

THESIS

PERSISTENCE OF ETHNIC DRESS TRADITIONS IN CONTEMPORARY SOCIETY:
AN INTERPRETIVE STUDY OF GERMANY'S BLACK FOREST TRACHTEN

Submitted by

Amy Sue Hughes

Department of Design and Merchandising

In partial fulfillment of the requirements

For the Degree of Master of Science

Colorado State University

Fort Collins, Colorado

Fall 2014

Master's Committee:

Advisor: Jennifer P. Ogle

Co Advisor: Susan J. Torntore

Diane C. Sparks

Irmgard E. Hunt

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ABSTRACT

PERSISTENCE OF ETHNIC DRESS TRADITIONS IN CONTEMPORARY SOCIETY: AN INTERPRETIVE STUDY OF GERMANY'S BLACK FOREST TRACHTEN

The ethnic dress of Germany's Black Forest, called *Tracht*, dates back to the 16th century and has historically been worn by rural inhabitants for social and religious occasions. Although most people living within the Black Forest do not presently wear *Trachten* (plural for *Tracht*), some persistence in this tradition exists. Thus, the purpose of this interpretive inquiry was to explore the factors that have supported the persistence of *Trachten* tradition, specifically related to the wearing and crafting of *Trachten* by women, in a contemporary society. The work was informed by theory proposing that ethnic dress is not static, but rather, changes across space and time in ways that enable its persistence.

A qualitative, ethnographic approach was adopted. During her immersion in the field, the researcher conducted extensive observations to “develop an insider's view” (Genzuk, 2003, p. 2) of the *Trachten* tradition. Formal interviews were conducted with 10 individuals: eight adult female *Trachten* wearers, six of whom also were *Trachten* handcrafters, and two local *Trachten* experts. Numerous informal interviews with *Trachten* wearers and experts rounded out the data set. Data were analyzed using constant comparison processes.

Analyses revealed that the maintenance of the *Trachten* tradition was linked to varied factors that revolved around the overarching themes of both persistence and change for wearers and handcrafters. More specifically, findings revealed that the persistence of the *Trachten* tradition could be linked to three factors: (a) formalized practice, (b) meaningful identities, and (c) desires to preserve and promote local culture. Additionally, the persistence of the *Trachten*

tradition was further supported by change in the tradition, which was characterized by two factors: (a) Trachten as a “lived practice” and (b) the negotiation of Trachten authenticity.

Thus, although, in some ways, Trachten wearing and crafting were bound by traditions of the past, they also constituted a lived practice that reflected the incorporation of changes related to technological, social, and cultural patterns of contemporary life. Moreover, participants located relevant meanings (e.g., cultural identity, heritage, Heimat, authenticity) in their Trachten and related practices, thereby illuminating the role of such meanings in promoting the persistence of cultural traditions within a context of change. It is through these incorporations of the contemporary with the traditional that Trachten have remained relevant. As such, findings provided support for the proposition that ethnic dress may change in ways that actually enable its persistence.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This thesis would not have been possible without the help of so many people in so many ways. It is the product of my fortuitous encounters over the last eight years. I feel so lucky to have been given the chance to meet such wonderful people at Colorado State University, and it is through their help and encouragement that I have been able to complete the amazing journey of earning my master's degree.

Firstly, I would like to express my deepest appreciation to my thesis advisors, Dr. Jennifer Ogle and Dr. Susan Torntore. Without their guidance and help, this thesis would not have been possible. Thank you for believing in my ideas and me as a graduate student. When I first entered this program, I was prepared to follow a path that seemed logical based on my professional experiences. Due to this encouragement, I was able to research a topic that I was truly passionate about, making this journey all the more worth while. You taught me to think, write, and research at a level I did not believe possible for myself.

Next, I would like to thank my committee members, Dr. Irmgard Hunt and Dr. Diane Sparks. I have truly appreciated your expertise and passion for your respective areas and it has been a pleasure working with you. I would also like to thank my children, Justin, Madysen, Hannah, Ethan and Annika. You were always my inspiration to finish. A special thank you to my parents for your continued support, encouragement, and helping with the children. I could not have survived this without you!

Lastly, I want to thank my husband and best friend, JT Hughes. I can honestly say that this thesis could not have happened, had it not been for you. You supported and encouraged me to finish my degrees. More importantly, and somewhat serendipitously, you opened my eyes to a

new world, your world, Germany. Who knew that planning a fieldtrip to the Haslach Trachten museum four years ago would have led to such adventures! When this project started, I naively asked if you would help me with the translations, and to this day, I am still baffled that you agreed. You unselfishly spent countless hours translating text and data back and forth (which now I have learned is not an easy task). And had it not been for you approaching people while we were in the field, I'm afraid I would have come home without any interview data at all! Thank you from the bottom of my heart for helping me on this journey. This experience has truly changed my life and I'm glad you were a part of it.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER I INTRODUCTION.....	1
RESEARCH QUESTIONS AND APPROACH	3
THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK.....	4
LIMITATIONS.....	4
DEFINITIONS.....	5
CHAPTER II LITERATURE REVIEW	8
DRESS AND ETHNIC DRESS	9
TEXTILE HANDCRAFTS AND THE HANDCRAFTER.....	13
IDENTITY AND FORMS OF IDENTITY.....	15
BACKGROUND ON THE BLACK FOREST OF GERMANY.....	19
<i>Geography and Population.....</i>	<i>20</i>
<i>History.....</i>	<i>20</i>
<i>Economy.....</i>	<i>23</i>
<i>Culture.....</i>	<i>24</i>
BLACK FOREST TRACHTEN	27
<i>Trachten, Overview and Purpose</i>	<i>27</i>
<i>History of Black Forest Trachten.....</i>	<i>30</i>
<i>Tracht Variations of the Black Forest</i>	<i>45</i>
<i>The Handcrafting of Trachten</i>	<i>69</i>
GUIDING THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK.....	77
<i>Dress and Ethnicity.....</i>	<i>78</i>
<i>Culture and the Authority of Tradition.....</i>	<i>79</i>

SUMMARY	79
CHAPTER III METHODS	81
OVERVIEW OF ETHNOGRAPHIC APPROACH AND DATA COLLECTION PROCESS	81
<i>Study Site</i>	82
<i>Interview Data Collection</i>	83
<i>Observational Data Collection</i>	85
<i>Data Analysis</i>	86
<i>Issues of Researcher Subjectivity</i>	88
CHAPTER IV MANUSCRIPT	92
PERSISTENCE AND CHANGE IN THE BLACK FOREST ETHNIC DRESS TRADITION	92
REFERENCES	116
APPENDIX I.....	123
RESEARCH INSTRUMENT: INTERVIEW SCHEDULE FOR TRACHTEN WEARERS	123
APPENDIX II	126
RESEARCH INSTRUMENT: INTERVIEW SCHEDULE FOR TRACHTEN CRAFTERS	126
APPENDIX III.....	129
RECRUITMENT LETTER FOR INTERVIEW PARTICIPANTS WHO WEAR TRACHTEN	129
APPENDIX IV	132
RECRUITMENT LETTER FOR INTERVIEW PARTICIPANTS WHO CRAFT TRACHTEN	132
APPENDIX V	135
PARTICIPANT CONTACT INFORMATION FORM	135
APPENDIX VI.....	137
PARTICIPANT DATA SHEET	137

APPENDIX VII	139
CONSENT FORM	139
APPENDIX VIII	144
VERBAL RECRUITMENT AND CONSENT SCRIPT	144
APPENDIX IX.....	146
IMAGE RELEASE STATEMENT.....	146
APPENDIX X.....	149
HUMAN SUBJECTS' APPROVAL.....	149
APPENDIX XI	151
ETHNOGRAPHIC RESEARCH INTERVIEWS AND ACTIVITIES	151
APPENDIX XII	156
PROPOSAL APPROVAL FORM.....	156

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

In the Black Forest region of Germany, which is located in the southwest corner of the country, there is the cultural practice of wearing a type of ethnic dress known as *Tracht*. Dress scholars define ethnic dress as garments and supplements to the body that, when worn, act as symbols that communicate cultural heritage (Eicher & Sumberg, 1995; Kaiser, 1997; Roach-Higgins & Eicher, 1992). As a cultural tradition, ethnic dress has the ability to communicate meaningful information, including cultural and ethnic identity, values, attitudes, and experiences of both the individual and the group (Forney & Rabolt, 1986; Nagel, 1994). For people living in the Black Forest, *Trachten* (plural for *Tracht*) have been a part of the local cultural heritage for centuries, however, the degree to which this dress tradition has been adopted and accepted has varied throughout history. Historically, the origins of Black Forest *Tracht*-usage date back to the middle of the 16th century, when it was made and worn by the “peasant” or “farming” class for religious and cultural occasions throughout the rural communities of the region (Meyer, 1959; Pettigrew, 1937; Reinhardt, 1968). Although the majority of people living throughout the region do not presently participate in the *Tracht* tradition, a certain level of persistence still exists, which was at the root of this inquiry.

Ericksen (1993) and Van Dijk (2012) noted that in the early 1900s, social theorists, such as Karl Marx, Emile Durkheim, Ferdinand Tönnies, and to some extent, Max Weber, developed modernization theories proposing that the need for traditions and traditional ways of life would lessen in societal importance and perhaps even become extinct as a consequence of

modernization, industrialization, and individualism.¹ Central to their argument was the notion that, as societies develop away from the traditional and towards the modern,² they become homogenized (Blaney & Inayaatullah, 2002). Although history has shown these theories to hold true in some cases, in other instances, history has illuminated the inadequacy of these theories, and in particular, the inadequacy of the proposition that modernization necessarily poses a risk to traditional practices (Arts & Halman, 2005/2006; Erickson, 1993). Blaney and Inayaatullah (2002) argued that although it was previously thought that cultures would develop away from tradition towards a modern form of society absent of traditional trappings, the reality is that, as cultures change, elements of the traditional life remain. Kennett and MacDonald-Haig (1995) explained that while certain cultures throughout the world are becoming more modernized (or “westernized”), they are not doing so without taking a “backward glance” (p. 6), resulting in revived or re-invented ethnic traditions. For instance, Japan is considered to be a modernized country, but the Ainu, an indigenous group of Japanese people, actively conserve ethnic traditions that include using time-honored embroidery methods on ethnic dress. Similar phenomena have been noted in Western Europe as well. Ericksen (2005) claimed the tradition of locally producing and wearing the *bunad*, a form of Norwegian ethnic dress that originated in the early 1900s, has increased in popularity amongst locals in the last several decades as an outward expression of Norwegian identity. One question that the revival of traditional practices within contemporary societies raises is whether the continuation of the tradition of making and wearing Black Forest Trachten is the result of people’s reaction to modernization.

¹ Max Weber did believe that religious values could have a lasting influence on modern societies (Inglehart & Baker, 2000).

² Also known as modernity, the time historically following the Middle Ages, and considered post-traditional. Modernity is characterized by change, innovation, and dynamism in the areas of industrialism, surveillance (social supervision), capitalism, and military power (Barker, 2012; Giddens, 1990). Modern and modernity are also characterized by individualism, as opposed to traditional societies where many choices were pre-determined for the individual (Giddens, 1990).

Germany, with the world's fourth largest economy, is a global economic powerhouse and is the major contributor to the European Union budget (Wehage & Clay, 2011). Cities located within Western Europe are considered to have the highest standards of living compared to the rest of the world, with three of Germany's major cities ranking in the top ten ("Mercer," 2014). Germany is a country that evolved into an industrialized, contemporary society, but the tradition of making and wearing Trachten still exists in the Black Forest. The reasons for this persistence are unknown and therefore warranted further investigation. The current study aimed to explore the present-day practice of traditions connected to Tracht through the study of dress, or more precisely, ethnic dress. Dress, as a universal medium, has the ability to help scholars better understand histories, beliefs, and values of the culture-sharing group (Kennett & MacDonald-Haig, 1995; Storm, 1987; Tortora & Eubank, 2010).

Purpose Statement

The overarching purpose of this interpretive study was to explore the various factors that have supported the persistence of the Trachten tradition, specifically related to the wearing and handcrafting of Trachten by women, in a contemporary society. Of particular interest was a consideration of the persistence of this tradition through the perspectives of both wearers and handcrafters, themselves. The result of this inquiry is a rich narrative that reveals the reasons why people living in the Black Forest of Germany feel compelled to uphold these traditions within the context of a contemporary society.

Research Questions and Approach

This work was guided by the following research questions:

1. Within a contemporary society, what do Trachten mean for people living in the Black Forest who make them, as products of handcrafting?

2. Within a contemporary society, what do Trachten mean for people living in the Black Forest who wear them?
3. Why do the traditions of making and wearing Black Forest Trachten persist in a contemporary society?
4. Why are Trachten, as forms of handcrafted ethnic dress, still culturally relevant to people in a contemporary society?

To answer these questions, an ethnographic approach using observations, in-depth formal interviews, informal interviews, and data collected in the field was used.

Theoretical Framework

Two theoretical frameworks provided a rich foundation for exploring the reasons for the persistence of the Black Forest Trachten tradition. First, this work drew upon Eicher's (1995/1999) theoretical proposition that ethnic dress is not static, but rather, changes across space and time in ways that enable its persistence. Second, this research adapted the theoretical ideas of Keyes (1995). Keyes considered how ethnic and national communities are constructed with a compelling genealogy in a cultural form (i.e., dress) and also must be backed by the authority of tradition, or as he defined, "the voices of the past," resulting in traditions that appear timeless (p. 137). Taken together, these propositions provided insight into the ways in which both handcrafters and wearers feel compelled to uphold the Trachten tradition, thus allowing it to persist in contemporary society.

Limitations

First, the researcher is not a native German, nor is she fluent in the German language. Therefore, the researcher relied on a translator to assist with conducting interviews, transcribing

and translating texts, and providing a voice for communication with the participants when she could not communicate in the field.

Second, due to the Black Forest's vast size, the differences among the cultures represented from one town to another, the small participant sample size, and the ethnographic methods used to gather data, the results of this study cannot be generalized to all people who make and wear Trachten. Producing generalized findings, however, is not the aim of interpretive research. The purpose of interpretive research is to objectively understand phenomena through the meanings that people assign to them.

Definitions

Costume: “body supplements and modifications” used for “out-of-everyday social role and activity” such as “theater, folk or other festivals, ceremonies, and rituals” (Roach-Higgins & Eicher, 1992, p. 32) or, similarly, as “a style of clothes belonging to a particular cultural or historical context,” (Kaiser, 1997, p. 4).

Dress: the “assemblage of modifications of the body and/or supplements to the body” (Roach-Higgins & Eicher, 1992, p. 29), and includes any intentional modifications to the color, texture, shape/size, and/or scent of the body as well as the addition of enclosures (e.g., body coverings such as clothing) and attachments (e.g., insertions, clips, hanging items) to the body (Eicher & Roach-Higgins, 1992).

Ethnic dress: dress that is “worn or displayed to signify cultural heritage” (Eicher & Sumberg, 1995, p. 299). Elements of ethnic dress act as cultural symbols, capable of communicating ethnic identity, gender, class, marital status, and affiliation (Kaiser, 1997), as well as the purpose of the occasion for which the garments are worn (Horton & Jordan-Smith, 2004).

Ethnic identity: is realized when one associates with “others of similar backgrounds who support [one’s] ethnicity” (Forney & Rabolt, 1986, p. 1), and is produced when one is positioned in a social situation with individual or group constructed boundaries.

Identity: the meaning one attains, or acknowledges, when the self is “situated – that is, cast in the shape of a social object by the acknowledgement of his participation or membership in social relations” (Stone, 1962, p. 93), and “places and evaluates a person according to structural values and interpersonal mood realized in the situation” (Weigert, Teitge, & Teitge, 2007, p. 14). Not a fixed construct because participation and memberships can change as the situation changes, thus allowing the individual to conceive multiple identities, or sub-identities, that contribute to the formation of the self (Forney & Rabolt, 1986; Stone, 1962; Weigert, Teitge, & Teitge, 2007).

Handcraft: “Artifacts that have been individually produced (as opposed to mass produced) using implements such as sewing needles, crochet hooks, or knitting needles, and completed as lapwork” (Johnson & Wilson, 2005, p. 115), and are “imbued with meaning” and personal histories, which are symbolic to the creator and others (Johnson & Wilson, 2005, p. 126).

Heimat: literally translated as “home,” “homeland,” or “local place” (Applegate, 1990 and Blickle, 2002). A feeling of overall “German-ness” (Confino, 1993, p. 50), occurring when one encounters things that symbolize nostalgia, values, visions for the future, and ethnic and cultural heritage (Applegate, 1990; Blickle, 2002; Confino, 1993).

National dress: A form of special clothing that visually links the wearer to a specific nation. Historically, ethnic and regional styles of dress have been used as national dress to unify people within a nation and define borders (Welters, 1995).

National identity: Identity that is conceived when an individual feels connected to, or identifies with a nation, which is a politically constructed community with institutions that regulate the rules and conduct for its members, and with spatially defined boundaries Smith (1991).

Schwarzwald: The Black Forest region located in Southwest Germany.

Trachten: The ethnic dress of German speaking countries.

Trachtenvereine: Societies established in the 19th century to promote the wearing and preservation of Tracht tradition (Reichman, 1996; Reinhardt, 1968).

Tradition: "a set of practices ... of a ritual or symbolic nature, which seek to inculcate certain values and norms of behaviour by repetition, which automatically implies continuity with the past" (Hobsbawm & Ranger, 2012, p. 1), and are deeply rooted in the local culture.

CHAPTER II

LITERATURE REVIEW

This literature review is organized into seven major sections. The first two sections are dedicated to the study of dress and textiles, defining dress and handcrafted textiles, and the ways in which they communicate nonverbally. Specifically, section one explores the use of ethnic dress, as a form of nonverbal communication, and the ways in which individuals and groups use dress to communicate relevant meanings for both the wearer and observer. Section two explores handcrafted textiles, handcrafters, and the ways in which meanings are derived from the production process and the finished product. Section three is devoted to identity and its various forms as possible meanings associated with producing and wearing Trachten. Section four provides an overview about the Black Forest region of Germany to include the geography, population, economy, history, and culture. Section five is dedicated to Black Forest Tracht, or ethnic dress, from its origins to contemporary use. This section also explains the purpose of wearing Trachten and the many variations of Trachten found throughout the Black Forest. Section six introduces the theoretical frameworks guiding the study, and section seven concludes with a summary of existing work about the Trachten of the Black Forest.

