results of a growing prosperity, as priorities and capital shifted. Further, it can be seen that also other aspects of carnival have lost their exclusivity and therefore are not attributed with e.g. the means of escape as much as they used to be.

Niethammer also points out that this development has an influence on the authenticity of carnival celebrations if participants do not have the cultural background to understand the traditions. He compares it with traditions that have become important in a bigger, usually international context, like the Oktoberfest in München. Because of its popularity among people who do not have cultural ties to the celebration, it became a tradition without content. This problem is known among researchers and Sharpley (2018) describes this as commodification of culture. By marketing carnival, the numerous cultural nuances are not transmitted to the visitors, which effects the authenticity of the celebration. Hence, Niethammer among others points out the problems Rottweil has at the moment and describes the celebration as showcasing carnival rather than living it. He sees the root of the problem not only in the enormous number of visitors, but also in the artificial scarcity, as only a distinct group of people are allowed to actively participate in the *Narrensprung*. Firstly, as a result of Rottweil's place branding and its stance as capital of the Swabian-Alemannic carnival, it attracts visitors from all around the world. Further, by restricting the access to the celebrations a market was created where registered costumes transform into a commodity. As visitors and tourists are usually restricted to the position as observer, the experience of participating becomes desirable. In conclusion, it can be said that the commodification of culture always poses a threat to authenticity, which also has an influence on community attachment. Therefore, the size of the place and the carnival event is an interesting factor to take into consideration.

In order to counteract this development, the interviewees emphasize the importance of creating identification with carnival, which needs to be promoted by not only the carnival associations, but also the local community. They argue, that by not only actively educating people, but also focusing on the place and local attachment, the value of carnival in society could improve, which goes hand in hand with fostering community cohesion. Therefore, it is essential to identify the different layers of people's identification with carnival and to disassemble the influencing factors.

Identification

„Also ich muss wirklich sage, als Jugendlicher hat man Fasnacht gemacht, weil es alle gemacht haben. Da hat man sich nicht sonderlich damit auseinandergesetzt. Heute mache ich Fasnacht, um unser Brauchtum und die Gemeinschaft im Ort einfach zu feiern. Die gibt's an keinem Tag im Jahr so stark wie in diesen vier, fünf Tagen" (Interview Niethammer)[10]

Carnival is often referred to as a celebration of *Heimat* (literal meaning: hometown), local identity and values. According to Schicht (2003, p. 232) origin plays a big role in having a chance to being accepted among the local *Narren.* He describes how in many accounts being affiliated with carnival closely ties in with being able to call a place *Heimat.* In his work he analyses the carnival in Rottweil as a symbol of *Heimat.* Schicht argues, that it is a symbol that can be individually ascribed with meaning, depending on an individual's experience. This concept is heavily debated, and a universal definition cannot be determined as a result of its complexity. It can be compared to Bourdieu's *habitus* (Bourdieu, 1977), which suggests a learned appreciation of cultural capital. In carnival, the concept of *Heimat* is often represented by displaying local colours, symbolism in the costume or emphasizing local dialect, politics or other place-specific features (Schicht, 2003). Nonetheless, the affiliation with carnival is not only a result of growing up in a place, but also other influences, which will be discussed in this chapter. As for example in Rottweil, where the access to an active membership is restricted to people over the age of eighteen who have lived in Rottweil for over five years (Narrenzunft Rottweil, 2020). As mentioned, creating identity is a process of constant testing against Others. Hence, identity is an inward integration by dissociating the outside (Kaschuba, 1999, p. 142). Therefore, not only Rottweil, but also other associations were criticized to exclude people who did not grow up in the place. Schicht (2003), names the use of dialect specifically, as carnival lives of local dialect, and opening up carnival to people who do not speak the dialect is considered a threat for safeguarding the tradition by many. Nonetheless, he argues, if someone is willing to integrate and adapt to local customs and traditions, everyone is welcome to be part of the association. This can be seen in the association law which mentions that people with a close connection to Rottweil who show engagement above average can join the association even though other criteria are not met[11].

During the interviews, this process of identification with carnival and the different factors that influence it was discussed, and many report similar experiences.The majority of interviewees have experienced carnival from a young age and have grown up in a very active family unit, where one

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[10]   Translation: As child you have celebrated carnival because everyone has done so. Today I celebrate carnival to celebrate our tradition and the local community. This community is never as strong as during these days.

[11]   „In Fällen einer engen Bindung zu Rottweil oder eines überdurchschnittlichen Engagements für die Rottweiler Fasnet kann abweichend von obigen Regelungen eine aktive Mitgliedschaft verliehen werden." (Narrenzunft Rottweil, 2020)

parent, usually both parents, already participated in carnival celebrations. As a result, the children got introduced to the norms, values and forms of the celebration from an early age. Many people, like Jonas Eismann from Wilflingen "start before they are even able to walk." He describes his experiences as a matter of course, as the passion for carnival is usually passed on from generation to generation. This indeed matches Hobsbawm's (1983) theory of *cultural capital* and the idea that the individual's acquisition of *cultural capital* leads to increasing appreciation. Nevertheless, parents and the family unit are not the only way through which a person gets introduced to carnival. Sarah König from Bad Cannstatt describes a similar experience as Jörg Niethammer from Schömberg. Both of their families have no ties to carnival, as the parents did not grow up in an area where carnival was celebrated and therefore, the parents have not developed a connection with the celebrations. Both of them have been introduced to carnival by a circle of friends who actively participated, which sparked their interest.