For this literature review, the researcher wishes to point out several key points about the scholars cited and the sources used to assemble this comprehensive body of knowledge about Black Forest Trachten. Very little existing literature about Black Forest Trachten was found through academic searches. The university library contained one dated book written on the topic (from an author whose scholarly background is unknown) and one unpublished thesis from an apparel design student in 1959 (Meyer, 1959; Reinhardt, 1968). These sources, along with other

outdated books later purchased by the researcher, describe and illustrate the various styles of Trachten, as well as provide basic information about the local culture and history of the region. With the exception of the unpublished thesis, the academic backgrounds of these authors are in the areas of German history and culture, or are unknown by the researcher (Bader, 1977; Pettigrew, 1937; Schmitt, 1988; Werner-Künzig, 1981). With the exception of an occasional image of Tracht in books about European folk costumes, the researcher was unable to find any published works on the topic authored by dress and textile scholars. As such, the researcher sought out other sources to fill in the gaps pertaining to Tracht history and use. Books written by German history and culture scholars were used to provide insight into the historical and cultural contexts in which Tracht tradition exists (although these sources provided little if any information directly about Tracht) (Applegate, 1990; Blickle, 2002; Boa & Palfreyman, 2000; Confino, 1993; Dow, 1987; Kitchen, 2012). Popular sources including websites and tourism literature also were used to glean additional and more current information about the current use of Trachten, due to the lack of scholarly studies available. Finally, because this study is couched in the dress and textiles discipline, seminal and relevant works about dress, textiles, and their meanings were used to build a solid foundation for this study (for a full list of dress and textile sources used, please refer to the Reference section of this proposal).

Dress and Ethnic Dress

Dress has been conceptualized as the “assemblage of modifications of the body and/or supplements to the body” (Roach-Higgins & Eicher, 1992, p. 29). Dress, so defined, includes any intentional modifications to the color, texture, shape/size, and/or scent of the body as well as the addition of enclosures (e.g., body coverings such as clothing) and attachments (e.g., insertions, clips, hanging items) to the body (Eicher & Roach-Higgins, 1992). Also included within this

conceptualization of dress are the processes of planning, contemplating, or evaluating the social consequences of one's appearance (sometimes referred to as "appearance management") (Kaiser, 1997, p. 5).

Through dress, meanings are communicated. In this vein, Gregory Stone (1962) posited that dress has the power to convey numerous and often simultaneous meanings about one's identity, values, mood, and attitude. Similarly, Belk (1988) proposed that possessions, including dress, are a "major contributor to and reflection of our identities" (p. 139), and in this way, are meaningful objects of the extended self. As numerous scholars have noted, however, the symbolic meanings communicated by dress are dependent upon the subjective interpretations of the wearer and the observer and reflect the cultural context and social situation in which the dress is worn (Barnard, 2002; Eicher, Evenson, & Lutz, 2008; Hamilton & Hamilton, 1989; Kaiser, 1997; Lurie, 1983; Roach-Higgins & Eicher, 1992).

Whereas dress is an all-encompassing term, costume and ethnic dress can be used to describe specific types of dress. Costume is defined as "body supplements and modifications" used for "out-of-everyday social role and activity" such as "theater, folk or other festivals, ceremonies, and rituals" (Roach-Higgins & Eicher, 1992, p. 32) or, as "a style of clothes belonging to a particular cultural or historical context" (Kaiser, 1997, p. 4). Tortora and Eubank (2010) denote that costume is the preferred term used by historians and in a museum setting to describe what people wear, but may not be all-encompassing as the term dress. Ethnic dress, however, is similar to costume, but is more specific in that it is "worn or displayed to signify cultural heritage" (Eicher & Sumberg, 1995, p. 299). Additionally, Baizerman, Eicher, and Cerny (1993) suggest that regional dress, folk dress, and traditional dress are forms of ethnic dress, thus adding to the complexity of definitions amongst scholars. The term national dress is a

form of special clothing that visually links the wearer to a specific nation. Historically, ethnic and regional styles of dress have been used as national dress to unify people within a nation and define borders (Welters, 1995).

Elements of ethnic dress act as cultural symbols, capable of communicating ethnic identity, gender, class, marital status, and affiliation (Kaiser, 1997), as well as the purpose of the occasion for which the garments are worn (Horton & Jordan-Smith, 2004). According to Hobsbawm (1983, p. 9), cultural traditions, like ethnic dress, can symbolize the beliefs and values of the group as well as “social cohesion” or a sense of community. Because of this, ethnic dress is constantly evolving, reflecting the beliefs and values of the group at that time (Kennett & MacDonald-Haig, 1995). Moreover, Forney and Rabolt (1986) posit that ethnicity and ethnic identity are linked to both intrinsic and extrinsic traits. Whereas intrinsic traits include beliefs, language, history and a sense of belonging, extrinsic traits, such as ethnic dress, become “visible reflections” or symbols of ethnic identity for the group (p. 1). In other words, extrinsic symbols, such as dress and appearance, become part of the “social transactions” that occur within an ethnic group as a means of communicating identity (Stone, 1965, p. 220).

Numerous studies have explored the way in which ethnic dress, as forms of dress still occurring in various cultures today, is used to communicate group affiliation, ethnicity, identity, and other cultural cues. Ethnic dress scholars Kennett and MacDonald-Haig (1995) propose that by the end of the 20th century, studies revealed a worldwide concern for identity, resulting in revivals of ethnic dress use. For example, research suggests that people of Scottish ethnicity often use kilts as a way to communicate their ethnic heritage despite not living in Scotland (Crane, Hamilton, & Wilson, 2004). Traditional Hawaiian garments, called *holoku*, and the reasons for their continued use in contemporary society, also have been studied. Arthur (1998)

found that Hawaiian women use the holoku today as a way to communicate local identity, Hawaiian ethnicity, and an ongoing commitment to preserving Hawaiian culture. And, Hamilton and Hamilton (1989) studied the ways in which the Karen people of Thailand, a hill tribe in the Northwest, use ethnic dress to communicate cultural cues such as gender, marital status, and community role. They found that dress “serves as a badge” (p. 20), or an outward extension of the self, and aids in the socialization of individuals within the group. These studies provide evidence that ethnic dress traditions are still culturally relevant because they effectively communicate meanings for the people who wear them. Findings posited by Kennett and MacDonald-Haig (1995), similar to these, reveal people use ethnic dress to communicate non-verbally, as well as connect themselves to their generational continuum.

It is important to denote that the authors of the existing literature on the topic of Trachten translate it from German to English as folk costumes, peasant costumes, and traditional folk dress. This may be due to the fact that folk costumes are specifically associated with the peasant class of Europe (Anawalt, 2007). For the purpose of this study, and to eliminate confusion, the term ethnic dress was used in reference to Black Forest Tracht because it appears to more aptly fit the definition of ethnic dress. The people of the Black Forest region wear Trachten as part of their heritage, conveying cultural meanings such as ethnic identity (or ethnicity), gender, marital status, and religious affiliation, particularly within the contexts of festivals, religious ceremonies, and rituals (Meyer, 1959; Pettigrew, 1937; Reinhardt, 1968; Schmitt, 1988; Werner-Künzig, 1981). What is unknown, however, are the meanings associated with Trachten, as forms of ethnic dress, for those who wear them in the context of contemporary society.

Textile Handcrafts and the Handcrafter

Harris (2010) reminds us that textiles, which are used to create dress, serve multiple roles and functions in every society. At a most basic level, textiles fulfill utilitarian needs for people, such as physical protection from the elements. However, textiles also function to differentiate individuals and groups of individuals from others. Textiles, in this sense, are used as visual markers to communicate various roles such as gender, social class, status, ethnicity, religious beliefs, and occupation (Eriksen, 2005; Forney & Rabolt, 1986; Harris, 2010; Schofield-Tomschin & Littrell, 2001). Harris (2010) describes numerous examples of multi-functional textiles intended to serve basic needs as well as symbolic ones. Textiles used as economic exchange, symbols of power for the wearer, tributes to religious deities, and reminders of familial ancestry are but some of the many ways in which textiles are purposed in the social world. As such, textiles and textile production have historically been and continue to be highly regarded throughout the world over, although researchers have pointed out that commercialized production can negatively impact local and handcrafted textile industries (Harris, 2010; Weiner & Schneider, 1989).

Textile production is a broad term that encompasses a wide array of techniques that can be employed to construct a textile. Harris (2010) identifies several universal, basic techniques of textile construction, including weaving, knitting, and felting as well as more complex textile production processes, including tapestry weaving, rug weaving, lace-making, netting, knotting and crocheting. Harris also identifies techniques used to embellish the surface of textiles, such as embroidery, printing, and dyeing (Harris, 2010). Historically, humans produced textiles by hand, with the aid of simple tools such as needles, looms, printing and stamping elements. During the 18th century, with the onset of the Industrial Revolution, mechanized textile production became

possible (Harris, 2010). Although the use of machines to produce textiles resulted in a shift towards commercially produced textiles, handcrafted and locally produced textiles still exist today and positively contribute to the local economy (Harris, 2010; Johnson & Wilson, 2005).

According to Johnson and Wilson (2005), handcrafted textiles refer to those that have been “individually produced (as opposed to mass produced) using implements such as sewing needles, crochet hooks, or knitting needles, and completed as lapwork” (p. 115). Schofield-Tomschin and Littrell (2001) recognize quilt making and weaving, in addition to needlework, as examples of handcrafts. As previously discussed, textiles serve multiple functions, which also is true of handcrafted textiles. Not only can textile handcrafts satisfy the needs of their owners, but advantages for the creator exist, as well. Johnson and Wilson (2005) studied the factors that motivate handcrafters to engage in textile handcrafting, with findings revealing three themes of handcrafting that benefit the creator. First, findings showed that handcrafting provided participants with an additional identity within their social world – that of skilled crafters – whereby their products became lasting, tangible evidence of their roles and abilities. Second, textile handcrafts were found to be meaningful to their creators as objects that were made with care and that required investments of time and energy. Additionally, participants felt that their handcrafts aptly displayed their skills as well as their place in their family’s handcrafting lineage. Finally, the researchers found that participants valued handcrafts as “symbols of the self, and felt that textile handcrafts [were] special because they are made with love and [were] connected to personal histories” (Johnson & Wilson, 2005, p. 115). Schofield-Tomschin’s and Littrell’s (2001) study of handcraft guild participation yielded similar findings for handcrafters as individuals, but also addressed the role of crafters in a guild, or group membership. In their study, participants were found to use handcrafting as part of their self-actualization processes and

to construct identities. Participants also viewed their products as symbols of their abilities and attained goals as skilled crafters and felt that their skills and products were the result of an appreciation for traditions and cultural heritage. The guild aspect of handcrafting allowed participants to benefit from meaningful peer mentoring, identity construction, friendships, learning opportunities and creative inspiration, as well as support and a sense of belonging as a result of the social interactions that guilds provide (Schofield-Tomschin & Littrell, 2001).

To summarize the work of Schofield-Tomschin and Littrell (2001) and Johnson and Wilson (2005), textile handcrafts serve multiple functions for the creators. Meaningful identities are achieved during the production process of handcrafting textiles. Creators feel a connection to cultural and familial traditions and heritage, thereby serving to reaffirm their role as a skilled hand crafter within their social world. Lastly, Johnson and Wilson (2005) posit that textile handcrafts represent quality, uniqueness, and tradition through the self-expression, skill, and labor of the creator. Prior to the present study, evidence suggested that Black Forest Trachten were still produced using traditional handcrafting methods by local crafters (Meyer, 1959; Organisation Internationale de la Dentelle au Fuseau et à l'Aiguille (OIDFA), 2006; Pettigrew, 1937; Reichmann, 1996; Reinhardt, 1968; "Schwarzwald Tourismus," 2011; Werner-Künzig, 1981). This study sought understanding about Trachten handcrafting methods and how they relate to the persistence of the Trachten tradition.

Identity and Forms of Identity

Stone (1962) conceived identity as the meaning one attains, or acknowledges, when the self is "situated – that is, cast in the shape of a social object by the acknowledgement of his participation or membership in social relations" (p. 93). Identity, which "places and evaluates a person according to structural values and interpersonal mood realized in the situation" (Weigert,

Teitge, & Teitge, 2007, p. 14), is not a fixed construct because participation and memberships can change as the situation changes, thus allowing the individual to conceive of multiple identities, or sub-identities, that contribute to the formation of the self (Forney & Rabolt, 1986; Stone, 1962; Weigert, Teitge, & Teitge, 2007). If identity is constructed in the social realm, then ethnic identity is realized when one associates with “others of similar backgrounds who support [one’s] ethnicity” (Forney & Rabolt, 1986, p. 1). Implicit here is the notion that ethnic identity is produced when one is positioned in a social situation with individual- or group-constructed boundaries. As Nagel (1994) reminds us, ethnic boundaries establish group membership based upon chosen ethnic categories (e.g., religious, political, economic interests), which in turn, have the capacity to unite or separate people. The values, attitudes and shared experiences of the group, having evolved over time, are incorporated into one’s ethnicity (Forney & Rabolt, 1986). It is important to note that individuals may have more than one ethnic identity that they identify with or that has been ascribed to them (Nagel, 1994). For example, someone living in the Black Forest may identify with several groups: European, German, Baden-Württemberg, Black Forest, and Triberg.³ Nagel (1994) referred to this feeling of identifying with multiple groups as having “layered identities” and noted that an individual may feel more connected to some aspects of identity than to others, depending on the time and place.

Unique symbolic representations distinguish ethnic groups from other ethnic groups. Intrinsic traits, such as language, religion, and felt connections to the past are used to maintain one’s ethnic heritage. On the other hand, extrinsic traits, like regional dialect, dress, and other customs, can act as visible cues representative of the group’s ethnic ties (Forney & Rabolt, 1986). Although ethnicity, ethnic identity, and/or even ethnic heritage are not dependent upon

³ Baden-Württemberg is a state in Germany, and Triberg is a town located within the Black Forest region of the state of Baden-Württemberg.

extrinsic traits, they become outward expressions that provide meaningful connections to and strengthened relationships for the ethnic group. As a result, it is common for many groups to use ethnic dress, both traditional and contemporary, as outward expressions of ethnicity (Forney & Rabolt, 1986).

Whereas ethnic identity is associated with ethnicity, national identity is linked to one's nationality. Smith (1991) posited that national identity occurs when individuals feel connected to, or identify with, a politically constructed community with institutions that regulate the rules and conduct for their members and with spatially defined boundaries. Historically, when outside threats are directed towards a nation, the result has been increased expressions of national and ethnic identities among its members, resulting in a more cohesive sense of community (Li & Brewer, 2004; Nagel, 1994; Smith, 1991). An example of this occurred after the 9/11 attacks on U.S. soil, resulting in "visibly evident increases in expressions of national identification and unity throughout the United States" (Li & Brewer, 2004, p. 728). While this threat was an actual attack on the United States and its people, other forms of threats can occur, thereby affecting national identity. Presently in Europe, the threat or fear of losing national (as well as regional) identities is a concern for many people. Although historically not a new phenomenon in Europe, the formation of the European Union and the resulting process of blending cultures have created concerns about identities (Smith, 2001). Arts and Halman (2005/2006) present a similar claim in that the process of globalization, modernization, and a blending of cultures throughout Europe has created increased insecurity about identity, creating a need to connect with one's roots. Inglehart and Baker's (2000) study on the effects of modernization on culture supports the notion that when cultures converge (as a process of modernization and globalization), a resistance to

that change also occurs. Their findings show that resistance towards convergence creates a persistence of traditional values reflective of the society's cultural heritage.

In Europe, an example of a nationalistic persistence can be observed in the revival of Norwegian ethnic dress, called the *bunad*, in Norway at the end of the 20th century (Eriksen, 2005). The bunad is distinctly unique for each town, and only local women can wear the local style. To ensure its preservation and authentication as a local form of ethnic dress and as an expression of local identity, the local bunad manufacturers can only produce the dress in Norway. Additionally, according to Eriksen (2005), during the 1970s very few women wore or owned bunads, but by 2002, it was estimated that nearly 60% of women owned them. Eriksen (2005) posited that one possible reason for the bunad revival is a desire among Norwegian women to connect with their Norwegian cultural heritage in such a way that the bunad has become a "traditionalist symbol of modern Norwegianness" (para. 27).

In summary, identities socially locate individuals and reflect who they are as well as their group memberships. Culture on the other hand, brings meaning to identity, and therefore communicates who we are (Nagel, 1994). Culture is constructed and reconstructed from both historical and contemporary practices, resulting in numerous ways that individuals can communicate identities. For maintaining ethnic and national identities, engaging in practices that represent the cultural history and heritage of the ethnic group (whether through revivals or reconstruction of historical culture) allows for the preservation of cultural heritage and strengthens connections to one's roots (Arts & Halman, 2005/2006; Nagel, 1994). According to Forney and Rabolt (1986), traditional ethnic dress, representative of a group's heritage, has been associated with maintaining ethnic identity.

Ericksen (1993) contends that academic interest in ethnicity and nationalism remains because evidence of their persistence in a contemporary society, through traditional forms of expression, “have become so visible in many societies that it has become impossible to ignore them” (p. 2), despite the predicted decline of importance in homogenized cultures. Prior to the present work, it was unknown whether the practice of handcrafting and wearing Black Forest Trachten in contemporary society is an example of the persistence that Ericksen and other scholars have posited. The aim of this study was to explore the meanings associated with handcrafting and wearing Trachten, which could include identity, ethnic identity, or national identity. Damhorst (1991) contends that dress (and for this study, textiles) “takes on meaning in context” (p. 2), with the power to convey simultaneous meanings about one’s identity, mood, values, and attitude (Stone, 1962).

Background on the Black Forest of Germany

Nestled in the Southwest corner of Germany, along the borders of France and Switzerland, the Black Forest is a region known for its romantic scenery, hiking, cuckoo clocks, schnapps, and quaint, medieval villages (“Schwarzwald Tourismus,” 2011). Throughout history, several monarchies, empires and countries other than Germany have ruled the region (Biesinger, 2006; Jeep, 2001). Consequently, the Black Forest benefits from many cultural influences, some of which can still be witnessed and enjoyed today. For example, the wearing of Trachten is a cultural practice that began in the 16th century and was stylistically influenced by the French and Spanish (Meyer, 1959; OIDFA, 2006; Reinhardt, 1968; Werner-Künzig, 1981). Furthermore, the area maintains its rural charm and cultural traditions despite being part of a highly industrialized contemporary society.

Geography and Population

Located in the state of Baden-Württemberg, the Black Forest, or *Schwarzwald*, is approximately 100 miles long and 40 miles wide, or 11,400 square kilometers (approximately 7,084 square miles) (“German Handcraft,” 2011; “Schwarzwald Tourismus,” 2011). Within the region lies Germany’s highest non-alpine mountain range, thickly covered in birch and pine trees, and other lush vegetation creating the appearance of a “black” forest (“Schwarzwald Tourismus,” 2011; “Worldtravels,” 2012). Breath-taking valleys, meadows, and numerous rivers complete the landscape.