In fact, Alexander Brüderle from Villingen points out the influence of the circle of friends by describing his sons' relation to carnival. Having an age difference of more than ten years, the two boys have grown up having different ties to the celebrations. Although their father has been active in an association for over twenty years, the younger brother has a more intense connection with carnival than the older boy. Brüderle sees the different circles of friends as the main reason for this difference. The older boy on one hand, has always practiced a lot of sports and in his circle of friends, carnival did not play as big of a role as the sport. Therefore, he has not been actively engaging in carnival, as there have been football matches etc. during the carnival week. The younger son on the other hand, has always been part of the celebrations and accompanied his parents. As a result, his circle of friends was influenced by the connections he made during carnival, which led to a higher involvement[12]. This illustrates the importance of social connections and community, a theme that will be picked up again at a later point. Summarizing these anecdotes, it can be said that not only family structures play a role in developing a connection to carnival, but also others like circles of friends or free-time activities, which turn out to be more influential. This entails that an identification with carnival values and norms are not tied to a personal background, but also are influenced by other factors. As Sarah König points out, that "it does not matter if you grow up in a place where carnival is celebrated, what matters is that you live it.[13]"

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[12] „Mein großer Sohn, der ist z.B. in einer Clique, wo Fasnacht nicht so stark verwachsen ist. Also das ist bei uns schon ein wenig Freundeskreis abhängig. [...] Der Sebastian* hat immer viel Sport gemacht und ist beim Fußball sehr aktiv und [ehm] da kann es halt sein, dass das dann halt doch in eine andere Richtung geht. Der Lukas*, der wächst da jetzt ganz anders mit auf. Den hat man natürlich immer mitgenommen, der macht jetzt auch schon beim Fasnachtsball mit gerade wenn man wieder Kinder sucht für irgendeine Kindernummer und so. Und [ehm] für den gibt es momentan nichts Anderes. Da könnte man sich nicht vorstellen, dass es in eine andere Richtung geht, ja [lacht]." (Interview Brüderle) (*names anonymized)

[13] „Es ist vollkommen egal, woher du kommst. [Ehm] du musst ein Narr sein und JA, die Leute, also die Leute, die nicht hier wohnen, denen fällt es natürlich schwerer, sich mit irgendwas zu identifizieren. Aber wie gesagt, es gibt genügend Menschen, die nicht ursprünglich von hier kommen, die dieses Narr Gefühl mehr transportieren wie Leute, die hier wohnen." (Interview König)

Indeed, this is a common theme during the interviews. This suggests, that identification with carnival is not only based on origin, but that other factors play a role in this process as well. In fact, the data suggests that the introduction through family members is not as important as the social group of e.g. friends, which influence the value of carnival within the group. Moreover, the data suggests that factors of identification play a more important role in this process. What also stood out in the analysis of the interviews is the ambiguity of how carnival is perceived today. On the one hand, the number of carnival associations and members grew, which indicates an increasing interest in carnival, on the other hand, they report that the identification with carnival is not as strong as it used to be in the past. Carnival has always been a concept that is almost impossible to explain to people who are not involved in the celebrations, as it entails many cultural characteristics and unspoken rules. Sarah König from Bad Cannstatt describes it as a feeling. "If you don't have it, you will never fully become one with this thing." And indeed, this is the perception of many who are involved in the carnival culture. But what are the factors that influence whether or not someone "feels" carnival? In this chapter it will be discussed, how people get introduced to carnival and what influences their relationship to it. By answering these questions, it becomes clear who belongs to the carnival community and how the interviewees define this community. Moreover, it will be analyzed, what people identify with when they talk about carnival.

During the interviews, the importance of connectedness and identification has been emphasized multiple times by many different interviewees. Identification creates a sense of belonging to a group with shared beliefs "as it provides a rational for a meaningful existence, of being a part of something and serving a purpose […]" (Taylor & Kneafsey, 2016, p. 189). This connectedness through identification stood out as a theme, as all interviewees agreed that because of the shared passion for carnival, the community is connected by a strong bond. As Niethammer points out during carnival the communal bond is never as strong as during these couple of days[14]. During the analysis of the data, three main themes stood out with which the interviewees identify most. The first one is the identification with the place and the local variety of carnival. The second is the identification as *Narr* in contrast to the figure of *Hästräger*. And finally, the third is the identification with the *Häs* and the figure the individuals incorporate during carnival. In the following chapters these themes will be discussed and supported with the results of the data analysis of the conducted interviews.