The Black Forest is not densely populated (“German-handcraft,” 2011), despite comprising of over two hundred towns (“Black Forest Travel,” 2011). There are approximately 3.8 million people living in the region (“Schwarzwald Tourismus,” 2011), or eighty people per square kilometer (“European Forum,” 2012).⁴ Due to the mountainous terrain and thick forests, most of the region’s population lives in larger cities located in valleys. Freiburg im Breisgau, Karlsruhe, and Offenburg are three of the biggest cities in the region, with urban amenities such as public transportation systems, a university, and numerous forms of industry (“German National Tourist Board,” 2012; “Schwarzwald Tourismus,” 2011). The remaining population lives in smaller cities and rural communities that depend on agriculture, forestry, and tourism for survival (“European Forum,” 2012; “Schwarzwald Tourismus,” 2011; “Worldtravels,” 2012).

History

Much like most of Europe, the Black Forest has had a long and tumultuous political history (Berger, 2004; Hughes, 1992; Leuschner, 1980). Various ruling empires and families held sovereignty over the region (Biesinger, 2006; Jeep, 2001; OIDFA, 2006) until Germany

⁴ Comparatively, the Black Forest region has a lower population density than Germany as a whole (250 per kilometer squared) (EFNCP, 2012).

unified in 1871. Historically, towns and valleys were continuously changing hands based on the ruling family in power. As a result, cultural norms and religious views were constantly shifting (OIDFA, 2006). For example, the Kinzig Valley and Gutach Valley (located in the middle of the Black Forest) are adjacent to one another, but the same families did not govern them prior to 1871. During the early part of the 19th century, Gutach was the only valley in the area that did not belong to the House of the Graf von Fürstenberg. For two centuries prior, Gutach belonged to the Kingdom of Württemberg and to the Lords of Hornberg before that. This meant that although the people in the area were ethnically similar, some of their cultural views differed (OIDFA, 2006). For instance, the people of the Gutach valley were religiously aligned with the Protestant faith, whereas the people of Kinzig Valley practiced Catholicism.⁵ Thus, cultural expressions differed between the two valleys based on the imposed religious beliefs of the ruling families (OIDFA, 2006) of their respective areas. In the case of ethnic dress, Catholics preferred vivid colors and the use of gold, whereas Protestants favored somber colors like black, dark blue, and dark green (Meyer, 1959; Reinhardt, 1968).

In the 1860s, under the leadership of Otto von Bismarck, the Prussian Empire defeated Denmark, Austria, and finally France (1871), thereby taking control of the areas surrounding Prussia.⁶ In 1871, Bismarck declared the newly acquired lands (including the Black Forest) and Prussia as one united country, the German Empire (Berger, 2004; Kelling, 1999; Kitchen, 2012; “Nationsonline,” 2012). In the years that followed, Germany had to find a way to preserve the “mosaic of divergent historical and cultural heritages” (Confino, 1993, p. 48), and at the same time, to create feelings of a collective national state of mind for its people (Berger, 2004;

⁵ In 1648 the Peace Treaties of Westphalia, which ended the Thirty Years War, mandated that the people must practice the religion of their sovereigns (Hughes, 1992).

⁶ Also known as Bavaria, Prussia was located to the area east of the Black Forest and was acquired in the war with Austria (Fest, 1978).

Confino, 1993). Consequently, an exhaustive and successful campaign was launched to create “German-ness,” or national identity. For example, images of cultural traditions, familiar landscapes and monuments were used in print materials to elicit feelings of pride (Blickle, 2002; Confino, 1993). Unfortunately, these and many other forms of propaganda used to create national pride became the precursors to Germany’s exclusionist state of mind after World War I, thus fueling the platform that Hitler would use to advance his political agenda for World War II (Berger, 2004; Boa & Palfeyman, 2000; Confino, 1993).

Following Germany’s defeat in World War II, the country faced decades of political and cultural turmoil. Germany was divided into West – occupied by Great Britain, France, and the US – and East – occupied by the Soviet Union. In 1949, West Germany became known as the Federal Republic of Germany, a capitalistic nation with a parliamentary democratic government. The East had already become a Communist satellite state to the USSR and was known as the German Democratic Republic (Berger, 2004; Kitchen, 2012). The division had a profound effect on German life. Germans were not allowed to freely pass between the two states, thus isolating families from one another. Moreover, people living in the East did not benefit from the same societal freedoms as those in the West, creating distinct differences in economic development, standards of living, and cultural and religious practices (Berger, 2004; Kitchen, 2012).

In the 1950s, West Germans made strides towards repairing war-damaged relationships with parts of Europe and the United States as well as rebuilding the country. According to Kitchen (2012), “the Federal Republic was anxious to stop agonizing about the past and start afresh” (p. 304). In the wake of World War II, West Germany cooperated with the Allies and agreed to the Marshall Plan, which provided economic aid for and guidance towards rebuilding the country (Eichengreen & Ritschl, 2008; Kitchen, 2012). Under the careful watch of Allies,

West Germany was allowed to form a new government, reform its currency, and rebuild its economy. Moreover, West Germany politically aligned itself with the United States, France, and the United Kingdom as relations with the USSR deteriorated (Kitchen, 2012).

These positive strides were significant for the recovery of West Germany and its people. West Germany was invited to join the European Coal and Steel Community in 1951 (early precursor to the European Union) and NATO in 1955 (Berger, 2004; Kitchen, 2012). It also granted its people political and religious freedoms and allowed labor unions. The Black Forest was a part of West Germany and therefore benefitted from these strategic political and economic decisions. During the years between 1950 and 1959, West Germany saw tremendous economic growth (GDP rose 8% per year). By 1960, West Germany was one of the most influential economic countries in the world, a characterization that remains true today (Eichengreen & Ritschl, 2008; Kitchen, 2012).

In 1990, East and West Germany were once again united, forming what is known today as the Federal Republic of Germany (or Deutschland). In the late 1980s, the fall of the USSR and Communism led to East Germany's reunification with the West. Today, Germany is a member of the European Union, is the most populous country in Europe, and is composed of sixteen federal states (Kitchen, 2012; "Nationsonline," 2012).

Economy

Tourism always has been important to the Black Forest region and is the largest contributor to the local economy (Galvin, 2006). Since the times of the Roman Empire, people from all over have been visiting the area for recreation and relaxation. In fact, famous people such as the Roman Emperor Caracalla, Napoleon, and Mark Twain have frequented the area for its mineral baths and secluded forest ("Worldtravels," 2012). Moreover, the Black Forest is used

for recreational activities such as hiking, skiing, and cycling. Other popular attractions include quaint villages, half-timber farmhouses, vineyards, local handcrafts, and food specialties like Black Forest ham and Black Forest cake (“German Handcraft,” 2011; “Schwarzwald Tourismus,” 2011).

Agriculture and forestry are additional contributors to the economy of the Black Forest. Much of the region, which is not forestland, is used for farming and consists of vineyards, orchards, pastures for grazing, and crops for food and flowers (“European Forum,” 2012). Woodworking in the form of cuckoo clocks and woodcarvings are part of the local cottage industry, and timber for other industry is removed responsibly under the careful watch of forest rangers (Galvin, 2006; “German Handcraft,” 2011; “Schwarzwald Tourismus,” 2011). During the 18th and 19th centuries, deforestation was used to increase farming capacity, but this has declined in recent years (“European Forum,” 2012). Many farmers, who are finding it hard to survive in the current economic climate, are switching from full-time to part-time farming (while looking to other forms of supplemental income, such as tourism). As a result, the forest is expanding into open areas once used for agriculture (“European Forum,” 2012).

Culture

The Black Forest is rich with modern and traditional culture. Cities abound with theaters, museums, and other modern cultural attractions. Cultural highlights include music festivals, drama festivals, and the famous Alemanische Fasnet, or Carnival (similar to the Fat Tuesday pre-Lent celebration in other parts of the world, but with region-specific costumes and rituals). Additionally, the entire region takes pride in preserving the beautiful castles, churches, monasteries, farmhouses, and other historical architecture that make the Black Forest so attractive to visitors (“Schwarzwald Tourismus,” 2011).

Material culture also is abundant in the Black Forest. Forests and mountains divide the valleys and rural communities, thereby adding to the regional differences and unique expressions of cultural identity (Meyer, 1959; Reinhardt, 1968). In the 18th century, the area around the town of Triberg in the Black Forest began producing cuckoo clocks made of hand-carved wood. The clocks have become world-famous, and consequently, this cottage industry has spread throughout the Black Forest, becoming an important economic source for many local craftsmen (“Schwarzwald Tourismus,” 2011).

Rural, agricultural life and the making of food and wine are other aspects of Black Forest culture (“Schwarzwald Tourismus,” 2011). Because agriculture and tourism are important to the local economy, much emphasis is placed on producing food, schnapps, and wine. The geography, climate, and close proximity to the Rhine River make the Black Forest an ideal location for orchards and vineyards. Farming families, who live on traditional farms with centuries old half-timber farmhouses, still use traditional methods to produce wine, cheese, schnapps and meat products like sausage and ham. These traditions, defined by Hobsbawm and Ranger (2012) as “a set of practices ... of a ritual or symbolic nature, which seek to inculcate certain values and norms of behaviour by repetition, which automatically implies continuity with the past” (p. 1), are deeply rooted in the local culture. Consequently, festivals promoting and celebrating this aspect of Black Forest life are abundant throughout the region (“Schwarzwald Tourismus,” 2011). Additionally, farmers’ markets are popular places to sell the locally grown and produced products and are frequented by locals and tourists.

Ethnic dress is another vital part of Black Forest culture. Farmers, formerly classified as rural inhabitants, in the region have been wearing ethnic dress since the 16th century. Again, because communities were geographically and politically separated, a diverse array of ethnic

dress forms emerged over time. The most famous version of ethnic dress comes from the towns of Gutach, Wolfach-Kirnbach, and Hornberg-Reichenbach (Meyer, 1959; Reinhardt, 1968; “Schwarzwald Tourismus,” 2011). The women in these communities wear an unusually large straw hat with red pompoms, called the *Bollenhut*, a black smock-like dress with an apron, white angora stockings, and black shoes. Images of this version of ethnic dress appear ubiquitously throughout the Black Forest region of Germany, despite only being used in three of its towns (Meyer, 1959; Reinhardt, 1968; “Schwarzwald Tourismus,” 2011). Moreover, the famous hat called the *Bollenhut*, has become the official symbol for the Black Forest tourism industry (“Schwarzwald,” 2011; “Urania’s Musings,” 2007). For outsiders, this form of cultural expression may add to the romantic lure of the Black Forest. One can find the hat worn or on images on postcards, cuckoo clocks, food packaging, as well as in the form of dolls, toys, and figurines in the local gift shops. But for the local inhabitants of Black Forest villages, the ethnic dress that includes the *Bollenhut*, called *Trachten*, symbolizes hundreds of years of historical tradition and culture (“Schwarzwald Tourismus,” 2011).

The making of *Trachten* and other textile products is yet another cultural practice performed in the Black Forest. *Macherins* or *Stickerins* (female sewers/crafters or knitters), produce the different elements of *Trachten*, using traditional methods. Embellishing the different pieces of *Trachten* also is an important aspect of Black Forest handcraft. Embroidery and bobbin lace are used on headwear, shirtsleeves, collars, vests, and dress bodices (Meyer, 1959; OIDFA, 2006). According to Reinhardt (1968), each community or valley had at one time highly skilled seamstresses and tailors responsible for producing the local *Trachten*. Although this is still somewhat true today, it is important to note that handcraft traditions are becoming less practiced

or even lost as fewer people engage in the cultural exercise of wearing ethnic dress (OIDFA, 2006; Reinhardt, 1968).

Black Forest Trachten

Trachten, Overview and Purpose

The ethnic dress of Germany, sometimes referred to by non-dress scholars as the country's traditional folk costume, is called Tracht. Although this rural tradition is no longer prevalent throughout modern-day Germany, it is still occurring within some areas of the Black Forest (Reinhardt, 1968; Werner-Künzig, 1981). Men, women, and children wear these region-specific forms of dress. The basic components of Trachten are a blouse, vest, skirt, apron and hat for women and girls; and a collared shirt, vest, jacket, knee pants or pants and hat for men and boys (Meyer, 1959; Pettigrew, 1937) (see Figure 1). Even though these basic components are characteristic of German Trachten, not all Trachten look alike. Variations of ethnic dress can be noted throughout the Black Forest and were based on village or valley preferences. More precisely, specific looks emerged reflecting the values and beliefs of the individual communities. Moreover, local expertise in various textile handcrafting added to the diversity of styles that are collectively known as Black Forest Trachten (Meyer, 1959; OIDFA, 2006; Pettigrew, 1937; Reinhardt, 1968; Werner-Künzig, 1981).



Figure 1. Regional Trachten from St. Georgen (Black Forest, Germany).⁷

German scholar Reinhardt (1968) noted that the usage of Trachten developed during the mid-16th century and served many purposes. Influenced by European fashions of the time, this type of dress began as an expression of style for the non-elite. Reinhardt (1968) claimed that quickly changing fashion proved to be too costly for the rural inhabitants, and consequently, Trachten became a static expression of ethnicity rather than of a sign of prosperity. With the passage of time, the distinct styles of Black Forest Trachten solidified, and so too did the purposes. Werner-Künzig (1981) expanded upon this notion to include that while each village or valley had its own version(s) of Trachten, the purposes for wearing them were more universal. First and foremost, Trachten use became synonymous with cultural and religious gatherings. Russ (1982) reminds us that celebrations and other social gatherings are an important part of German culture and tradition. Consequently, Trachten are worn on holidays, at festivals, and for

⁷ Photograph reprinted from Trachtenverein St. Georgen im Schwarzwald (2012). Retrieved from <http://www.trachten-stg.de>.

religious ceremonies such as confirmations and weddings (Reinhardt, 1968; Werner-Künzig, 1981).

According to Pettigrew (1937), Reinhardt (1968), and Werner-Künzig (1981), symbolism is another function of Black Forest Tracht. Historically, on a large scale, the use of Trachten symbolized the morals and customs of a community as well as the solidarity of the group, which Tortora and Eubank (2010) posit as an objective of European “folk costume” use. Moreover, Trachten stood for a collective commitment to tradition and a way of life (Reinhardt, 1968). On a smaller scale, Trachten symbolically communicate information about the wearer. For example, color is used to signify the wearer’s religious affiliation. Pettigrew (1937) states that Protestant communities wear mostly dark blue, dark green, and dark purple fabrics, whereas Catholics prefer bright reds and yellows. Because color also can symbolize marital status, she notes that in some villages, married men wear a red *Mutze* (vest), as a bold symbol that they are no longer bachelors. Styles or variations of Trachten also serve a symbolic purpose. Because each area developed its own unique style of Tracht, it can be used to identify one’s hometown or valley. In Meyer’s unpublished thesis (1959), she reports that headwear from the region varies so greatly that observers can “easily identify a woman’s home by the hat she [wears]” (p. 33).

In conclusion, Trachten are forms of traditional ethnic dress worn by people living in rural areas of German speaking countries. Although the ensembles are used to communicate information about the group and the individual, historically there have been several factors that influenced the reasons for their existence in society. The following sections discuss the evolution of Trachten, from their origins in the 16th century to present-day use. Moreover, the reasons for and against its use in the last two centuries will provide a better understanding of the ways in which Trachten are deeply rooted in traditional German culture.

History of Black Forest Trachten

As noted, the use of Trachten began in Germany around the middle of the 16th century (Meyer, 1959; OIDFA, 2006; Reinhardt, 1968; Werner-Künzig, 1981). Original German Trachten were influenced by French and Spanish fashions of the period. But over time, local influences became more important, producing regional differences in the appearance of the ethnic dress (Meyer, 1959; Reichmann, 1996; Reinhardt, 1968; Werner-Künzig, 1981). This concept is consistent with dress scholarship in that European rural inhabitants used “folk costume,” inspired by urban fashions (Anawalt, 2007; Tortora & Eubank, 2010) “as a means of setting themselves apart from others,” thus proclaiming “themselves as part of a region or town” (Tortora & Eubank, 2010, p. 9). Early Trachten were popular amongst the rural inhabitants living in the Black Forest. As previously stated, the changing fashions of the time were too expensive for rural people, who could not afford to replace their clothing frequently. Furthermore, the people from these areas believed that prized possessions should always be valued and treasured, not discarded easily (Reinhardt, 1968). As such, Reinhardt (1968) ascertained that Trachten – which were valued by their wearers and were retained within their wardrobes for long periods of time – did not change in style drastically or quickly, but rather, remained much unchanged and eventually developed into symbols of the culture from which they came.

Although the tradition of wearing Trachten has been in existence for centuries, the reasons for and against its use have changed over time due to societal influences (Reinhardt, 1968; Werner-Künzig, 1981). During the mid-16th through 18th centuries, Trachten remained a static part of Black Forest culture (Reinhardt, 1968), which is parallel to existing literature positing that European rural inhabitants used dress to promote group solidarity and a desire to remain culturally unchanged (Tortora & Eubank, 2010). It was not until the second half of the

19th century that things began to change amongst those who traditionally coveted its use (Pettigrew, 1937). It is important to note how the Industrial Revolution and the unification of Germany affected the norms and values of society, thus affecting the use of Tracht during this time (Reinhardt, 1968; Werner-Künzig, 1981). Additionally, the political and cultural turmoil in Germany during the 20th century had a profound effect on its people and the subsequent use of ethnic dress (Arts & Halman, 2005/2006; Bausinger, 1990; Boa & Palfreyman, 2000; Dow, 1987; Erickson, 1993; Nielsen, 1980; Reichmann, 1996). The following sections are dedicated to summarizing present knowledge about how Tracht use was affected and subsequently changed during the 19th and 20th centuries as a result of the Industrial Revolution, unification of Germany, and Germany's political climate. Current Trachten also will be discussed in this section.

Trachten and Industrialization. According to Reinhardt (1968) and Werner-Künzig (1981), the use of “traditional costumes,” or ethnic dress, declined in popularity throughout the Black Forest once Germany entered its industrial revolution during the 19th century. Owing to Germany's technical advancements, many people felt compelled to move to urban areas in search of work and better opportunities. This resulted in modernizing their lifestyles as well, thus leaving certain traditions like Trachten behind (Reinhardt, 1968). German economic scholar Watkins (n.d.) explains that whereas England experienced its revolution during the 18th century, Germany was slower at adopting new technologies, due to the lack of political unity and infrastructure. Major industries started to form in Germany around 1870 and were influenced by neighboring countries. For example, during the years of Napoleon's reign, the Rhine River Valley separating France and Germany belonged to France. France followed England in becoming industrialized, and therefore parts of the Rhine Valley also were industrialized. In

1815, the area west of the Rhine River gained its independence from France and eventually became part of Germany in 1871 (Watkins, n.d.). As a result, Germany was directly exposed to the industrial processes being used by the French. Moreover, after Germany became a unified country, the government funded the construction of railroads and other infrastructure. Raw materials were in high demand, and industries such as coal and steel began to flourish (Watkins, n.d.). These factors, and others, fueled the industrial revolution in Germany, thus changing the lifestyles for its people. Although this explains the process of mechanizing industries in Germany and the effects this had on its people in relation to lifestyle (e.g., migration from rural to urban areas), dress scholars remind us that Europe experienced the Industrial Revolution as early as the 1730s, with countries consuming imported commercial products such as clothing and textiles throughout this time (Harris, 2010; Tortora & Eubank, 2010), resulting in an additional reason for the decline of Trachten.

Reinhardt (1968) posited that commercial textile production impacted local Trachten. With the influx of new, less-expensive fabrics available to Germans from England and France, people still living in the Black Forest also embraced the affordable, modern styles of dress for everyday dress (Harris, 2010; Reinhardt, 1968). Werner-Künzig (1981) echoed this position by saying the phenomenon continued into the 20th century as well. This new regard for “city clothing” and the attendant waning of interest in traditional dress is reflected clearly in the following quote, which pinpoints the introduction of the automobile as another possible cause of these shifting attitudes:

It is evident from the traditional male costumes which were first and almost completely given up that the mobility of the rural population has quite essentially contributed to the diminution of the national costumes. The motorcar that is found everywhere has greatly induced women to buy for a trip away from home quite

often clothes for townspeople, that means for nonresidents, and to stick afterwards to the same. (Werner-Künzig, 1981, p. 8)⁸

Werner-Künzig (1981) additionally posited that the mechanization of agricultural processes in the Black Forest had a profound effect on the use of local Trachten. The technical advances made with respect to farm equipment meant that fewer hands were needed on farms. Therefore, people were forced to leave the rural communities in search of jobs in the cities. Throughout the region, as rural populations declined, so too did the use of Trachten as everyday and festive dress. People from the Black Forest abandoned the use of traditional costumes in favor of more modern styles of dress as a result of urban migration (Reinhardt, 1968; Werner-Künzig, 1981).

In summary, with the introduction of industrialization and modernization, residents of the Black Forest found themselves no longer under the spell of the “obsolescent charms” (Pettigrew, 1937, p. 7) known as Trachten. As Germany approached the end of the 19th century, many people had packed away their Trachten into wooden trunks, thus moving on to more contemporary ways of life (Confino, 1993). Reinhardt (1968) stated that, as the exodus of people occurred from rural communities to cities, so too was a “mental exodus” for the traditional way of life (p. 18). Ironically, attitudes towards nostalgia, tradition, and Trachten were about to change as Germany began the process of becoming a nation.

Trachten and the Unification of Germany, 1871. Under the leadership of Otto von Bismarck, the Prussian Empire gained the territory to the north and west of Prussia to become the modern state known today as Germany. This was accomplished by defeating Denmark, Austria, and finally France, thus taking the areas of land adjacent to Prussia, including the Black

⁸ It should be pointed out that this quote was written in German with English translations adjacent to the text. The translations are very literal, thus causing the word order to be awkward for the non-German speaking reader.

Forest region (Kelling, 1999). In the years that followed, Germany had to find a way to preserve the “mosaic of divergent historical and cultural heritages” (Confino, 1993, p. 48) amongst these areas and simultaneously patch them together to form a collective national state of mind (Confino, 1993). In other words, because the newly formed country comprised various ethnicities, cultures, and political allegiances, it lacked a national identity. Germany’s answer was to create national unity by promoting the notion of *Heimat*.

Despite the differences among the people living in Germany at the time, *Heimat* was a concept that all German-speaking people could relate to. According to Applegate (1990) and Blickle (2002), scholars of German history and culture, the literal translation of *Heimat* is “home,” “homeland,” or “local place.” Non-German speaking people, however, cannot understand the concept of *Heimat* through this translation alone. Because there is no English equivalent for the term *Heimat*, or at least one that encompasses the complexity of *Heimat*, Confino (1993) attempts to define it as experiencing a feeling of overall “German-ness” (p. 50) occurring when one encounters things that symbolize nostalgia, values, visions for the future, and ethnic and cultural heritage. For example, if someone hears, smells or sees something that triggers feelings of *Heimat*, that individual is using the phenomena as a symbolic reminder of where they came from (physically, historically, and ethnically depending on the individual). Applegate (1990) argued that despite the fact that *Heimat* triggers can vary among individuals, there are several themes that are consistent among Germans, thereby creating an “ideological common ground” (Inside cover, para.1). Blickle (2002) posits that nature, art, literature and cultural traditions are examples of themes that have consistently had the power to elicit feelings of *Heimat*. Therefore, in the years following unification, Germany put forth an aggressive campaign using some of these themes and the concept of *Heimat* as propaganda to generate

shared feelings of “German-ness” in an attempt to form a national identity, or national “state-of-mind,” for its people (Applegate, 1990; Blicke, 2002; Boa & Palfreyman, 2000; Confino, 1993).

Applegate (1990) and Confino (1993) speculate that Heimat propaganda was in full swing by the end of the 19th century and included Trachten as symbols of cultural traditions familiar to all Germans. At that time, even though many people had abandoned the use of ethnic dress, the tradition was seen as something that reminded people of what it meant to be German. For that reason, people were paid to pose in their Trachten; and photographs of those images were used on post cards, and in books and magazines to promote Heimat and a collective German identity (Applegate, 1990; Confino, 1993) (see Figure 2). Moreover, according to Applegate (1990) and Confino (1993), the wearing of Trachten became fashionable again, only this time it was adopted by all classes of people, despite it being historically worn by the rural/farmer class. Urban Bourgeois *Heimatlers* donned the ethnic dress and named it “Tracht,” in an attempt to unite rural and urban people and to promote Heimat, thereby creating a new cultural use for Trachten (Confino, 1993). Consequently, Trachten were commercialized and mass consumed by the end of the 19th century (Confino, 1993). According to Snowden’s & Ambrus’ (1979) summarization of folk costumes in Europe, the Romantic movement of the 19th century resulted in many people of the elite class adopting the local peasant dress in several countries. It is unclear, if this phenomenon was part of that movement or was influenced by it.



Figure 2. 1897 Postcard from the Gutach Valley, Black Forest.⁹

The preservation and display of Trachten was another way in which Heimat was promoted. Heimat museums were established as were costume societies called *Trachtenvereine* (Reichman, 1996; Reinhardt, 1968). Because feelings of Heimat included nostalgia and a connection to one's cultural heritage, these museums and clubs were used to ensure the preservation of and continued appreciation for Tracht tradition, something that any German could value. Moreover, grand displays of regional Tracht became popular throughout Germany during this time. For example, in 1899, the town of Haslach celebrated the tradition of Trachten by putting on a parade in which over 1,800 costume wearers from various Trachtenvereine participated ("Trachtenmuseum Haslach", 2011). Confino (1993) adds that in 1911, an International Travel and Tourism Exhibition in Berlin included Black Forest Trachten in its Württemberg exhibit, thus promoting domestic tourism for attendees.¹⁰ It was believed that if

⁹ Photograph reprinted from Schmitt, H. (1988). *Volkstracht in Baden: Ihre rolle in kunst, staat, wirtschaft und gesellschaft seit zwei jahrhunderten*. Karlsruhe, Germany: Badenia Verlag, GmbH.

¹⁰ The Black Forest is currently located in the state of Baden-Württemberg. At the time of this exhibit, the two states of Baden and Württemberg were not combined, and therefore the Black Forest region would have been located in Württemberg.

Germans saw the exhibit, it would spur a desire to travel throughout Germany where they could experience common themes of Heimat, like the cultural tradition of Trachten. This would lead to an appreciation of shared historical and cultural values, or feelings of Heimat, thereby advancing the goal of creating nationalistic unity (Confino, 1993).

In summary, German scholars ascertained that Tracht use throughout the 19th century changed as a result of societal changes (Reinhardt, 1968; Werner-Künzig, 1981). Rural to urban migration, modern processes and modern ways of consuming goods followed the increasing industrialization of Germany, thus affecting the way people used and viewed the use of Trachten. It is additionally the belief of German scholars that shortly after people abandoned Tracht tradition, a strong push to unify Germany gave way to the masses adopting Trachten as symbols representing a Germanic way of life (Applegate, 1990; Boa & Palfreyman, 2000; Confino, 1993). During a time when things were progressing quickly in Germany, Trachten, as ethnic dress or possibly national dress, served as reminders of Heimat that were posited to encourage people feel more connected to their heritage and way of life. This “state-of-mind” would be politically important for Germany as it entered the 20th century (Applegate, 1990; Boa & Palfreyman, 2000; Confino, 1993).

Trachten and 20th Century Germany. Tracht as a symbol of German culture for the masses did not endure long into the 20th century. Once Germany achieved its goal of creating national unity, the bourgeoisie quickly lost interest in wearing traditional costumes (Confino, 1993). According to Reinhardt (1968), as materialism increased in German society, people became less enthusiastic about wearing Trachten, opting for more modern styles of dress. Moreover, people could travel more freely, allowing traditional beliefs and customs to be affected by outside modern influences. As the rules for adhering to cultural traditions became

looser, people once again found reasons to abandon the use of ethnic dress as festival and ceremonial attire (Reinhardt, 1968). Scholars remind us that cultural traditions are never immune to outside influences, thus are constantly evolving, as well as the values of society which can often influence the acceptance or decline of traditions in context and time (Hobsbawm & Ranger, 2012; Storm, 1987).

As feelings towards Tracht traditions were waning once again, younger generations felt less compelled to uphold them, as noted by Schmitt (1988). He explored the extent of Trachten use among women and their adult daughters (specific ages not provided) from 1938 through 1939. His findings revealed that 80% to 89% of mothers living in Kirnbach wore Trachten during this time as compared to only 60% to 69% of their daughters. In the town of Gutach, 50% to 59% of mothers were still wearing Trachten in 1938 and 1939, as opposed to less than 10% of their daughters (Schmitt, 1988). Reinhardt (1968) posited that younger people would have been more accepting of the tradition if the styles and fabrics had been updated to reflect fashion and trends of the time, but as that did not occur, the practice of wearing Tracht quickly declined among the young populations.

Relatively little has been written about Trachten use during the years surrounding and during World War I and World War II. Schmitt (1988), however, does consider the topic and posits that one of the uses of Trachten during the years of Hitler's rule (1933 – 1945) was based on political propaganda. To fully understand how this occurred, a return to the topic of Heimat is necessary. As previously noted, when one experienced Heimat as it was originally conceived, it elicited feelings of “home” and “German-ness” for the individual (Applegate, 1990; Blickle, 2002; Confino, 1993). Blickle (2002) elaborated by positing, “Heimat is based in a spatial conception of identity” (p. 15) and evolved during the 19th century out of a need for Germans to

form an identity during a time of change and uncertainty (e.g., political takeover, unification, and industrialization). According to Boa and Palfreyman (2000), after World War I, the meanings associated with Heimat changed. Whereas prior to the War, emphasis had been placed upon creating German identity through Heimat, after the War, the focus shifted to the issue of who could “rightfully possess” Heimat.

During the 1920s Eduard Spranger, a Heimat theoretician, wrote several essays about Heimat, two of which formed a basis for the ideology of the National Socialist, or Nazi, Party (Boa & Palfreyman, 2000). In his essays, Spranger argued that due to ethnic mixing in Europe, there was no longer a pure race, only people who spoke the same language. Additionally, he claimed that Germanic manhood only existed in the “peasant, warrior, craftsman, and merchant” (as cited in Boa & Palfreyman, 2002, p. 6). As many of the large business and bank owners were of Jewish ethnicity (Levy, 2005), Jewish people were seen as the antithesis to Germans, and their capitalistic way-of-life was hard for Germans to accept based on rural traditions and the economic problems encountered after the war. To compound the problem, Jewish people historically did not have a “homeland” or Heimat and therefore lacked a national identity. Resentment towards Jewish people, or non-Germans, began to take hold, and became a platform used by the Nazis to promote their political agenda (Boa & Palfreyman, 2000).

In the years that followed World War I, the Nazi Party used Heimat and the idea of “German-ness” as a way to build support for its political agenda. This was achieved by convincing Germans that outsiders (i.e., people of non-German ethnicity) living in Germany were responsible for the downfall of Germany and the German race, as noted by Boa and Palfreyman (2000). Heimat was then used to promote the notion that being German was superior and that those living in the country who were not of German ethnicity did not belong. This was

the start of Hitler's campaign to build a nationalistic and exclusionary "state-of-mind" for his followers (Applegate, 1990; Blickle, 2002; Boa & Palfreyman, 2000; Confino, 1993).

The ways in which Trachten were used as part of the Nazi political campaign to exclude non-Germans is addressed by Schmitt (1988). As previously explained, at the time, most Germans felt that wearing Trachten as everyday or festive ethnic dress was an outdated tradition, opting for clothing that reflected the modern styles now available to them. However, the Nazi Party viewed Trachten as visual symbols of true "German-ness." For the purpose of communicating this, the Nazis required locals (from the town that would host the rally) to wear their regional Trachten at various political rallies for Hitler and the Nazi Party. This was especially true in areas that still had some connection to Tracht tradition (Schmitt, 1988). Moreover, women were usually the ones asked to wear their colorful Trachten. This is because men typically wore their Nazi uniform or styles of dress that closely resembled a military look. Because women could not participate in the military and therefore did not own military dress, the next best thing was to wear attire that symbolized German ethnicity or nationality.

In summary, Schmitt (1988) established that the Nazi Party was moderately successful at exploiting Trachten for political gains. They found that if the towns still had a connection to the Tracht tradition, their citizens were more willing to wear the traditional clothing at political events. Conversely, Schmitt (1988) additionally contended that in other areas where Tracht use had ceased all together, people were less willing to artificially adopt Trachten for the sake of political propaganda. As for the Black Forest, because people living in several towns were still wearing ethnic dress, albeit less than had been the case in years prior, they agreed to participate in political rallies dressed in their regional Trachten. Schmitt (1988) provides pictorial examples of this in his book (see Figures 3 and 4).



Figure 3. Young women from Gutach at a Nazi Party event, 1933.¹¹

¹¹ Photograph reprinted from Schmitt, H. (1988). *Volkstracht in Baden: Ihre rolle in kunst, staat, wirtschaft und gesellschaft seit zwei jahrhunderten*. Karlsruhe, Germany: Badenia Verlag, GmbH.



Figure 4. Young people from Freiamt at an event held in the town of Emmendingen, 1938.¹²

In the years immediately following WWII, Germans wanted to distance themselves from anything related to Hitler, the Nazi Party, and the war. The defeat in the war, the loss of German territories acquired by Hitler, and the division of what remained of the country into East and West Germany, left people feeling insecure about their culture and ethnicity (Blickle, 2002; Confino, 1993). For these reasons, *Heimat*, and all things that represented it became less appealing. Consequently, the term “lost *Heimat*” was used to describe the German “state-of-mind” for its people (Boa & Palfreyman, 2000, p. 11). As time passed and the memories of the war and Nazism faded, the desire by certain groups of Germans to recapture *Heimat*, as a reminder of simpler times, occurred (Boa & Palfreyman, 2000). These people were in search of cultural identity, opting for an identity connected to simpler times. As a result, hundreds of *Heimat* films and books were produced in the 1950s and 1960s as an expression of that desire. *Heimat*, used in its original form, once again evoked feelings of nostalgia and connections to

¹² Photograph reprinted from Schmitt, H. (1988). *Volkstracht in Baden: Ihre rolle in kunst, staat, wirtschaft und gesellschaft seit zwei jahrhunderten*. Karlsruhe, Germany: Badenia Verlag, GmbH.

regional culture and ethnicity for some people (Boa & Palfreyman, 2000). Simultaneously, but unclear if directly connected to the return of Heimat, Tracht use fell back into favor with certain groups of people including those in the Black Forest. It is not known if the two phenomena are still connected today.

During the 1950s, various authors note a Trachten revival occurring in the Black Forest (Meyer, 1959; Reichmann, 1996; Reinhardt, 1968; “Urania’s Musings,” 2007). Societies for the preservation of costumes, called Trachtenvereine in German, which once struggled to keep Trachten traditions alive in the first half of the 20th century, began to see a resurgence of interest amongst the locals. Presently, there are 52 organizations in the Black Forest actively practicing and promoting the use of Trachten (“Urania’s Musings,” 2007). These groups gather regularly at festivals and parades (Schmitt, 1988) (see Figures 5 and 6). Additionally, in 1980, the Haslach Trachten Museum was founded in an effort to preserve Tracht traditions. It boasts a large collection of authentic Black Forest, or *Schwarzwälder* Trachten (“Trachtenmuseum Haslach,” 2011).



Figure 5. St. Georgen Trachtenverein in Karlsruhe, Germany, 1983.¹³



Figure 6. Münstertal Trachtenverein in Karlsruhe, Germany, 1983.¹⁴

In conclusion, the reasons for and against the use of Trachten changed throughout the course of the 20th century and were shaped by diverse political and cultural factors that have contributed to the ever-changing role of Trachten in German society. Furthermore, scholars explain that although Tracht tradition has continued in the Black Forest, the level of commitment to this tradition has wavered as a result of the political and cultural turmoil in Germany during

¹³ Photograph reprinted from Schmitt, H. (1988). *Volkstracht in Baden: Ihre rolle in kunst, staat, wirtschaft und gesellschaft seit zwei jahrhunderten*. Karlsruhe, Germany: Badenia Verlag, GmbH.

¹⁴ Photograph reprinted from Schmitt, H. (1988). *Volkstracht in Baden: Ihre rolle in kunst, staat, wirtschaft und gesellschaft seit zwei jahrhunderten*. Karlsruhe, Germany: Badenia Verlag, GmbH.

the time. The reasons this tradition has persisted into the 21st century are unclear, and thus, constitute the focus of the present research.

Tracht Variations of the Black Forest

Within the Black Forest, regional variations of Tracht exist with respect to the use of colors, embroidery patterns, and accessories such as headwear, scarves, and belts (Meyer, 1959; Pettigrew, 1937; Reinhardt, 1968; Werner-Künzig, 1981). In fact, the focus of published literature on the topic of Black Forest Trachten has been to characterize these variations throughout the region. Because both subtle and obvious differences in style occur from town to town and valley to valley, scholars have employed the use of photographs, illustrations, and images of artwork as visual evidence highlighting the numerous versions of Black Forest Trachten (OIDFA, 2006; Pettigrew, 1937; Reinhardt, 1968; Werner-Künzig, 1981). In addition, museums located in the Black Forest dedicate displays and entire rooms to showcasing each town's, or valley's, version of Tracht, to include the basic garments and accessories used by men and women ("Schwarzwald Trachten Museum," 2012; "Schwarzwald Museum Triberg," 2012). Although these sources provide rich details about the variations of Trachten, and the basic information communicated non-verbally, the cultural meanings connected to these forms of ethnic dress for the wearers who live in contemporary society have not been addressed. The following sections summarize and provide a glimpse into what is currently known about the different elements of Trachten.