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[14] „Also ich muss wirklich sage, als Jugendlicher hat man Fasnacht gemacht, weil es alle gemacht haben. Da hat man sich nicht sonderlich damit auseinandergesetzt. Heute mache ich Fasnacht, um unser Brauchtum und die Gemeinschaft im Ort einfach zu feiern. Die gibt's an keinem Tag im Jahr so stark wie in diesen vier, fünf Tagen" (Interview Niethammer)

The Importance of Place Attachment

"Wenn du nur ein Gast bist kannst du das glaube ich nicht in dieser Intensität miterleben oder mit spüren.[15]" (Interview König)

The first level of identification that will be discussed in this thesis is the place identity or place attachment. Taylor & Kneafsey (2016) argue that place attachment plays an important part in creating and fostering community cohesion. Further, Getz (2010) argues that cultural events like carnival can help to enforce group identity and create a sense of belonging. During carnival, the place is of special importance, as many customs and traditions have direct ties to local identity and reflect this in e.g. appearance. Schicht (2003) describes how Rottweil creates a sense of belonging by constructing carnival as a symbol of *Heimat.* Rottweil today, is used synonymously with Swabian-Alemannic carnival, especially internationally, because the carnival association has actively worked on creating the image of an unspoilt tradition with historic figures. By focusing on the myth of Rottweil as historical town, with an unchanged tradition, the association was able to create carnival as an identification symbol, not only for locals but also for others (Schicht, 2003). As such, carnival figures are present in the town all year long and carnival is part of the place branding strategy. While Rottweil is in a pristine situation, it can be questioned, if the creation of place attachment corresponds to the size of the event or what other factors influence whether participants are connected to a place because of carnival.

The first factor that plays a role is the size of the event. Usually, the bigger a group of people, the less connected they are as they are usually less homogenous which leads to inequality and differentiation (Turok & Bailey, 2004). Further, as Turok & Bailey point out, a stronger sense of place attachment in smaller neighbourhoods or villages could be traced back to their stronger social relationships and networks. Hence, it is easier to create community cohesion in smaller villages than in big towns. This is why Turok and Bailey (2004) in their publication mainly focus on the neighbourhood level, as community cohesion on city level is difficult to describe because of its complexity. This is also reflected looking at local attachment and local identity in carnival. In a small village like Wilflingen with approximately 900 inhabitants (Interview Eismann), the society is more homogenous than e.g. in Bad Cannstatt, a municipal district of Stuttgart, with approximately 70.000 (numbers from 2015) (Heilweck-Backes & Strauß, M., 2015). Eismann on the one hand, points out, that in Wilflingen the local identity has a very high status, as two third of the village owns a *Häs*, which reflects the importance of carnival in the village. König from Bad Cannstatt on the other hand describes the troubles of creating identity in a town and the implications on carnival. She points out, that being able to participate in carnival is based on being rooted in the tradition. Nevertheless, living carnival requires more than to be rooted

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in tradition[16]. By telling the following anecdote she emphasizes the importance of being an active part in the local community.

> *„Meine beste Freundin kommt aus Rottenburg und ich bin bei ihr in der Familie voll integriert. Aber in der Fasnacht bin ich trotzdem nur Gast. [...] Ich bin auch zwei Mal bei denen als Ahland einen Umzug gesprungen. Das war ein Traum von mir und das war auch gar kein Problem. Aber ich habe dann das Häs ausgezogen und habe gesagt: Mensch, das war toll! Aber ich habe es ausgezogen und bin wieder gegangen. Und deshalb bin ich der Meinung, dass man die Fasnacht nur komplett fühlen kann, wenn man ein 100%iger Teil davon ist."* (Interview König)

König mentions, that participating in carnival in Rottenburg was a dream of hers, but nevertheless, she describes the lack of identification she had in this situation, not only with the costume, but also the place. This leads to the conclusion, that being an active part in the community indeed is more important than having grown up in a place. As an example, many interviewees mention that carnival is a time when a lot of people come back to their *Heimat* to participate in local carnival. As König describes, in Bad Cannstatt the people come back to meet friends during carnival, not Christmas[17]. Nevertheless, this coming back at a particular time makes you a guest to the celebration, even though you have lived in the place for a long time and know the people[18]. She further describes the importance of being part of the local community. Unlike Wilflingen, Bad Cannstatt has a big catchment area, which means that people are members of the associations but live 30km away, therefore do not necessarily have the local ties König and other interviewees deem essential. She further describes the importance of being present and belonging to the community. This is further supported, as most interviewees ascribe great importance on being able to integrate the local community, especially in mock traditions like *Schnurren* or *Maschgern* where fully disguised jesters interact with people. This tradition lives of local knowledge as the jesters usually not only criticize communal politics or other disruption in the place, but also on the people's mishaps. The interviewees pointed out, that place identification is most obviously found in mock traditions and *Narrenkritik,* as the understanding of the raised criticism is based on local knowledge. Hence, the identification as *Narr* is connected to local attachment. Indeed, according to many interviewees, local attachment plays a key role in the identification process; without it being a *Narr* is extremely difficult.

Especially the celebration during the main carnival week is attributed with creating local attachment and place identity. Glunk describes the carnival events they organize as serving identity development,

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[16]   „Viele die von außerhalb kommen finden es ganz interessant, und würden gerne dabei sein. Aber dieses verwurzelt sein spielt eine wichtige Rolle."