Dress. In Meyer's (1959) thesis on the designs of Black Forest Trachten, she described the basic components of Trachten for women and girls to include a white chemise-style woven blouse with short puffed sleeves; a woven vest or vest-like bodice that buttons up the front and is worn over the blouse; a calf- or ankle-length woven skirt with varying degrees of pleated

fullness; a jacket with a high standing, rounded collar (optional); an apron; and headwear and other accessories. For men and boys, Trachten includes a white, collared, woven white shirt; a woven vest; a woven jacket; woven knee pants or full-length pants; and a hat (Meyer, 1959; Pettigrew, 1937) (see Figure 1). Even though these basic components are characteristic of all Trachten from the Black Forest, regional preferences have had a significant effect on the styles. For instance, the way in which colors, prints, trims, and surface treatments are used affect the overall appearance of women's Trachten. In the town of Hinterzarten, for example, the vest is constructed of dark fabric and is worn over a white woven blouse with puffed sleeves. The pleated skirt is gray and is partially covered by a dark apron (Meyer, 1959; Reinhardt, 1968) (see Figure 7). Far to the east, in the town of Reichenbach, the same dark colored vest is worn, but with the addition of brightly colored embroidery work, and both the pleated skirt and apron are dark in color (Meyer, 1959; Reinhardt, 1968) (see Figure 8). Finally, women and girls in Elztal use a black mandarin collared jacket (usually worn over the vest-like bodice and white blouse), and the dark skirt is made of floral damask (black ground with large, dark colored flowers) (see Figure 9). These examples provide only a glimpse into the many variations of Tracht worn throughout the region. While stylistically similar based on the apparel components used, these examples also represent the distinct ways in which each community approaches Trachten (Reinhardt, 1968).



Figure 7. Women from Hinterzarten, Germany, wearing local Trachten.¹⁵

¹⁵ Photograph reprinted from Reinhardt, A. (1968). *Schwarzwälder Trachten*. Karlsruhe, Germany: Badenia Verlag GmbH.



Figure 8. Two men, a married woman (black hat), and two unmarried women (red hat and wreath) wearing their local Trachten from Reichenbach, Germany.¹⁶

¹⁶ Photograph reprinted from Reinhardt, A. (1968). *Schwarzwälder Trachten*. Karlsruhe, Germany: Badenia Verlag GmbH.



Figure 9. Young unmarried women in Elztal Trachten and Schäppel, beaded crowns adorned with ribbons.¹⁷

¹⁷ Photograph reprinted from Reinhardt, A. (1968). *Schwarzwälder Trachten*. Karlsruhe, Germany: Badenia Verlag GmbH.

Trachten worn by men, over time, have become less stylistically creative and regionally distinct as compared to those worn by women (Meyer, 1959). Whereas most areas use dark fabrics for the jacket and pants, the vest color may or may not be dark. For example, the *Mutze*, or vest, in some areas communicates marital status for men. Unmarried men wear white *Mutzen* (pl.), and married men wear red *Mutzen* (Pettigrew, 1937). Evidence of this can be noted in the town of Hanau, where it is customary for the married man to wear a red vest under his jacket (Pettigrew, 1937; Reinhardt, 1968). (see Figure 10).



Figure 10. Example of Hanauan married men wearing the red *Mutze*.¹⁸

Other regional differences in Trachten reflect the ties of this dress to the Roman Catholic and Protestant religious traditions. Historically, Trachten have been “plain, traditional and quiet”

¹⁸ Photograph reprinted from Reinhardt, A. (1968). *Schwarzwälder Trachten*. Karlsruhe, Germany: Badenia Verlag GmbH.

(Meyer, 1959, p. 37), with black, white, red, and blue being the most commonly worn colors (Meyer, 1959). The Roman Catholics, however, prefer brightly colored fabrics and trims adorned with gold and silver embroidery to accentuate the traditional costumes. Meyer (1959) posited that Roman Catholic dress is more festive in nature than that of the Protestant's more subdued color choices. Pettigrew (1937) describes an example of a Catholic woman's Tracht. She states that the skirt worn by a woman in Renschtal is made of "scarlet cloth" and is "decorated at the foot with several bands of gold braid" (Pettigrew, 1937, p. 26). Protestants (or Lutherans) gravitate towards the use of blacks, purples, and greens to create distinction between theirs and that of Catholics' Trachten (Meyer, 1959). An example of such use of color can be noted in Pettigrew's (1937) description of a bride from the small town of Gutach. Because the town is predominately Protestant, the bride's skirt is green to symbolize her religious affiliation.

Reichmann (1996) ascertained that Trachten are not synonymous with the well-known forms of traditional alpine dress commonly known as the *Dirndl* and *Lederhosen*. Flippo (2002) notes that alpine traditional dress can be found throughout Germany, Switzerland, Lichtenstein, and Austria. According to Reichmann (1996), however, these forms of dress no longer communicate, in the same way, as do Black Forest Trachten. That is, Dirndls and Lederhosen do not necessarily identify the wearer as a member of a specific town, with specific religious affiliations and as married or unmarried. Unlike Black Forest Trachten, Dirndls and Lederhosen can be massed-produced and worn by anyone (Reichmann, 1996). In fact, Bavarians encourage outsiders to wear alpine ethnic dress and view doing so as a sign of respect ("Munich Found," 2004; Bell, 2012). Bell (2012), who also refers to the alpine Dirndl and Lederhosen as "traditional costumes" that are synonymous with Oktoberfest celebrations around the world, found that locals living in Austria had two differing opinions about these popular forms of dress.

For some locals, the Dirndl and Lederhosen serve as political reminders of WWII and the Nazi regime. Those who hold these opinions typically opt not to wear these garments. Conversely, others view these garments as a part of Austrian culture and feel honored and respected when tourists dress in them.

Alpine Dirndls, as opposed to Black Forest Trachten, tend to stylistically change with fashion trends and to accentuate a woman's upper body (Reichmann, 1996). In contrast, Black Forest Trachten are modest and do not mirror changes in fashion. Moreover, Trachten are reserved for members of a given town or valley and are made by locals as needed (Reichmann, 1996; Reinhardt, 1968). Bell (2012), while interviewing local Austrians, found evidence supporting the claim that Trachten, contradictory to the popular alpine Dirndl and Lederhosen, are reserved for locals. When asked if anyone can wear could wear the local traditional costumes, one participant replied, "You cannot wear the Tracht from the Bregenzer Forest region. Traditionally, that is just for them (Bell, 2012, para. 18).

To summarize, Reichmann (1996) notes that Alpine "Dirndl dress and Lederhosen are folk-style clothes and as such are costumes; they are city folks' image of simple country life" (para. 1), thereby adding to their wide-spread popularity. Due to the changing styles and cheaper materials used for the *Dirndl*, however, "Volkstrachtenvereine (native dress societies) dismiss [Dirndls] as Kitsch and in poor taste" (para. 16). Here Reichmann (1996) clarifies that although the Dirndl and Lederhosen have become popular folk dress, or traditional costumes, ultimately, those who wear specific, local Trachten, view Trachten, Dirndl, and Lederhosen as being distinctly different forms of dress.

Elements of Trachten as dress have the ability to communicate information about the wearer, as previously discussed. The use of colors, fabrics, styles, and embellishments, when

combined, act as cultural cues able to signify one's hometown, religious affiliation, gender, and marital status. But, as Pettigrew (1937) and Meyer (1959) point out, articles of clothing are not the only elements used to communicate information about the wearer. Headwear and other accessories also can act as symbols of non-verbal communication.

Headwear. When one encounters Black Forest ethnic dress, one cannot ignore the use of headwear as they are prominent features of women's Trachten. In existing literature, much emphasis has been placed upon describing headwear variations for women. Researchers agree that headwear is arguably one of the most expressive elements of Trachten and, as such, is reflective of its wearer's origin (OIDFA, 2006; Pettigrew, 1937; Reinhardt, 1968; Werner-Künzig, 1981). In fact, styles can vary so greatly that knowing observers can "easily identify a woman's home by the hat she [wears]" (Meyer 1959, p. 33). With so many variations, it is important to note that there are three main categories of women's headwear: brimmed hats, caps and/or bonnets, and wreaths and/or crowns. At least one, and sometimes two, of the styles have been adopted in each valley or town within the Black Forest, but variations of each are unique to the area. The following sections reflect some of those variations by style as referenced in the existing literature.

Brimmed hats, the first type of headwear worn by women as elements of Trachten, can be observed throughout the Black Forest. For example, women of the small town of Hinterzarten wear the *Schnapphütchen*, a white, brimmed hat with a band of gathered, black silk damask ribbon that forms a bow in the back (Reinhardt, 1968; Werner-Künzig, 1981) (see Figure 11).



Figure 11. Hinterzarten woman wearing a Schnapphütchen.¹⁹

The *Bollenhut* is another form of brimmed hat and is worn by women in the towns of Gutach, Kirnbach, and Reichenbach. Well-known as the official symbol of the Black Forest, this hat is worn on Sundays and consists of a straw hat that has been painted white and that is adorned with fourteen *bollen*, woolen pom poms or balls, attached in the shape of a cross along

¹⁹ Photograph adapted from Werner-Künzig, W. (1981). *Schwarzwälder trachten: Traditional costumes in the Black Forest*. Karlsruhe, Germany: Badenia Verlag GmbH.

the top. Black bollen communicate that the wearer is married, whereas red bollen indicate that the wearer is unmarried (Meyer, 1959; Reichmann, 1996; Reinhardt, 1968; Werner-Künzig, 1981) (see Figure 12).



Figure 12. Unmarried woman wearing a Bollenhut.²⁰

Distinctly different versions for both the Schnapphütchen and the Bollenhut have been noted in the literature. In Glottertal, the women also wear a Schnapphütchen, but with notably dissimilar features as compared to the versions worn in Hinterzarten. For example, as opposed to

²⁰ Photograph reprinted from Werner-Künzig, W. (1981). *Schwarzwälder trachten: Traditional costumes in the Black Forest*. Karlsruhe, Germany: Badenia Verlag GmbH.

the Hinterzarten version, the Glottertal hat is white and black, the black ribbon is smooth, and artificial flowers embellish the bow in the back (Reinhardt, 1968; Werner-Künzig, 1981) (see Figure 13). The *Rosenhut* of St. Georgen is very similar to the Bollenhut. Both styles use a straw hat as the base, but the *Rosenhut* is adorned with black or red wool roses wrapped around the ribbon covered band (Pettigrew, 1937; Werner-Künzig, 1981) (see Figure 14).



Figure 13. Women wearing variations of the Glottertal Schnapphütchen.²¹

²¹ Photograph adapted from Reinhardt, A. (1968). *Schwarzwälder Trachten*. Karlsruhe, Germany: Badenia Verlag GmbH.



Figure 14. Unmarried woman (left) and married woman (right) in their respective St. Georgen Rosenhut.²²

The second type of headwear worn with women's and girl's Trachten is the cap, or bonnet. As with the hat, the cap can take various forms based on regional origin. Like other elements of Trachten, the use of caps has been well-documented, including visually. For instance, the *Organisation Internationale de la Dentelle au Fuseau et à l'Aiguille* (International Bobbin and Needle Lace Organization, or OIDFA) dedicated an entire book to examining the bobbin lace used on caps found in the Black Forest (OIDFA, 2006). Meyer (1959) and Pettigrew

²² Photograph retrieved from Trachtenverein St. Georgen im Schwarzwald (2012). Retrieved from <http://www.trachten-stg.de/tracht.htm>.

(1937) described in detail several styles of caps and their origins. Additionally, Reinhardt (1968), Werner-Künzig (1981) and Schmitt (1988) have examined the use of caps, documenting the practice in visual and textual form. Below, three examples of caps, or bonnets, are described in detail to highlight select community approaches to this form of headwear.

In the valleys of Elz and Glotter, and the towns of Baar and Hinterzarten, the *Backenhaube* cap for women can be observed. This triangular shaped cap is predominately constructed of black moiré satin fabric and ribbon and ties under the chin in such a way that the cheeks are hidden (*Backenhaube* means “hidden cheeks”). The back may feature some embroidery work as well as long ribbons that extend to the length of the wearer’s skirt (Pettigrew, 1937; Reinhardt, 1968; Werner-Künzig, 1981) (see Figures 7, 15 and 16).



Figure 15. Front view of Hinterzarten Backenhaube.²³

²³ Photograph adapted from Werner-Künzig, W. (1981). *Schwarzwälder trachten: Traditional costumes in the Black Forest*. Karlsruhe, Germany: Badenia Verlag GmbH.



Figure 16. Back view of Glottertal Backenhuabe.²⁴

²⁴ Photograph adapted from Werner-Künzig, W. (1981). *Schwarzwälder trachten: Traditional costumes in the Black Forest*. Karlsruhe, Germany: Badenia Verlag GmbH.

Women and girls wear a bow-like cap, called the *Kappenschlupf* in the town of Hanau, the *Schlupfkappe* in the town of Reid, and the *Hörnerkappe* in the town of Markgräfler. Although styles and names vary by town, the basic design consists of a large, black silk bow attached to a small cap that affixes to the back of the head. The bow rests on top of the wearer's head and may or may not include silk tresses that hang from either side, depending on the town (Pettigrew, 1937; Reinhardt, 1968; Werner-Künzig, 1981) (see Figures 17 and 18).



Figure 17. Hörnerkappe from Markgräfler, Germany.²⁵

²⁵ Photograph reprinted from Werner-Künzig, W. (1981). *Schwarzwälder trachten: Traditional costumes in the Black Forest*. Karlsruhe, Germany: Badenia Verlag GmbH.



Figure 18. Kappenschlupf from Hanau, Germany.²⁶

Several varieties of embroidered caps exist in the Black Forest. One example, the *Bürgerin Hatten* from Haslach, is very different from other caps in the region. Whereas many caps are made with a black background fabric, the Haslach version is constructed on a ground of white fabric. The cap is heavily embroidered with gold metallic threads and sequins. Lace is used

²⁶ Photograph reprinted from Werner-Künzig, W. (1981). *Schwarzwälder trachten: Traditional costumes in the Black Forest*. Karlsruhe, Germany: Badenia Verlag GmbH.

around the edge of the cap, and an embroidered black ribbon is attached to the back (OIDFA, 2006) (see Figure 19).



Figure 19. Back view of Bürgerin Hatten from Haslach, Germany.²⁷

²⁷ Photograph adapted from OIDFA (2006). *Gold and silk: Bobbin lace on caps from the Black Forest*. Übach Palenburg, Germany: OIDFA.

The third form of headwear found in use in the Black Forest resembles a crown or wreath. Two specific styles are worn in the region, the *Schäppel* and *Kranz*. Both are worn in several towns and valleys, and like other elements of Trachten, differ stylistically depending on location. For instance, the *Schäppel*, a crown-like structure used for an adolescent female's confirmation and then later as part of her bridal attire, is used in several communities, but the size, color, and style of beading are unique to each town or valley (see Figures 9 and 20). The same is true for the *Kranz*, a wreath-like structure worn by girls and young women during religious ceremonies and festivals. Components of the *Kranz* can include feather picks, wire spangles, and artificial flowers and beads, and the finished product varies in appearance depending on location (see Figures 21 and 22).

As previously stated, according to scholars, headwear is one of the most expressive elements of Trachten, and as a result, is reflective of its wearer's origin (OIDFA, 2006; Pettigrew, 1937; Reinhardt, 1968; Werner-Künzig, 1981). Stylistic variations are so numerous that to a great extent, existing literature is dedicated to pictorial representations and brief descriptions. Although this review addresses several different examples of headwear styles associated with the Tracht tradition, it is important to note that for the purposes of this study, reviewing all of the documented forms of Trachten headwear would prove impractical due to the great diversity in headwear forms that exist. The chosen examples for this literature review were merely evidence selected to represent the wide variety and approaches to headwear for each region of the Black Forest.



Figure 20. St. Georgen women wearing wedding attire and the Schäppel.²⁸

²⁸ Photograph reprinted from Trachtenverein St. Georgen im Schwarzwald (2012). Retrieved from <http://www.trachten-stg.de>.



Figure 21. Back view of a Rollenkranz, Müllenbach, Germany's version of the Kranz.²⁹

²⁹ Photograph reprinted from Reinhardt, A. (1968). *Schwarzwälder trachten*. Karlsruhe, Germany: Badenia Verlag GmbH.



Figure 22. Elztal's (Elz valley) version of the Kranz, called the Bogenkränzchen.³⁰

Other Accessories. According to Meyer (1959), the rural inhabitants who wore Black Forest Trachten did not favor jewelry, with the exception of occasional Swiss pendants, medallions, or chains. They did, however, use other accessories as embellishments. Whereas both Meyer (1959) and Pettigrew (1937) mention accessories throughout their descriptions of

³⁰ Photograph reprinted from Reinhardt, A. (1968). *Schwarzwälder trachten*. Karlsruhe, Germany: Badenia Verlag GmbH.

Trachten, such as the use of belts, shawls and brooches, very little can be learned other than evidence of use. Additional published works on the topic of Trachten provide images of wearers in their traditional dress, which often included the use of accessories, but information regarding their purpose and meanings is lacking (Pettigrew, 1937; Reinhardt, 1968; Schmitt, 1988; Werner-Künzig, 1981). Although there is little discussed about accessories, one can clearly denote an emphasis placed on their use as part of the overall ensembles of Black Forest Trachten. For example, existing images in the literature show women from many areas wearing shawls as part of their ethnic dress. Typically, the colors of the shawls are light in value, but the use of embroidery, crochet, and other decorative elements varies from one wearer to the next (Pettigrew, 1937; Reinhardt, 1968; Werner-Künzig, 1981). Pettigrew (1937) briefly discusses the subject of embroidery patterns for clothing and accessories, but the patterns were not analyzed for symbolic meanings or other additional information that could prove useful for the study of Trachten as a form of ethnic dress.

Other accessories are used as decorative elements in conjunction with Trachten. Women and girls from numerous areas are seen adorned in heavily embellished ribbons, either as hair accessories, belts, bows, or stoles. For example, in St. Georgen, brides wear a chain-like belt with multiple swags in the front and ribbons that hang from the sides (see Figure 20). The *Halsmantel* – a stiff, white, ruffled collar reminiscent of the Elizabethan period (1558 – 1603) – also is used in tandem with the Schäppel (beaded crown) as part of a woman’s confirmation and bridal attire (Meyer, 1959; Pettigrew, 1937; Reinhardt, 1968; Tortora & Eubank, 2010; Werner-Künzig, 1981) (see Figure 20).

Whereas Tracht clothing and headwear have been described as symbols capable of providing information about the wearer, little has been found to indicate that all accessories

communicate in the same way. Meyer (1959) and Pettigrew (1937) posited that the chain belt and ruffled collar do provide clues as to the wearer's age and religious beliefs (confirmation), and marital status (bride's attire), however, information about shawls, embroidered collars, crochet fringe, brooches, and ribbons and their significance as part of Trachten is missing in the literature. All are widely used throughout the Black Forest as elements of Trachten (based on the images provided in the existing literature), but it is unknown if they are used to communicate specific cultural cues.