[17]   „An anderen Orten kommt man an Weihnachten zurück, bei uns kommt man an der Fasnacht in die Heimat, um Freunde zu treffen." (Interview König)

[18]   „Wenn du nur punktuell dazu kommst bist du bei vielen Gesprächen nur dabei. Du bist irgendwie nur Gast, auch wenn du die Leute kennst." (Interview König)

when people attend the events and appreciate the efforts put into the organization[19]. He argues, that they put their town into the spotlight and point out discrepancies because they love their hometown. Exemplary here fore is the annually changing carnival motto in Singen, which is always based on deficiencies in e.g. communal politics. It is further, picked up in the carnival newspaper where not only people's mishaps are addressed, but also these communal issues. *Narrenkritik* is also part of the official carnival ball, where visitors are awarded for creatively interpreting the motto. This idea of criticizing the ruling authority is closely tied to the figure of the jester and his privilege of freely addressing deficiencies. It also corresponds with what Scribner (1978) describes as carnival as alternative mass medium. The local knowledge and attachment are further emphasized by Glunk, who suggests that the audience attending such carnival events are usually the ones who read the local section of the newspapers and are interested in the developments within a place. Schütze from Jestetten reports similar experiences, as carnival events that are based on local attachment have a higher attendance than e.g. dances. For example, the local *Mählsuppä ässe* (a carnival event where a traditional thick meal soup is being served while different acts are performed on stage from locals for locals) is still well attended, while the dances have been stripped of the carnival elements and transformed into charts parties in order to attract visitors. Again, it can be seen that integrating local elements are also important in the organization of events. While in many places like Jestetten the associations struggle with filling the venues for carnival dances, in Singen the main carnival dance is still well attended. Glunk on the one hand believes that this has to do with the historic Scheffelhalle in which the dance takes place, and more importantly, he sees this as a result of integrating the carnival motto, which creates a space for visitors to make use of the *Narrenfreiheit* and to level criticism.

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[19]   Unsere Veranstaltungen sind natürlich identitätsstiftend. Weil die Besucher kommen und merken, mit wie viel Engagement wie unsere Heimatstadt da auf die Bühne bringen. Wir machen das, weil wir unsere Heimatstadt lieben, Dinge aber auch kritisch sehen." (Interview Glunk)

The Importance of being a *Narr*

Not only local ties and identity play a role when it comes to identification with carnival, but also others like the identification as *Narr.* As discussed in the theoretical framework, the jester has been an important identification figure and went through fundamental changes in its symbology. Today, people do not identify with the natural jester anymore, although traces can still be seen in e.g. masks and costumes, as some figures have bumps, swellings or other forms of deformation. Nowadays the identification figure of the jester is more similar to Mezger's (1991) artificial jester, who is a normal and intelligent person who, because of an artistic talent, plays the role of a jester every now and then and with his performance entertains the people. A prime example for this kind of jester is Popolius Maier (Poppele), an individual carnival figure in Singen am Hohentwiel. His origins trace back to a legend of a local castellan who supposedly lived in the 15th century. Despite no concrete evidence of his existence, he is the most known local figure and a living version of the modern jester[20]. According to the legend, he played pranks on the locals, without wanting them any harm, which is one of the most important set of values the interviewees identify with. Part of this set of norms and values are that the visitors are supposed to enjoy carnival, therefore personal boundaries should be respected, harm should be avoided. Hence, the jester should stay within a certain frame. This goes hand in hand with the unofficial carnival motto "*Allen zur Freud' und keinem zum Leid*" (To everyone's enjoyment, not sorrow). Moreover, the emphasize of celebrating carnival should be on living, safeguarding and passing on traditions. These norms and values of carnival are also often reflected in official guidelines for parades and *Narrentreffen*, as they are seen as quintessential to carnival. For example, the carnival association of Schwäbisch Gmünd summarized the most important rules of carnival in a guideline for public appearance and behaviour (Vogt, 2020). They for example emphasize, that the way a jester approaches small children influences their experience with carnival and encourage jesters to carefully introduce them with the traditions by advancing calmly and gently. Further, many associations have regulated e.g. the use of alcohol, mock and other instruments accordingly, to ensure a suitable transmission of the tradition.

During the interviews it became clear, that the interviewees differentiate between a group of people who have a strong connection with carnival traditions (*Narren)*, and people who only wear a costume without properly acting it out (*Hästräger*) or "living the figure." Hence, they are creating an in- and out-group, with which they test themselves and establish identification. Jonas Eismann describes in the interview: "Ein Narr geht in seiner Figur auf" (A real jester is wrapped up in the figure). He describes

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[20] „Der Schutzgeist der Singener Fasnacht ist der Poppele vom Hohenkrähen. Er war ein Burgvogt vom Anfang des 15. Jahrhunderts, von dem ganz viele Sagen erzählt werden, in denen er den Leuten Streiche spielt, ohne ihnen zu schaden." (Interview Glunk)

a jester as being able to identify with the costume he is wearing and the ability to bring the costume to life. By taking a look at how the interviewees perceive and describe new associations we can draw some conclusions on what they identify themselves with, as communities define themselves by creating a contrast, testing themselves against other groups and creating similarities and contrast (Grabmann, 1997). Hence, it is not surprising that many interviewees bring up newly founded associations and criticize their behaviour at carnival. Their main argument is that as a result of a lack of cultural and historic backgrounds, many new associations do not have a connection with the traditional values of carnival. Of course, this should not be a generalization, which was also pointed out by the interviewees who brought up the topic, nevertheless it allows to draw further conclusions from their argumentation. Jonas Eismann for example questions whether some members of new associations know about the value of the costume, not only in economic terms, but also their historical and cultural values. Niethammer adds, that in many new associations, the lack of tradition and everything entailed in the term might be a reason why they are stigmatized as troublemakers who see carnival as an opportunity for excessive behaviour[21]. This shows, that *living* carnival for many participants is closely tied to being aware of unwritten rules, norms and values, hence being part of local culture and community. While these rules and norms are usually passed on from generation to generation, especially among families of association members, today many have pointed out the importance of reminding people of these core values, as not everyone has learned these values growing up if they have grown up somewhere else. In response, many interviewees have pointed out that re-introducing these values are essential to safeguarding carnival traditions[22]. Andreas Reutter for example points out the influence of not just going into normal classes, but also going into so called integration classes where children of immigrants first learn about the German language and culture[23]. This topic has also been picked up by many other associations. Two especially active associations are Villingen and Singen. The carnival association of Villingen on the one hand, has created several carnival boxes that can be borrowed by e.g. schools, kindergartens or homes for senior citizens. In these boxes many materials can be found to playfully introduce children to the custom or in case of the senior homes, stimulate memories. From my own experience working with seniors, it can be said that a connection with carnival is indeed deeply rooted within people. This special relation can be observed when bringing up the topic of carnival, especially people with dementia, as many open up, sing along

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[21] „Ich denke da gerade an so Hexenzünfte, die sich irgendwie so vor zwei Jahren gegründet haben, die kein so richtiges Brauchtum haben. Weil es das einfach nicht gibt. Da können sie auch nichts dafür. Aber da wird es dann schon schwer, dass Narr sein wirklich zu leben und nicht nur Blödsinn zu machen, abzurutschen und die Fasnacht nur als Grund zum Saufen zu nehmen." (Interview Niethammer)

[22] „Wir gehen in die Schulen, um ein Stück weit Verständnis für die Fasnacht rüberzubringen und zu transportieren. Und dann einfach einen Wiedererkennungswert zu haben. Damit Kinder einen Anknüpfungspunkt haben." (Interview König)

[23] „Wir gehen mit dem Verein auch in VKL Klassen, also die Integrationsklassen, um den Kindern die Kultur näher zu bringen. Das fördert dann auch den interkulturellen Austausch." (Interview Reutter)

and remember carnival songs, figures and symbols. The carnival association of Singen on the other hand, has created teaching materials like videos, slides, books etc. that were distributed at every local school. Moreover, they have created a primer for carnival, which is handed out bi-annually to every schoolchild, an approximate number of 3000 children. As a result, Stefan Glunk proudly emphasizes that in Singen every child has some connections to the local carnival and would be able to recognize the Poppele during e.g. a parade.

In short, in can be said that the identification with the figure of the jester and calling oneself a *Narr* shows the identification of the participants with the moral code they associate with carnival. Further, this identification can be connected with the *Häs*, which is a tool to achieve the *Narrenfreiheit*. Niethammer describes, that wearing and *living* a costume requires a distinct attitude and he would not lend his *Häs* to someone who does not prove to be worthy of wearing it[24]. The minimum he would expect from someone wearing a *Häs* would be to follow not only the official guidelines from the association on how to wear it, but also to live up to the previously mentioned unwritten rules according to the unofficial carnival motto: "*Allen zur Freud' und keinem zum Leid.*" This implicates a strong moral code with which the carnival community identifies with on the one hand, and on the other hand, it emphasizes the connection a *Narr* has with his *Häs.*

Brüderle, emphasizes how different costumes were perceived now and in the past. He tells the story of Otto[25], who bought his first *Häs* in 1956. While buying a *Häs* meant an enormous investment, it also meant being able to participate in local traditions like *Strählen* (a jester in full disguise mocking people), which is of great importance, not only in Villingen. This meant being able to reprise a role during carnival and detaching from the own identity. Therefore, the value of such a *Häs* was extremely high and losing it for whatever reason meant losing not only an economic investment but all the freedom that is attributed to the costume. As experienced by Otto, who lost his costume to a fire and saved up all his money to buy a new one as soon as possible. This example of the manifold possibilities that were attached to a *Häs* still holds truth today as many interviewees emphasized the connection that they have with it and what wearing a *Häs* means to them.