The Handcrafting of Trachten

Traditionally-made, or using cultural practices consistent with the past (Hobsbawm & Ranger, 2012), Trachten represent a form of textile handcraft (*Handarbeit*, or handwork, in German). According to Reichmann (1996), Trachten constitute a form of handcraft because they incorporate the use of embroidery, lace, and other hand-woven elements for purposes of embellishment. To put this into context, Johnson and Wilson (2005) define textile handcrafts as “artifacts that have been individually produced (as opposed to mass-produced) using implements such as sewing needles, crochet hooks, or knitting needles, and completed as lapwork” (p. 115). Additionally, these authors posit that handcrafts are “imbued with meaning” and personal histories that are symbolic to the creator and to others (p. 126). Although there is evidence supporting the use of local handcrafting methods to produce Tracht (see Figures 26, 27, 28, and 29), there is no mention in the existing literature of the ways in which Trachten fabrics are made locally or sourced.

According to Reinhardt (1968), great care has been taken to preserve the authenticity of the Trachten tradition as products of textile handcraft. Trachten are not easily acquired, as they are not mass-produced and sold commercially (Reichmann, 1996). Rather, the tradition has been

for the local tailors, seamstresses, or the wearers, themselves, to construct the garments, embroider the patterns, weave the hats, craft the wool bollen, and add decorative embellishments (Flippo, 2002; Reinhardt, 1968; “Schwarzwald Tourismus,” 2011). Perhaps for these reasons, Black Forest Trachten are highly valued and protected by the individuals who use them (Bausinger, 1990; Reinhardt, 1968).

The garments and headpieces of Trachten are made with quality and skilled traditional workmanship (Framm, 2007; Reichmann, 1996; “Schwarzwald Tourismus,” 2011). For example, according to OIDFA (2006), the *Geli Kappe* (yellow/gold cap) from the Mühlenbach Valley takes the *Haubenmacherin* (female cap-maker) fifty hours to craft. The cap consists of black velvet, yellow moiré satin, gold metal lace, and a black lace veil (OIDFA, 2006) (see Figure 23).



Figure 23. Geli Kappe from Mühlenbach Valley.³¹

Another example of a Haubenmacherin's handcraft comes from the Einbach Valley. The *Steinkappe* (stone cap) is similar in shape to the Geli Kappe, but is heavily decorated with gold and silver beads, larger colorful glass beads, metal florets, sequins, and a small black, lace veil. The embellishments are sewn to the cap in decorative patterns resembling flowers and foliage (OIDFA, 2006) (see Figures 24 and 25).

³¹ Photograph reprinted from OIDFA (2006). *Gold and silk: Bobbin lace on caps from the Black Forest*. Übach-Palenburg, Germany: OIDFA.



Figures 24 and 25. Steinkappe from Einbach Valley (left); close-up detail of embellishment (right).³²

As for women's attire, *Sprengarbeit*, or what Werner-Künzig (1981) refers to as interspersed embroidery work, is used on the bodice piece of Trachten. The *Stickerinnen* (female embroiderer) uses gold or silver metal threads to construct delicate floral or other nature-inspired designs as decoration on the collar and upper chest area of the dark fabric bodice. This sewing technique is thought to be one of the most difficult to produce in the Black Forest and is only taught by experienced *Stickerinnen* (Werner-Künzig, 1981). To complete this technique, a pattern is selected and is traced on to a piece of yellow cardboard. The pattern is embroidered with gold or silver thread directly on the cardboard, which is later cut away from the finished embroidered piece. Next, the embroidered appliqué is sewn to a section of the velvet bodice with the use of an embroidering stool (see Figure 26). The top layer of the stool, a table-like structure that rests between the weaver's mid-section and another table, is covered in woven cloth that will later be cut away once the embroidered appliqué is hand sewn to the bodice fabric (see Figure

³² Photograph adapted from OIDFA (2006). *Gold and silk: Bobbin lace on caps from the Black Forest*. Übach-Palenburg, Germany: OIDFA.

26). Finally, the metallic threads are pounded with a hammer to soften the edges (Werner-Künzig, 1981).



Figure 26. A Stickerinnen from Donaueschingen-Aasen using an embroidering stool.³³

Beadwork is another form of handcraft that is prevalent throughout the Black Forest. It is primarily used on headwear like the Schäppel and Rollenkränze, two wreath or crown-like structures worn by women and young girls (Werner-Künzig, 1981). Beads, mirrors, flowers, and other ornaments are threaded in purposeful patterns to create ornamental headwear for special occasions. This is accomplished with the use of thin wire or goose feathers twisted to form “picks,” depending on regional styles of Trachten. To create stability, the beaded goose-feather “picks” are attached to wire structures that resemble wreaths or crowns (Werner-Künzig, 1981) (see Figures 27 and 28).

³³ Photograph reprinted from Werner-Künzig, W. (1981). *Schwarzwälder trachten: Traditional costumes in the Black Forest*. Karlsruhe, Germany: Badenia Verlag GmbH.



Figure 27. Schäppel handcrafter, or Schäppelmacherin, crafting beaded wire “picks” for the headpiece.³⁴

³⁴ Photograph reprinted from Werner-Künzig, W. (1981). *Schwarzwälder trachten: Traditional costumes in the Black Forest*. Karlsruhe, Germany: Badenia Verlag GmbH.



Figure 28. Rollenkränze handcrafter from the Kinzig Valley crafting beaded goose feather “picks” for the headpiece.³⁵

There is an artistic or important aesthetic element to the handcrafting of Black Forest Trachten (Framm, 2007; Reinhardt, 1968). Tracht “reveals skilled craftsmanship and an artistic sense for the beautiful” (Framm, 2007, p. 15). Sources describe Trachten as being either artful or beautiful to the observer. For example, elements of Trachten, such as the Bollenhut, are described as “artful magnificence” (“Schwarzwald Tourismus,” 2011, para. 4). Pettigrew (1937) ascertained that Trachten “are beautiful. In each one of them the sculptural quality of the heavy brocades and velvets, the flying lines of the ribbons, and above all, the intelligent use of ornament, are completely satisfying” (p. 7).

³⁵ Photograph reprinted from Werner-Künzig, W. (1981). *Schwarzwälder trachten: Traditional costumes in the Black Forest*. Karlsruhe, Germany: Badenia Verlag GmbH.

Black Forest Trachten are expensive to handcraft and purchase (e.g., costs can exceed \$3,000) and are intended to last a lifetime. The expense of Trachten is due to the use of natural, quality fabrics and embellishments, as well as the labor of highly skilled handcrafters (Flippo, 2002; Reichmann, 1996; Reinhardt, 1968). For example, Pettigrew (1937, p. 7) notes the use of “heavy brocades and velvets” in handcrafting of Trachten. Meyer (1959) and Reinhardt (1968) describe moiré satin and silk being used for ribbons and other embellishments. Werner-Künzig (1981) and OIDFA (2006) referenced the use of gold and silver thread embroidery on velvet hats and bodices. Because the expense of making Trachten is high, if families cannot afford to provide costumes for each member, the Heimat und Volksleben Federations (literally translated as the “German homeland and tradition” federation) will subsidize the purchases for Black Forest locals to ensure the future of Tracht tradition (Reinhardt, 1968). Furthermore, it is not uncommon for older members of the family to pass their Trachten down to the younger ones (Meyer, 1959; Reinhardt, 1968).

Finally, there is no current speculation in regard to what scholars believe the future holds for Trachten and Tracht handcraft traditions. There are, however, documented opinions about the symbiotic relationship between Trachten and handcrafting. Reinhardt (1968) posits that Tracht “handicraft is decisive for its survival or death” (p. 18). Reichmann (1996) also iterates a similar statement about the importance of preserving Tracht tradition through quality craftsmanship. Simply explained, if Tracht use is to continue in the Black Forest, then the construction of the garments must be of the highest quality to ensure longevity of wear because the cost is so great. Ironically, although Reinhardt (1968) and Reichmann (1996) agree that quality handcraft is needed to guarantee the persistence of Trachten, inevitably the tradition may ebb due to other factors. It appears to some people living in the region that, in the future, certain textile

handcrafting traditions may cease to exist. An account of this can be noted on the Schwarzwald tourism website, where it is proposed that although the Bollenhut is a highly valued piece of Tracht, people knowledgeable in making the hat are aging, and therefore the numbers of skilled handcrafters are decreasing (“Schwarzwald Tourismus,” 2011) (see Figure 29). Moreover, as previously stated, as the desire for wearing Trachten diminishes due to contemporary lifestyle influences (Reichmann, 1996; Reinhardt, 1968; Werner-Künzig, 1981), the need for passing down textile handcraft traditions to future generations lessens, as well.



Figure 29. Aging women handcrafting elements of Gutach Tracht: the red Bollenhut, knitted angora stockings, and embroidered yoke bodice collar.³⁶

Guiding Theoretical Framework

Two theoretical perspectives that address the relevance of ethnic dress traditions and their capacity to connect individuals and groups to meaningful heritages guided this work. First, the research was informed by Joanne Eicher’s (1995/1999) theoretical proposition that ethnic dress

³⁶ Photograph reprinted from Schwarzwald (2011). Black Forest costumes. Retrieved from <http://www.schwarzwald.de>.

is not static, but rather, changes across space and time in ways that enable its persistence.

Second, this research was informed by the work of Charles Keyes (1995), who considered how ethnic and national communities are constructed with a compelling genealogy in a cultural form (i.e., dress), but also must be backed by the authority of tradition. Taken together, these perspectives provided a rich foundation for this study about ethnic dress that explored the contemporary meanings associated with Trachten for handcrafters and wearers and the reasons for persistence of traditional handcrafting and use of Black Forest Trachten within the context of a contemporary society.

Dress and Ethnicity

Eicher's (1995/1999) theoretical proposition that ethnic dress is not static, as its common association with the concept of "tradition" may imply, draws upon several case histories to argue that ethnic dress changes across time and space in both form and detail in ways that enable its persistence. For example, in their interpretation of Kalabari Ijo ethnic identity, Eicher and Erekosima (1995/1999) proposed the Kalabari actively and creatively adopt established dress symbols associated with their past to innovate new styles and meanings that are used to forge their identities, calling into question the characterization of ethnic dress as "traditional" when traditional is used to refer to "unchanging." Eicher's propositions about tradition and change bring to mind Hobsbawm's and Ranger's (1983) conceptualization of "invented tradition," or the notion that tradition is that which is constructed as unchanging in a context of change and variability.

For the present study, Eicher's (1995/1999) work in the area of ethnic dress provided insight into understanding Black Forest Trachten as forms of ethnic dress. Prior to this study, there was little research surrounding Trachten specifically as a form of ethnic dress. Eicher's

(1995/1999) argument that ethnic dress changes across time and space thereby enabling persistence was instrumental in analyzing how and why the Black Forest Trachten tradition has endured in contemporary society.

Culture and the Authority of Tradition

Also relevant was the work of Keyes (1995). Although not an analysis of dress, per se, Keyes's work illuminates the present research by positing how ethnic and national communities are constructed with a compelling genealogy in a cultural form (i.e., dress), but also must be backed by the authority of tradition. Keyes defines the authority of tradition as "the voices of the past" embedded in the present through "customary practices that seem timeless" (p. 137). Based upon his work with the Tai peoples of Southeast Asia, Keyes suggests an important interplay between past and present as identities are negotiated in swiftly changing contemporary societies. Thus, Keyes's arguments provide a context for analyzing the "voices of the past" that underpin the endurance of Trachten traditions as a cultural form and practice that persist in contemporary society.

For the present study, Keyes's suppositions about the relationship between the authority of tradition and cultural practices provided insight into the ways in which the Black Forest Trachten tradition has persisted in contemporary society. Although Keyes (1995) focused his research upon the cultural forms of language and literature, his propositions were useful in understanding the ways in which the "authority of tradition" was used in preserving the cultural form of dress as manifested in the Trachten tradition.

Summary

To date, the bulk of research examining Black Forest Trachten has focused on history and development, cataloguing the numerous styles throughout the region and describing methods of

construction and materials used. Although this work provides valuable insights and forms a useful foundation for understanding Trachten as a form of ethnic dress, much of this work is dated. Further, this work does not yield insight into the ways in which Trachten as a form of ethnic dress is situated within in a contemporary socio-cultural context. As such, building upon the literature reviewed herein, the present inquiry sought to understand the Black Forest ethnic dress tradition by considering what factors have fostered the persistence of women's Trachten traditions in a contemporary society. Of particular interest was how these factors related to handcraft traditions as well as to lived practices for Trachten wearers. This study addressed these existing gaps in the literature and was guided by the following research questions:

1. Within contemporary society, what do Trachten mean for people living in the Black Forest who craft them, as products of handcrafting?
2. Within contemporary society, what do Trachten mean for people living in the Black Forest who wear them?
3. Why do the traditions of making and wearing Black Forest Trachten persist in contemporary society?
4. Why are Trachten, as forms of handcrafted ethnic dress, still culturally relevant to people in contemporary society?

CHAPTER III

METHODS

The focus of this interpretive study was to explore the persistence of the Black Forest Trachten tradition in contemporary society. Creswell (2007) has posited that ethnographic methods are well-suited for inquiries that aim to examine the nuances of cultural practices or traditions that have been largely overlooked within the literature. Because little has been published on the topic of Black Forest Trachten as an ethnic dress tradition situated in contemporary society, a qualitative approach, using ethnographic methods for data collection and constant comparison processes for data analysis, was adopted for the present work.

Overview of Ethnographic Approach and Data Collection Process

Ethnography is deeply rooted in the anthropological field, where the goal of such research is to better understand cultures (Creswell, 2007; Genzuk, 2003; Wolcott, 1987). Now widely used throughout the social sciences, ethnography is defined as “the art and science of describing a group or culture” (Fetterman, 1998, p. 1). A good degree of understanding can be reached by interpreting the customs, beliefs, and behaviors observed in the field through analyzing collected data (Harris, 1968; Harris & Johnson, 2000).

For this study, data were collected through three primary methods, or triangulation, used in the field, including formal and informal interviews, observations (i.e., of interactions with handcrafters and wearers, as well as visual data collected from public events, museum exhibits, photographs, paintings, and objects in private or family collections), and field notes/journaling. Taken together, these forms of data have the potential to yield valid, verifiable conclusions (Willis, 2007). Touliatos and Compton (1988) proposed that an ethnographic researcher needs

“access to a site, to research subjects, and to documents and records available in the setting” (p. 235). Successful data collection using ethnographic methods is dependent upon the researcher’s ability to gain access to the field and to immerse oneself in various on-sight events and settings of the cultural group (Creswell, 2007; Genzuk, 2003), something the researcher for the present study considered. For the last six summers, the researcher lived and vacationed in the Black Forest region of Germany, resulting in knowledge of and familiarity with the local culture, its people, and their language. Over time, the researcher educated herself about the local Trachten tradition and was exposed to people who handcrafted and wore Trachten. Based on the researcher’s experience with and knowledge of the region and its people, she was well-prepared to conduct this study using an ethnographic approach.

Study Site

This research reflects three months of fieldwork that included observations, formal and informal interviews, the retrieval of archival information, and participation in reflexive journaling. Prior to immersion in the field, the researcher (an American who speaks limited, conversational German) visited the Black Forest with her spouse acting as German translator, and established a network of potential study participants. During the three months in the field, the researcher and her spouse, an Associate Professor of German at Colorado State University, Dr. Jolyon T. Hughes, a near-native speaker, lived in a large town (population: approximately 250,000) located in the center of the Black Forest with easy access to surrounding rural communities. This town and the outlying areas maintain active and rich Trachten traditions; one of the communities is home to a Trachten museum, many of the communities host Trachten festivals and exhibits in local museums and historic city centers, and many are home to heritage sites and societies. During her time in the field, the researcher cultivated pre-established

relationships, thereby gaining the trust of several participants who, in turn, provided referrals to additional participants. This resulted in rich opportunities to observe and interact with individuals with connections to the Trachten tradition.

Interview Data Collection

Interviewing is an ethnographic method that was used in the field to collect data for this study. Kvale and Brinkman (2008) have affirmed that interviewing is an effective way to gain insight into how people understand their world. Prior research supports the supposition that in-depth interviews, using open-ended questions, often can provide rich data about the cultural group (Gibson & Brown, 2009; Willis, 2007), and thus, were a focal point of the data collection process for this study. Ethnographic research is unique in that participant sampling may not be fully determined prior to data collection. Qualitative researchers posit that after the researcher has determined the culture-sharing group to study and has immersed oneself in the field, he/she can collect observational, behavioral, and experiential data as an observer as well as being able to identify potential participants for the informal and/or formal interview process (Creswell, 2007; Fetterman, 1998).

Interactions with Black Forest locals provided ample opportunities to conduct formal and informal interviews. Questions included in the interview schedule were first written in English, the native language of the researcher, and then were translated into German. To ensure accuracy in translation, the assistance of the researcher's spouse was utilized. Interviews in the field with participants were conducted in German, with Dr. Hughes serving as oral translator and interpreter for the researcher. According to Fetterman (2009), when selecting a translator, it is important to find someone who understands the nuances of the culture and language, such as slang and dialect, to achieve the most accurate interpretation possible. As a medievalist who

specializes in historical linguistics, Dr. Hughes' specialty is in the area of German phonetics/dialectology and translation. Additionally, he has spent a great deal of time in the Black Forest region and is familiar with the local dialect as well as any uncommon terms relating to textile production that may surface in oral interviews. As the spouse of the researcher, and through her, he has become very knowledgeable about the topic of Trachten, giving him an insider's perspective that proved useful throughout the data collection and translation processes.

Formal (in-depth, semi-structured) interviews, lasting one to four and a half hours in duration, were conducted with 10 individuals. Eight of these individuals were adult female Trachten wearers, six of whom also were Trachten handcrafters. Additionally, two local Trachten experts, one man and one woman, were interviewed. Participants in formal interviews ranged in age from 42 to 68 years, with a mean of 56.5 years, and included housewives, a tailor, a farmer, a retail salesperson, a bed and breakfast owner, a museum curator, and a leader in a Trachten-governing organization.

Murchison (2010) recommends using an informal approach to interviewing that allows the participant to remain in his/her own environment. According to Murchison, such an approach to interviewing yields accounts that are less "sanitized or idealized" (p. 104) than are those shared in a formal setting. Heeding Murchison's (2010) advice, interviews were conducted in private or public settings deemed to be comfortable by the participants (e.g., a home, café, or park). An in-depth, semi-structured approach of interviewing was used to collect data. Interview questions emerged from the conceptual frameworks discovered in the literature review and from previous experience with the Trachten tradition. Open-ended questions were presented in a manner that guided the discussion without "leading" the participants. The researcher and translator used the answers to generate additional questions as needed. The interview questions

focused on the following topics: (a) collective meanings associated with Trachten, (b) meanings assigned to Trachten by the individuals who wear and handcraft them, (c) what participants wished to express when crafting and wearing Trachten, (d) participants' reasons for wearing or crafting Trachten in contemporary society, (e) participants' reasons for using traditional handcrafting methods, (f) and participants' beliefs about why the Trachten tradition persists.