Although a *Häs* is more obtainable now than it used to be in the past. In combination with the popularity of carnival in the 1990s and 2000s, wearing a *Häs* seemed to have become more of a prestige item, which according to Niethammer, has an influence on why people wear a *Häs* and thus, limits the identification. As a possible reason he names the growing number of association members

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[24]   „Ich würde mein Häs niemandem ausleihen. Das ist ein zu hoher Wert, um das jemandem auszuleihen, der es dann unter Umständen nicht würdig ist oder sich nicht würdig verhält und es eventuell beschädigt." (Interview Niethammer)

[25]   Name anonymized.

and registered costumes. In order to ensure the quality of the costumes, many associations have established regulations and every costume needs to be annually approved by the association. This led to an artificial scarcity and a high demand of official costumes. Especially in Rottweil, in combination with Rottweil's international standing as THE Swabian-Alemannic carnival (Schicht, 2003). Although the regulations are meant to ensure quality, it can lead to a loss of identification. While it still is an important event of the local carnival, it has become a touristic attraction. Many interviewees mentioned, that tourists who are not familiar with the moral code and other cultural nuances, the participation in the *Narrensprung* has become a desirable experience, making carnival a commodity. Niethammer compares this with other cultural events like the Oktoberfest. As a result of its international popularity, the original values, norms and rules of the tradition have changed over the decades. Hence, it could be argued that due to the ongoing process of globalization and digitization, cultural events like carnival or Oktoberfest, are compelled to adapt, due to increasing diversity and outsiders joining in. Nevertheless, it can be seen that local ties are strengthened as a response to this process of opening up.

As mentioned, many interviewees agree that carnival lives of the identification with a moral code that is passed on. Without this moral code and the multi-layered identification, the interviewees do not describe the celebrations as authentic. Although many local carnival events are not supposed to attract visitors, there are events that can be classified as hallmark events, which can be used to illustrate this argument. This goes hand in hand with commodification of culture, which Sharply (2018, p. 222) defines as follows:

> *"Once a destination, an event or even a cultural artefact becomes caught up in the tourism system it becomes a commodity. Commodities have value, normally measured by price, and once culture has become commoditized it can lose its meaning and significance for local people and, potentially, its authenticity to tourists."*

Despite this growing prestige of the *Häs* it remains one of the most important part of the identification process for active carnival members. By owning a *Häs*, the wearer is not only able to participate in the local customs, but also wearing such a *Häs* is often described as slipping into another role. This play with identity is another key characteristic which appeals to many participants and forms an important part of their identification with carnival. Hiding ones' identity does not only correlate with Scribner's (1978) idea of the distinction between play and non-play world, but also the idea of carnival as a world of *Narrenfreiheit,* which enables participants to temporarily disconnect with their societal role. Many interviewees describe the holistic act of taking the *Häs* out of the closet for the first time in January to *dust it off* for the coming carnival season[26]. Reutter for example describes that by wearing a *Häs* one

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[26]   „So ein Fasnachtshäs, das würde jetzt jeder Fasnächtler jetzt sagen, das kommt am Aschermittwoch in den Schrank und wenn man es dann zum ersten Mal wieder raus holt ist das schon ein erhebender Moment. Und wenn man es dann zum ersten Mal wieder anzieht ist man schon ein wenig ein anderer Mensch." (Interview Glunk)

has less limitations and can-do things that would usually be considered impolite and Eismann emphasizes, that this free atmosphere of carnival enables people to reflect the societal norm by using the *Narrenspiegel* to point out flaws. Indeed, this reflects what Mezger says in an Essay from 2020; in the end, everyone who actively participates in carnival feels the same melancholy feeling when the costume is being put back into the closet and one has to comply to societal expectations again instead of being able to freely choose. As can be seen, in daily social live everyone is restricted by social norms, during carnival these social norms are bent and become flexible, boundaries between status, gender, age and others become blurry, which is why during carnival everyone is equal. As König describes the possibility to get to know people unbiased and regardless of the usual classifications[27]. This impartial approach is not only fostering equality within the carnival community, but also offers the possibility of inclusion.

This inclusive nature of carnival is further supported by the play with identity and disguise, as a *Häs,* in combination with the mask (*Larve),* usually fully disguises the participant. This process of revealing the wearer and unmasking the true identity in carnival play has a long history. Whoever is hiding behind a mask does not only make his environment insecure and therefore holds great power over others (Mezger, 2013), but also enables participants to interact with each other without the need to comply to societal norms. Everyone looks alike behind the masks and therefore, physical features or physical differences become unimportant. As a result, the process of anonymization holds the possibility of integration. This can be exemplified with an anecdote from Brüderle, who tells the story of a Moroccan boy who is part of his association. Hamza[28], a 16-year-old had no familiar ties with carnival. His interest was sparked, when he was caught up in a mock conversation with two jesters[29]. This encounter encouraged him to become a part of the association and participating in the local carnival culture became a childhood dream. Hence, Brüderle describes Hamza's pride after the carnival celebrations in 2020, as it was the first time, he was able to arrange a full costume and therefore, was able to fully participate for the first time. For him it was a great achievement because he got the support of his family, who have no ties to carnival at all. Hamza was especially proud of a TV interview where he, fully disguised, interacted with the camera team, and no one realized, that the person behind the mask is actually Moroccan[30]. And indeed, the importance of being anonymous was emphasized by many

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[27]   „Ich finde es total toll, dass ich die Möglichkeit bekomme, diese Menschen komplett wertfrei kennen zu lernen, ohne sich über Statussymbole und keine Ahnung was zu definiert." (Interview König)

[28]   Name anonymized.

[29]   „Der Eine, das ist der [Hamza], der ist jetzt 16 oder so. Er hat marokkanische Wurzel und hat wirklich gar keinen Verbindungen gehabt. Und der ist mal an der Fasnacht gestrählt worden und hat Blut geleckt und hat gesagt das will er auch machen" (Interview Brüderle).

[30]   „Also der [Hamza] hat es jetzt dieses Jahr zum ersten Mal geschafft ein Häs dann sich auszuleihen, und dass die Eltern ihm das dann auch ermöglichen. Wie gesagt, er ist erst Schüler. Ich habe ihm dann auch noch was von mir ausgeliehen, das hatte ihm

interviewees. It can be said, that while the identification with the jester and using the *Häs* as a tool to practice *Narrenfreiheit* used to offer the possibility to escape from societal roles in the past, today it also offers the opportunity to find a place in society by going into the *Häs* and create a sense of belonging.

Nonetheless, the importance of identifying with a moral code is being made obvious, as anonymity can tempt to abuse it. As Baumeister & Leary (1995) describe, "the need to belong (belonging) is the desire to form and maintain relationships with other people or groups and is a basic psychological need as well as an important motivator of behavior." Hence, if belonging to a group means following the moral code of *Allen zur Freud' und keinem zum Leid* such transgression might be prevented from happening. Nevertheless, association members have to wear a number on their *Häs* which makes them identifiable, which is supposed to raise the inhibition level. By pointing out the different levels of identification with the costume, it can be seen that it is indeed an important part of the identification process. Not only because it offers a possibility to escape socio-cultural norms and expectations, but also because it provides space for inclusion. In particular, because identification with the costume does not require having grown up in a place and as carnival provides a neutral ground for everyone who is willing to invest time and effort into learning and appreciating the cultural features.

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noch gefehlt. Und der kam nach der Fasnacht total stolz und da ist ein riesiger Kindheitstraum für ihn in Erfüllung gegangen das mal zu machen. Und den bekommen wir auch nicht mehr los. Er hat auch super gestrählt. Wir hatten dieses Jahr eine Fernsehübertragung, und er ist dann tatsächlich auch im Fernsehen interviewt worden und da hat keiner gemerkt, dass das eigentlich ein Marokkaner ist [lacht]." (Interview Brüderle).

Conclusion – Carnival as a Tool of Community Cohesion

In the course of this thesis it became clear that carnival is currently transforming and adapting to a globalizing world. This especially challenges the concept of identification and authenticity of carnival tradition as a result of a loss of status of carnival in society. Consequently, this development derives from increased mobility, prosperity and numerous other factors that are entailed in the ongoing process of globalization and digitization. Summarizing it can be said that many customs have lost their original purpose and therefore, the possibilities that were associated with it. Exemplary here for is the identification process of participants with not only their costume, but also as *Narr.* While the costume used to offer the possibility to escape from daily life and societal norms, being a jester used to offer the opportunity to get out of the societal order, which meant not being bound by anything but the moral code that accompanies carnival celebrations (*Allen zur Freud', keinem zum Leid*). Today, although these things are still associated with going into the costume, they are not the only opportunity for people to do so. The play with identity is a part of our life, not only on the internet, but also during the numerous costume parties and events where dressing up in a costume is nothing out of the ordinary anymore. Taking these developments into account it is even more interesting to see, how participants perceive carnival and how they create identity. After discussing the data, it can be concluded, that the identification with carnival is still closely tied to the figure of the jester and the escapism offered by wearing a costume. While Schicht (2003) argues that being part of carnival was on a par with origin, the data presented in this thesis suggests that the identification with the place, the *Häs*, the community and as *Narr* are also significant for the identification process. This can be taken as proof, that identification with carnival is a more complicated phenomenon to explain and goes beyond simply growing up in a place. It entails further layers of identification and assumes a learning process which enables participants to gradually become part of the carnival community. As discussed, this offers a possibility for integration and community cohesion.

The contemporary role of carnival in today's society is to provide a space for people regardless of their background. Being a cultural festival is essential, es they naturally support the identity building process suggested by Getz (2010) among other researchers. Further, the identification as jester and the anonymity when wearing a *Häs* further fosters community cohesion by stripping people off their status and their societal role. This corresponds with Turok & Bailey's dimension of equality and inclusion and emphasizes the potential of carnival as a tool of community cohesion. To conclude, although, on the one hand, this adaptation of carnival from a modern to a postmodern society has led to a loss of status of carnival within society, it on the other hand functions as a connective tool and fosters cohesion within the local community.