Following Kunkel's (1999) study on dress, participants also were invited to wear or bring examples of their Tracht or Tracht handcrafts to talk about during their interviews. These artifacts were used to guide the discussion and to glean additional information during the interview process. Photographs of the participants with their Trachten were taken as permitted. Additionally, numerous informal interviews were conducted with Trachten wearers and non-wearers as well as with local Trachten experts (e.g., museum curators, Trachten club leaders) and antique shop owners. These encounters took place at various Trachten events, in museums, and in several shopping districts throughout the Black Forest region.

Observational Data Collection

Observations and fieldnotes/journaling served as additional ethnographic methods used to collect data for this study. According to Creswell (2007), the primary approach for conducting observations is for the researcher to observe the cultural group within its environment. The observation phase of data collection required extensive journaling, or writing field notes and taking photographs that reflected what was seen and heard in the field. Observing additional sources of data such as Trachten festivals, museum exhibits, photographs, and written documents provided further evidence about Black Forest Trachten.

During her immersion in the field, the researcher conducted extensive observations to "develop an insider's view" (Genzuk, 2003, p. 2) of the Trachten tradition. To this end, she

visited rural communities where she observed locals wearing Trachten, attended Trachten-related events (e.g. festivals and processions), and visited museums that displayed Trachten collections. Observations also were conducted in the private homes of multiple wearers and handcrafters. For example, the researcher was invited into several homes to witness Trachten handcrafting, analyze Trachten garments, view demonstrations on how to wear Trachten, and review Trachten archival information, including historical images, videos, and personal photograph collections. A key component of the observation process was the researcher's engagement in reflexive journaling, which included the preparation of detailed field notes that reflected what was seen and heard as well as initial interpretive impressions.

Data Analysis

Wolcott (1994) posited that for ethnographic research, three aspects of data analysis should be considered: description, analysis, and interpretation. While in the field, the researcher should compile a multitude of descriptive data from interviewing, observations, and fieldwork. To avoid feeling overwhelmed by the various streams of data, scholars recommend organizing the collected data and developing themes as the process progresses, constantly comparing the recorded information (Fetterman, 2009; Miles & Huberman, 1994; Murchison, 2010). Strauss and Corbin (1990) refer to a similar method, called constant comparison, for analyzing the data. Although constant comparison is associated with grounded theory, Fetterman (2009) makes reference to the process as an appropriate method for analyzing ethnographic data. Constant comparison uses three levels of coding the data (overall impressions, open-coding, and compare categories), resulting in a deeper understanding of the culture-sharing group, and was the method used for analyzing data collected for this study (Strauss & Corbin, 1990).

In preparation for coding using the constant comparison approach, interviews were transcribed verbatim in German. These transcripts, along with other archival documents written in German, were translated into English. Both the transcription and the translation work were completed by the translator, Dr. Jolyon T. Hughes.

In the first step in the coding process, the researcher organized and studied the data repeatedly in order to gain an overall impression of the data set. Next, “open coding” was used to identify key ideas, or “concepts,” within the data (Strauss & Corbin, 1990). Here, the researcher made notes about key ideas related to the research questions in the margins of interview transcripts, field notes, journals, and archival documents. Next, the researcher compared concepts to one another, grouping similar concepts together under higher order, more abstract “categories” (Strauss & Corbin, 1990). These processes continued until the researcher could no longer identify additional meanings in the data.

A coding guide based upon these categories was then applied to the data. Here, each unit of text included within the data set was analyzed for fit with categories included within the coding guide. As the coding guide was applied to the data, additional categories were added as needed to ensure that the coding guide “fit” to the data. In the final stages of analysis, the researcher examined the data for higher order connections (Strauss & Corbin, 1990). Fetterman (2009) refers to this ordering process as “moving up the conceptual ladder” (p. 97). During this phase, the researcher used selective coding, which entailed exploring the data for patterns and connections within each emergent theme, as well as axial coding, which involved looking at the causal conditions and contextual factors that gave rise to various themes (Strauss & Corbin, 1990).

Throughout the coding processes, the researcher conferred with two senior researchers in order to explore meanings and relationships identified within the data. This process was repeated until reciprocal understanding of analyses was achieved. Further, to ensure the trustworthiness of the analyses, two audit coders checked the application of the coding guide to the data. After disagreements were negotiated, interrater reliability was 93.50%. Interrater reliability was calculated by dividing the total number of agreements by the total number of coded decisions made.

These measures of quality control aided in creating a more accurate, reliable and rich understanding of data analysis. The researcher also maintained a journal in which she recorded her progress on the development and progress of the research, her observations, and interpretations of the data. The use of journaling enabled the researcher to diagram the development of this research, assisted in delineating the data collection process, and promoted reflection and introspection on the data collection and analysis process.

Issues of Researcher Subjectivity

According to Wolcott (1994), the ethnographic researcher describes, analyzes, and interprets data collected about a culture-sharing group as observed in its natural setting. Since ethnography relies on the interpretations of the researcher, issues of subjectivity must be considered in order for the study to be considered transparent. Fetterman (1998) addressed this by noting that, while the ethnographic researcher enters the field with an open mind, it is not an empty one. All researchers begin studies with biases and beliefs about how people should think and behave based on their own experiences, values, and beliefs. As long as the researcher is forthcoming and transparent about the potential impact of those biases and employs the use of validity measures, then subjectivity should not affect the outcomes of the research (Creswell,

2009; Fetterman, 1998). Moreover, Creswell (2007) writes that, although the ethnographic researcher “personalizes the interpretation” of the data, theory provides “structure for his or her interpretations” (p. 162), thereby limiting subjectivity. In the subsequent paragraphs, the researcher recognizes her subjectivities and the impacts they could have on this inquiry.

The researcher’s interest in the present area of inquiry can be traced back to her experiences while vacationing in the Black Forest of Germany. It was there that the researcher discovered Trachten quite by accident. Black Forest gift shops and tourist destinations are laden with images of Trachten. For example, gift shops rely heavily on Freiburg’s tourists, and consequently one can easily find cuckoo clocks, Black Forest ham, and dolls wearing Trachten. Post cards and calendars portray images of women in one form of Tracht, although in actuality there are many, in front of rustic thatch-roofed farmhouses or picturesque landscapes. The researcher did not give much thought to those images, assuming they were used to entice tourists. That is to say even though the images existed on souvenirs, the researcher was not accustomed to seeing the locals go about their daily lives adorned in Trachten. But in the summer of 2011, the researcher’s perceptions changed after visiting the Tracht museum in the small town of Haslach, located deep within the hilly landscape of the Black Forest. Upon entering the museum, one is confronted with Trachten in a completely different context. The walls are covered with old paintings and photographs of people dressed in their respective Trachten. Glass cases house the implements used to print and embellish the materials needed to construct the various Trachten. Entire rooms feature each village’s or valley’s version of dress for men, women, and children. While other visitors were quick to move throughout the museum, the researcher found herself lingering longer than most. She was fascinated by what these villagers wore and how they made their attire. Moreover, while the researcher was preoccupied with the

displays, her husband was conversing with the museum's curator, who speaks little English, about the current status of Trachten use. He explained that while much of the tradition had died out in the area, numerous groups of people still keep the tradition alive in groups called Trachtenvereine.

After that day, the researcher began to see those "kitschy" outfits differently, not as tourist attractions but as something extraordinarily unique to the region. After all, these assemblages of clothing were not like the dirndls and lederhosen worn by people throughout other areas of southern Germany. The researcher's educational background lies in the fields of anthropology and apparel merchandising, thus influencing her desire to explore cultures and material artifacts, which also shaped her decision to conduct a study about Black Forest Trachten. Over the last two years, the researcher has spent countless hours searching for information on the topic, something that proved beneficial to the research study, but could also pose other problems. The way in which the researcher analyzed the data could be affected by the researcher's knowledge of and connection to the topic. Knowing this, the researcher attempted to keep an open mind while in the field and throughout the analysis of collected data.

Secondly, the researcher was born and raised in the United States and has never lived for an extended period of time, more than six weeks at a time, in Germany. The researcher's previous experiences in Germany have been while accompanying her husband to Freiburg im Breisgau, a city of around 250,000 inhabitants located in the Black Forest. He also is not a German, but spends six weeks every summer working in Germany, holds a Ph.D. in German, and speaks the language at a superior or near-native level of fluency, according to ACTFL standards ("American Council," 1999). The researcher's German language skill level is low, however, she can understand more German than she can speak and relied on her husband and his expertise as

needed. After spending six summers in Germany, the researcher's understanding of German and Black Forest cultures is extensive, but as an outsider it is understood that her life experiences are different than are those of Germans. As such, the researcher entered the field cognizant of those potential differences and kept an open mind when collecting and analyzing data.

CHAPTER IV

MANUSCRIPT

Persistence and Change in the Black Forest Ethnic Dress Tradition

The ethnic dress of Germany's Black Forest, called *Tracht*, dates back to the 16th century. Although most people living within the Black Forest do not presently wear *Trachten*, some persistence in this tradition exists. This study explored the factors that have supported the persistence of Trachten tradition, specifically related to the wearing and crafting of Trachten by women, in a contemporary society. The work was informed by theory proposing that ethnic dress is not static, but rather, changes across space and time in ways that enable its persistence. A qualitative, ethnographic approach was adopted. Data were collected via observations and interviews in the Black Forest. Analyses revealed that the maintenance of the Trachten tradition was linked to varied factors that revolved around the overarching themes of both persistence and change. Thus, findings provide support for the proposition that ethnic dress may change in ways that actually enable its persistence. The persistence of the Trachten tradition was linked to formalized practice, meaningful identities, and desires to preserve and promote local culture. Additionally, the persistence of the Trachten tradition was fostered by change in the tradition, including the conceptualization of Trachten as a "lived practice" and the negotiation of Trachten authenticity.

Keywords: Black Forest, ethnic dress, Germany, Trachten

Introduction

Ethnic dress comprises garments and supplements to the body that, when worn, are capable of communicating cultural heritage (Eicher & Sumberg, 1995). The ethnic dress of

German-speaking countries, known as *Tracht*, dates back to the 16th century and traces its roots to the everyday dress of rural inhabitants. For women and girls, the basic components of *Trachten* (plural for *Tracht*) include a blouse, vest, skirt, apron, and hat (see Figure 1). Over time, the use of *Trachten* has become synonymous with local holidays, festivals, and religious ceremonies such as confirmations and weddings (Reinhardt, 1968; Werner-Künzig, 1981).

As Kennett and MacDonald-Haig (1995) remind us, ethnic dress is constantly changing. As such, specific *Trachten* looks have emerged over time, reflecting the values and beliefs of the individual communities where *Trachten* are made and worn as well as the local expertise in various textile handcrafting traditions (Reinhardt, 1968). Although the majority of people living within the Black Forest do not presently participate in the *Tracht* tradition, a certain level of persistence in this tradition exists, which is at the root of this inquiry. In particular, this study explored the various factors that have supported the persistence of the *Trachten* tradition, specifically related to the wearing and handcrafting of *Trachten* by women in contemporary society.

Literature Review

Black Forest *Trachten* History

Early Black Forest *Tracht* styles were influenced by French and Spanish fashions of the day and were adopted by working class rural peoples. Gradually, local influences also became important, producing regional differences in appearance (Reinhardt, 1968). As the rate of fashion change accelerated in Europe by the end of the 15th century, working class rural inhabitants of the Black Forest could not afford to keep pace (Reinhardt, 1968; Tortora & Eubank, 2010). Owing in part to their economic circumstances and in part to their belief that prized possessions should be valued rather than easily discarded, rural inhabitants of the Black Forest came to

treasure their Trachten and to retain them in their wardrobes for long periods of time, passing them down through generations (Reinhardt, 1968). Consequently, Trachten did not change in style drastically or quickly, evolving into symbols of the culture from which they came (Pettigrew, 1937).

The industrial revolution and the unification of Germany had significant effects on the Trachten tradition. During the first half of the 19th century, the revolution slowly gained momentum in the region that would eventually become Germany (Watkins, n.d.), and rural inhabitants were drawn to city life. Therefore, it became commonplace for people to store their Trachten in trunks and wardrobes and to (temporarily) bid farewell to this ethnic dress tradition, replacing it with more modern forms of material culture (Reinhardt, 1968; Werner-Künzig, 1981).

Years later, after the unification of Germany in 1871, a shift in cultural ideology caused a revival of the Trachten tradition. In an attempt to build feelings of national unity, the newly formed German government encouraged residents to engage in cultural traditions that reified their Germanic identities (Confino, 1993). Trachten, though stylistically varied across regions, had once been a widespread tradition. As such, the government saw Trachten as meaningful symbols of “German-ness” and used them heavily in nation-building campaigns. Wearing Trachten became acceptable again and even fashionable among varied classes, including bourgeoisie (Confino, 1993). Trachten clubs, called *Trachtenvereine*, were established at the end of the 19th century, with the aim of promoting the Trachten tradition at festivals, processions, and other cultural events (Schmitt, 1988).

Throughout the course of the early to mid-20th century, the Trachten tradition declined throughout Germany. After World War II, however, club membership began to increase

(Reinhardt, 1968). Boa and Palfreyman (2000) contend that in the years following the war, Germans sought to create new identities that were not connected to the Nazi regime. Seemingly perhaps, participating in the Trachten tradition became a popular form of expression for some Germans seeking to forge acceptable and nostalgic cultural identities. Although club membership levels never reached those of the late nineteenth century, the Trachten tradition remained very much alive in the late twentieth century and still persists today (Reinhardt, 1968).

Black Forest Trachten as Forms of Ethnic Dress

The people of the Black Forest wear Trachten as part of their heritage to convey cultural meanings such as ethnic identity, gender, age, marital status, and religious affiliation, particularly within the contexts of festivals, religious ceremonies, and rituals (Reinhardt, 1968; Schmitt, 1988; Werner-Künzig, 1981). As forms of ethnic dress, Trachten embody regional variations with respect to color, style, embroidery pattern, and accessory use, including headwear, scarves, and belts (Reinhardt, 1968; Werner-Künzig, 1981). These purposeful variations serve to nonverbally communicate information about wearers. In this vein, color is used to signify wearers' religious affiliations, with Protestants wearing dark blue, dark green, and dark purple, and Catholics donning bright reds and yellows (Pettigrew, 1937). Color also symbolizes marital status. In some villages, unmarried women wear a red *Bollenhut*, a white straw hat embellished with large red wool pom poms; married women don the same style with black pom poms (Pettigrew, 1937). Similarly, style variations are used to nonverbally convey information about wearers. For example, an adolescent or young adult female may own two styles of Trachten. A basic form of Trachten, with a simple bodice and Bollenhut, is worn for everyday cultural and religious events and communicates regional and religious affiliation (see Figure 1). A more elaborate form, with ornate embellishments and a distinctive beaded headpiece, is reserved for

one's religious confirmation and wedding ceremony, signifying not only region and religion, but also key life passages (Pettigrew, 1937).

Black Forest Trachten as Textile Handcrafts

Insomuch as they are individually-produced using varied hand-techniques (e.g., embroidery, knitting, beadwork, straw-weaving, hand-sewing) that are in keeping with historical cultural practices (Hobsbawm & Ranger, 1983; Johnson & Wilson, 2005), Trachten represent a form of textile handcraft (*Handarbeit*, or handwork, in German). According to Reinhardt (1968), great care has been taken to preserve the authenticity of the Trachten tradition as products of textile handcraft. Trachten are not easily acquired nor are they inexpensive, as they are not mass-produced or sold commercially. Rather, the tradition has been for the local tailors, seamstresses, or the wearers, themselves, to construct the garments, embroider the patterns, weave the straw hats, craft the wool Bollenhut pom-poms, and add decorative embellishments (Reichmann, 1996; Reinhardt, 1968). For these reasons, Black Forest Trachten are highly valued and protected by the individuals who use them, with family members frequently handing them down across generations (Reinhardt, 1968).

Interpretive inquiries have highlighted the meaningful role of textile handcraft production plays in the lives of handcrafters. For instance, Johnson and Wilson (2005) discovered that, through handcrafting, contemporary female handcrafters not only produced meaningful objects, but also constructed identities within their social worlds and strengthened connections to their family's handcrafting lineage. Schofield-Tomschin's and Littrell's (2001) study on handcrafting guilds yielded similar findings, with the processes of self-actualization and identity construction tied to handcraft production. Participants viewed their products as symbols of their abilities and felt that their skills and products reflected their appreciation for traditions and cultural heritage.

Guiding Theoretical Framework

Two theoretical perspectives that address the relevance of ethnic dress traditions and their capacity to connect individuals and groups to meaningful heritages guided this work. First, this work was informed by Eicher's (1995/1999) theoretical proposition that ethnic dress is not static, as its common association with the concept of "tradition" may imply. Rather, Eicher draws upon several case histories to argue that ethnic dress changes across time and space in both form and detail in ways that enable its persistence. For example, in their interpretation of Kalabari Ijo ethnic identity, Eicher and Erekosima (1995/1999) propose the Kalabari actively and creatively adopt established dress symbols associated with their past to innovate new styles and meanings that are used to forge their identities, calling into question the characterization of ethnic dress as "traditional" when traditional is used to refer to "unchanging." Eicher's propositions about tradition and change bring to mind Hobsbawm's and Ranger's (1983) conceptualization of "invented tradition," or the notion that tradition is that which is constructed as unchanging in a context of change and variability.

Second, the work of Keyes (1995), although not an analysis of dress, per se, illuminates the present work by positing how ethnic and national communities are constructed with a compelling genealogy in a cultural form (i.e., dress), but also must be backed by the authority of tradition. Keyes defines the authority of tradition as "the voices of the past" embedded in the present through "customary practices that seem timeless" (p. 137). Based upon his work with the Tai peoples of southeast Asia, Keyes suggests an important interplay between past and present as identities are negotiated in swiftly changing contemporary societies. Thus, Keyes's arguments provide a context for analyzing the "voices of the past" that underpin the persistence of Trachten traditions as a cultural form and practice that endure in contemporary society.

To date, the bulk of research examining Black Forest Trachten has focused on history and development, cataloguing the numerous styles throughout the region and describing methods of construction and materials used. Little work, however, has examined Trachten as a form of ethnic dress situated within in a contemporary socio-cultural context. As such, drawing upon the literature reviewed herein, the present inquiry sought to understand the Black Forest ethnic dress tradition by considering what factors have fostered the endurance of women's Trachten traditions in a contemporary society. Of particular interest was how these factors related to handcraft traditions as well as to lived practices for Trachten wearers.