In order to carry out this role, carnival is relying on the associations and the way they are present in their community. By educating society members and upholding morals and ethics that are associated with the local identity, they create a sense of community. This goes hand in hand with what Turok & Bailey (2004) argue, as shared morals lead to tolerance between social groups and therefore less conflicts.

As this research has shown, there is still plentiful angles that could be researched when it comes to carnival, especially, from a sociological perspective. Hence, further research is recommended into the contemporary form of carnival in e.g. a comparison to its historical role. During the course of the interviews, many additional questions arose, especially regarding unspoken rules and norms of carnival, how they are passed on and if integrating people who have joined the community in carnival and educating them about it could help integrating them in the community easier. Therefore, conducting additional interviews are suggested to uncover further connections which could not only help to create educational plans, but also form a base to introduce carnival into the curriculum of schools to further foster community engagement and cohesion. Another question that arose during this thesis, was research whether there is a difference in perception depending on education, emersion, contribution or other factors and if the perception varies between participating in an association or the free form of carnival. Even though this research dips into the topic of perception, there is also a lot more to discover there. All in all, carnival is a complex phenomenon and will always fascinate visitors, participants and researchers alike.

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Appendix A - Transcription

Symbols	Meaning
[.], [..], [...], [4]	Breaks of 1, 2, 3 or more seconds.
[mhm], [ahja] etc.	Contribution of the other in the active speaker's contribution.
/	Unfinished sentence.
[lacht], or similar	Extralinguistic act. E.g. interruptions.
[lachend], or similar	Interlinguistic act, accompanying the spoken contribution.
[Selina]	Interviewer
[Last Name]	Interviewee

Table 1: Transcription rules according to Kruse (2015, p. 354).

Appendix B – List of Respondents

Age		Gender	
25-45	**45-60+**	**Male**	**Female**
8	7	13	2

A. Reutter, Weingarten, cultural advisor VSAN

N. Schütze, Jestetten, board member of association

S. Glunk, Singen, director of association

S. König, Bad Cannstatt, cultural advisor in association

J. Eismann, Wilflingen, association member

U. Topka, Konstanz, researcher and association member

A. Brüderle, Villingen, board member of association

M. Armbruster, Gengenbach, director of association

T. Scheurer, Obernheim, director of association

W. Baiker, Empfingen, researcher and association member

D. Antoni, Tübingen-Bühl, director of association

M. Rahm, Pfullendorf, association member

R. Schwenk, Schömberg, board member of association

J. Niethammer, Schömberg, association member

M. Diebold, board member of VSAN

Appendix C – Questionnaire

Introduction/ Personal Context

Habitus	• How did you get into celebrating carnival?
	• Why are you celebrating carnival?
	• How did you experience carnival as a child?
	• How do you prepare for carnival?

Local Carnival Variety

Variety and Peculiarity	• How do you celebrate carnival?
	• What events are part of the celebrations, how and when are they celebrated?
	• What is special about your carnival?

Changing Traditions

Influences on the Traditions	• How did carnival change in the past years?
	• How would you explain this change?
	• Are there any events that are more popular than others?

Cultural Education

Learned Culture	• How are traditions passed along?
	• Is your association actively going into schools etc.?
	• What traditions are you passing along?
	• How important are unspoken laws, rules and regulations?

Identification

"Heimatliebe" (Place Attachment)	• Are you emotionally connected to your costume?
	• How does it make a difference if people are local or not?
	• How is "Heimat" represented in the celebrations?
Community Engagement and Solidarity	• What are the differences between being a fool and just wearing a costume? (Narr vs. Hästräger)

Concluding Questions

Personal Impressions	• What are you looking forward to when you think of carnival?
	• Why do you celebrate carnival, even though it's exhausting and costs a lot of resources?

Appendix D - Glossary

German	English	Definition
Häs	Costume	The costumes in Swabian-Alemannic carnival traditions is usually not changing from year to year, but usually kept for a lifetime and even inherited within the family.
Larve, Maske	Mask	On the one hand, this can mean the full costume, on the other hand it is most commonly used to describe the mask worn by the jester. Usually masks are unique and are crafted from lime wood.
Narr	Jester	A jester is a person who participates in carnival celebrations in different forms. This could be in an association on the one hand, or in free carnival traditions on the other hand. A further description can be found in the thesis itself.
Narrenzunft	Carnival association	Organize and safeguard local traditions within their place.
Schnurren/ Maskern/ Aufsagen	Mock Tradition	A fully disguised person playfully teasing people on the streets.
Schwäbisch-Allemannischen Fasnacht	Swabian-Alemannic Carnival	Describes the form of carnival celebrated in the South-West of Germany. The celebrations start on the 6th of January by dusting the costumes and end on Ash Wednesday. Typical for this type of carnival are the complete disguise of the jesters, usually with masks, celebrations on the streets and local variations of customs within the villages.
Vereinigung Schwäbisch-Alemannischer Narrenzünfte	VSAN	This association is a union of smaller, local associations and was founded in 1924. They are safeguarding carnival traditions, advice on customs, foster research and educate member associations to ensure constant care and quality of the long-standing traditions.

Definitions according to Graf (2019).