Method

Creswell (2007) has posited that ethnographic methods are well-suited for inquiries that aim to examine the nuances of cultural practices or traditions that have been largely overlooked within the literature. Because little has been published on the topic of Black Forest Trachten as a form of ethnic dress, a qualitative approach, using ethnographic methods for data collection and constant comparison processes for data analysis, was adopted for the present work.

Study Site

This research reflects three months of fieldwork that included observations, formal and informal interviews, the retrieval of archival information, and participation in reflexive journaling. Prior to immersion in the field and with the assistance of a German translator, the primary researcher (an American who speaks conversational German) visited the Black Forest and established a network of potential study participants. During the three months in the field, the primary researcher and the translator lived in a large town located in the center of the Black Forest with easy access to surrounding rural communities with active Trachten traditions. During that time, the researcher cultivated pre-established relationships, thereby gaining the trust of

several participants who, in turn, provided referrals to additional participants. This resulted in rich opportunities to observe and interact with individuals with connections to the Trachten tradition.

Data Collection and Analysis

During her immersion in the field, the primary researcher conducted extensive observations to “develop an insider’s view” (Genzuk, 2003, p. 2) of the Trachten tradition. To this end, she visited rural communities where she observed locals wearing Trachten, attended Trachten-related events (e.g. festivals and processions), and visited museums that displayed Trachten collections. Observations also were conducted in the private homes of multiple wearers and handcrafters. For example, the researcher was invited into several homes to witness Trachten handcrafting, analyze Trachten garments, view demonstrations on how to wear Trachten, and review Trachten archival information, including historical images, videos, and personal photograph collections. A key component of the observation process was the researcher’s engagement in reflexive journaling, which included the preparation of detailed field notes that reflected what was seen and heard as well as initial interpretive impressions.

Interactions with Black Forest locals also provided ample opportunities to conduct formal and informal interviews. Formal (in-depth, semi-structured) interviews, lasting one to four and a half hours in duration, were conducted with 10 individuals. Eight of these individuals were adult female Trachten wearers, six of whom also were Trachten handcrafters. Additionally, two local Trachten experts, one man and one woman, were interviewed. Formal interviews were conducted in private residences, public social settings (e.g., festivals), and museums. Participants in formal interviews ranged in age from 42 to 68 years, with a mean of 56.5 years, and included housewives, a tailor, a farmer, a retail salesperson, a bed and breakfast owner, a museum curator,

and a leader in a Trachten-governing organization. Numerous informal interviews were conducted with Trachten wearers and non-wearers as well as with local Trachten experts (e.g., museum curators, Trachten club leaders) and antique shop owners. These encounters took place at various Trachten events, in museums, and in several shopping districts throughout the Black Forest region.

Interview data were transcribed in German and were then translated into English by the German translator. These interviews, along with the field notes, photographs, and other data, were analyzed using the constant comparison process (Strauss & Corbin, 1990). Initially, “open coding” was used to identify key concepts within the data. These concepts were then grouped under higher order, more abstract categories. Next, a coding guide based upon these categories was applied to the data until saturation was achieved. In the final stages of analysis, “axial” and “selective” coding were used to reveal higher order connections in the data (Strauss & Corbin, 1990). Throughout the process, the researchers met to discuss and explore the coding processes and meanings until reciprocal understanding was achieved. Further, to ensure the trustworthiness of the analyses, two audit coders checked the application of the coding guide to the data. After disagreements were negotiated, interrater reliability was 93.5%. Interrater reliability was calculated by dividing the total number of agreements by the total number of coding decisions made. Analyses of the data revealed two overarching themes, which are discussed below. Throughout this discussion, pseudonyms are used to refer to participants.

Emergent Themes

Although the key aim of this inquiry was to explore the various factors that have enabled the endurance of the Black Forest Trachten tradition, analyses revealed that the maintenance of this ethnic dress tradition could be linked to varied factors that revolved around the overarching

theme of not only persistence, but the theme of change, as well. Thus, findings provide support for Eicher's (1995/1999) proposition that ethnic dress may change in ways that actually enable its persistence. As we discuss below, the persistence of customary practices surrounding the Trachten tradition was linked to formalized practice, meaningful identities, and desires to preserve and promote local culture. Additionally, the persistence of the Trachten tradition was fostered by change in the tradition, including the conceptualization of Trachten as a "lived practice" and the negotiation of Trachten authenticity.

Persistence of the Black Forest Trachten Tradition in Contemporary Society

Persistence and formalized practice. Analyses highlighted the critical role of the Bund Heimat and Volksleben (BHV), an organization that promotes and preserves Black Forest traditions, in the persistence of the Trachten tradition. The BHV was established in the 1950s (Reinhardt, 1968), yet its function in upholding Trachten traditions had not been documented prior to the present inquiry. An in-depth interview with Ingrid, a Trachten expert and wearer working at the BHV, revealed that the BHV acts as an umbrella for the Black Forest Trachtenvereine and has published formalized guidelines for Trachten wearers and handcrafters. These guidelines, which are available on the website of the BHV, provide directives or "rules" that regulate the proper construction and utilization of Trachten.

For instance, the guidelines offer prescriptions and proscriptions (Eicher, Evenson, & Lutz, 2008) relative to how the different parts of the Trachten ensemble should be constructed, fit the body, coordinate with each other, and be worn:

The skirt should not be too tight, width about 3 meters, laid in folds, pleated, drawn or in bell-cut. It should be at least calf-length, traditionally even longer. In every instance, a petticoat goes along with it. (BHV Trachtenleitlinien, 2013, para. 21)

The apron is commonly about 5 centimeters shorter than the skirt, the width varies by region. Dangling apron strings are not permitted to be longer than the skirt. (BHV Trachtenleitlinien, 2013, para. 24)

No knee-length socks, not even on children! (BHV Trachtenleitlinien, 2013, para. 27)

Men's pants and vests are not for women or girls to wear under any circumstances. That contradicts not only tradition but also the reason for women's and girls' Trachten. (BHV Trachtenleitlinien, 2013, para. 19)

The guidelines also present parameters for proper comportment when wearing Trachten:

Chewing gum in public in no way fits with a good appearance of a Tracht...One should refrain from smoking in a Tracht while at performances, concerts and parades. (BHV Trachtenleitlinien, 2013, para. 46)

In addition to providing and overseeing the guidelines, the BHV furnishes experts to assist with the approval of designs and materials appropriate for Trachten crafting:

It is the Trachten League's mission to work toward procuring new Trachten, targeted at the regional specifics through personal Trachten advising. Assistance in procuring various materials is also a part of the mission. (BHV Trachtenleitlinien, 2013, para. 7)

Participants often referred to the BHV guidelines and their importance in preserving Trachten traditions, seemingly reflecting that this document is well-recognized among Black Forest Trachten wearers and handcrafters. Several participants chronicled a previously undocumented account of the guideline's history, noting that, shortly after the inception of the BHV, the guidelines were established to formalize a collective decision made by the Trachtenvereine in 1900 to "freeze" the styles of Trachten to that time period such that subsequent changes to this form of dress were prohibited:

The Tracht has stayed the same since the turn of the century—1900. It remains in the traditional, handed-down form. The Trachten club would have to decide such a thing, if it were to come to a new change...[Trachten] stays the same in the old tradition. It is unalterable. The same as around 1900—otherwise it is a break with the style. (Anke, Trachten wearer)

Thus, in the spirit of Keyes (1995), who argued that ethnic communities use cultural forms grounded in tradition in an attempt to connect with their ancestral roots, the formalized guidelines of the BHV serve as “voices of the past” (p. 137), with the aim of preserving the Trachten tradition. It is through these constant reminders of the past that the tradition persists. In this manner, the BHV guidelines and experts create formalized practices within Black Forest Trachten traditions.

Persistence and meaningful identities. Throughout their accounts, participants spoke of the ways that Trachten are used to construct and communicate social and cultural identities, including fundamental information such as gender, age, marital status, religious affiliation, and community membership ties (cf., Reinhardt, 1968). More deeply, findings revealed that, in the context of a contemporary society, participants used Trachten to express their cultural identities, and in particular, their connections to their cultural heritage, family values, and their home, which they articulated using the German concept of *Heimat*:

Tracht and Heimat can be analogous: because the Tracht form that I wear is correct for a certain area, I show with it where I come from or live, my Heimat. For me, Heimat is therefore, where I live, where my family is, where my friends are; where I feel comfortable and I am understood...I believe every person needs a Heimat . . . (Ingrid, Trachten expert and wearer)

The literal translation of Heimat is “home,” “homeland,” or “local place” (Blickle, 2002); Confino (1993) characterized Heimat as experiencing a feeling of overall “German-ness” (p. 50) when one encounters things that symbolize nostalgia, values, visions for the future, and ethnic and cultural heritage. Across history, the concept of Heimat has been used to evoke feelings of national pride (e.g., during Germany’s unification in 1871) as well as to marginalize non-Aryan peoples before and during World War II. In the post-war era, Germans have adopted Heimat as a reminder of simpler times and a means of re-establishing their cultural identity (Boa &

Palfreyman, 2000). Thus, for Germans, Heimat has been (and continues to be) associated with both positive and negative connotations.

Participants regarded the expression of Heimat through their Trachten as a mechanism through which to construct meaningful cultural identities as well to connect to the past and to the future:

I wear the Tracht with pride; it shows where I am from and where my roots are. This insight should also be of importance for future generations. These values will indeed become increasingly valuable in the fast-paced and technological world. (Ingrid, Trachten expert and wearer)

Echoed in Ingrid's narrative is the sense that she wore her Trachten with great pride in who she was – pride that stemmed from her linkage of her Tracht ensemble to her “roots,” or her Heimat. In turn, the pride associated with wearing Tracht and with the notion that Tracht conveyed one's identity as a “Black Forest German” seemingly helped to ensure the continuation of the Trachten tradition. Put simply, participants took delight in wearing their Trachten and regarded the act as an important means by which to express their cultural identity and to preserve their cultural heritage.

For Annette, too, a Trachten handcrafter, there were strong connections between Trachten and Heimat as well as the sense that these connections created a foundation for the preservation of the Trachten tradition, itself. As is reflected in her comments below, Annette considered Trachten traditions as highly relevant in contemporary life inasmuch as they represented a meaningful embodiment of her identity and her sense of “belonging to” her culture:

Here in my Heimat, I feel safe and secure. Through the traditions, which are cultivated in Heimat, for example, the preservation of the Tracht, the feeling of belonging together, is strengthened. Human beings were not born to be alone; here in the Heimat, we can support each other and perceive what is very valuable. More than anything, the Trachten contribute to that sense that we stay connected to our ancestors. I think Heimat is still very valuable in the culture of today, it makes our lives worthwhile. (Annette, Trachten tailor)

Thus, for Trachten wearers and handcrafters in the Black Forest today, Heimat was intimately linked not only to the practice of wearing and crafting Trachten, but also to the very persistence of the Trachten tradition. In particular, because Trachten afforded participants the capacity to express meaningful identities that connected them to their heritage, the Trachten tradition was regarded as valuable and as significant to future generations (i.e., as worthy of preservation).

Persistence and desires to preserve and promote local culture. Given that Trachten represent meaningful cultural identities for participants, it therefore follows that the preservation and promotion of Trachten are important. Thus, when asked what it means to wear Trachten in a contemporary society, several participants alluded to the importance of maintaining the tradition:

To respect the tradition, to continually show the culture and the tradition. We don't want it to die out. (Claudia, Trachten club member and wearer)

This generation and the society still hold on to our Trachten. We believe that we have to hold on to the traditions because there would be something missing for us otherwise. (Annette, Trachten tailor)

Efforts to safeguard the Trachten tradition were evidenced throughout data collection, both in observations and in participant accounts. That local tradition obliges one to wear Trachten for life passages such as confirmations, weddings, and funerals sustains the tradition by virtue of formalizing Trachten use as a systematic practice.

Further, throughout the Black Forest, members of Trachtenvereine have promoted their local ethnic dress in varied ways. For instance, Trachtenvereine members play an active role in making certain that useable Trachten are available for families in the region, dispersing Trachten to individuals in need and funding Tracht ensembles for those who cannot afford them (cf., Reinhardt, 1968):

I am a member of the Trachten club....and every year we dress all of those being confirmed in Tracht. We collect old Trachten from the valley, which are no longer needed by the families, [and] we manage and care for them. (Annette, Trachten tailor)

[After an approval process, Trachtenvereine] can submit receipts [to the state] and receive [Trachten] subsidies [to fund the costs of Trachten production]... The Trachtenvereine normally add some funding as well. (Ingrid, Trachten expert and wearer)

Members of Trachten clubs also contribute to the maintenance of the Trachten tradition by participating in Trachten events such as festivals, processions, and exhibitions. At one such event, a local wine festival, 20 clubs were observed wearing their Trachten and processing through town making music, dancing, and holding banners displaying their city or region name.

After the parade, Claudia explained why she still wears her Trachten today:

Because of the Trachten club; in order to foster and take care of the Trachten. We attempt to keep the culture and the club alive. (Claudia, Trachten club member and wearer)

During Trachten events, handcrafters were observed displaying and sharing information about their crafts as they related to Trachten production. When asked why they felt it was important to use traditional handcrafting methods when constructing Trachten, participants explained:

[To] keep the custom alive and keep it authentic. (Birgit, Trachten handcrafter)

So that it is kept alive. It is cultural wealth. (Bärbel, Trachten handcrafter)

Additionally, Frieda, a Trachten tailor, shared that she had assembled a collection of decorative hand-sewing samples so as to document and preserve the knowledge of Trachten production for future Trachten crafters.

While Trachten clubs and events afforded wearers reasons to wear Trachten at organized events, findings revealed that participants not belonging to Trachtenvereine also were dedicated to preserving and promoting the Trachten tradition. Vintage Trachten were displayed decoratively in participants' homes (i.e., as displays) as well as in tourist destinations (e.g., bed and breakfasts) and were regarded as important familial and cultural symbols that reinforced personal identities for cultural insiders and that communicated cultural pride and values to outsiders.

Change in the Black Forest Trachten Tradition in Contemporary Society

Throughout their interviews, participants repeatedly referenced the notion that Trachten had not changed since their stylistic form was “frozen” in 1900 and should not change moving forward:

...The Tracht has stayed the same for 100 years...It should look like an original piece from 100 years ago. (Annette, Trachten tailor)

Although the BHV guidelines provide a formalized template for the production and wearing of Trachten, a close analysis revealed that the guidelines, themselves, included allowances for change, particularly relative to production. Further, participant interviews and observations showed that the “lived practice” of wearing Trachten often was not in precise conformance with the guidelines, suggesting that some liberties were taken. As we will discuss below, these allowances for change in Trachten production and wearing effectively enabled the persistence of the Trachten tradition.

Handcrafters: Lived practice and the negotiation of authenticity. The notion of authenticity was of importance to the Trachten handcrafters interviewed. As a concept, meanings and definitions of authenticity vary among disciplines, but often include some reference to the past. In this vein, Holtorf (2013) reminds us that when studying material objects, perceptual clues indicative of the past can be used to establish and evaluate authenticity. However, Theodossopoulos (2013) proposes that, even within a given cultural context, there may be co-existing, yet differing, understandings of what constitutes the “authentic” (i.e., what authenticity means and how it is evaluated). This notion that authenticity is not a singular idea, but rather, is produced through negotiation was borne out within our data, specifically relative to Trachten production (e.g., methods, materials, and form of Trachten).

Negotiating authenticity of methods. As they discussed the methods they used to produce Trachten, it became apparent that the handcrafters in this study regarded the issue of authenticity in Trachten construction in varying ways. Some crafters were very committed to using “traditional” methods, which they conceptualized as those methods that had been used in the past. For instance, using locally-sourced yarn, Gisela handknit angora stockings for women and girls using measurements individualized to each wearer. Gisela’s methods have not changed in over 100 years, and she, herself, has been crafting stockings using these methods for nearly 50 years. During her interview, Gisela noted that “tradition” motivated her to engage in Trachten production and that she hoped that the methods she used would not change in the future, reflecting her commitment to history and her sense that authenticity in Trachten was tightly bound with the past.

This steadfast commitment to using past methods, however, was not consistently observed across all handcrafting trades or even among all crafters in the same trade. Indeed, even the BHV guidelines allow for some departures from traditional Trachten construction methods:

Sewing should, wherever possible, be by hand; in some cases good machine sewing may also be utilized. (BHV Trachtleitlinien, 2013, para. 17)

As Frieda’s comment below reveals, not all Trachten handcrafters embraced departures from past methods, perceiving newer methods as somewhat “inauthentic”:

The sewing machine... a great deal of [the Trachten ensemble] can only be sewn by hand, because then it is authentic....I prefer to do it by hand, because it looks more real. (Frieda, Trachten tailor)

The accounts of other handcrafters revealed rather complicated, perhaps ambivalent, attitudes toward the use of more modern Trachten production methods. For instance, Annette, a Trachten tailor, proclaimed commitment to the ideology of traditional handcrafting methods, but embraced

the incorporation of more contemporary, time-saving methods, so long as the finished product appeared “authentic”:

The point is to keep everything as original as possible... I am very proud, that I can still produce the Tracht and it is also important to me, that I still sew everything by hand. (Annette, Trachten tailor)

I bought a [pleating] machine, which I found in a market in Morocco. It can make tiny pleats and it looks exactly as if it were done by hand. It's a gathering and pleating machine...The sewing machine is used more than before. [The Tracht] has to appear original to anyone who sees it. (Annette, Trachten tailor)

Thus, for some participants, the key criteria used to establish authenticity were grounded in history or the past, and for others, they were based upon the “impression of” an historical appearance (cf., Goffman, 1959). In this way, Trachten handcrafters both establish and perceive authenticity through a process of negotiation between the traditions of the past and changes made out of necessity or convenience. It is in these careful negotiations of authenticity, between traditional and modern methods, where the contemporary hand crafter can find the value (i.e., time saving measures) in producing Trachten components that the Trachten tradition persists.

Negotiating authenticity of materials. As was the case with the methods used to produce Trachten, the guidelines governing the materials used to make Trachten allowed for some modification to historical practices. Here again, the parameters for change—which typically involved the substitution of contemporary fabrics or embellishments in place of traditional ones—were based upon the provision of maintaining an “authentic appearance:”

Old materials may be substituted with new, if they are similar in character to the old materials [and] wherever possible, not of synthetic material...buttons, laces, braids, and ribbons should be chosen...in relation to the community, and wherever possible, not out of synthetic material. (BHV Trachtleitlinien, 2013, para. 14 & 16)

As is reflected by the comment below, traditional materials are not always available or are inconvenient to use, so substitutions must be made, even when traditional materials may be preferred:

...I use different materials because the old ones are hard to find. [There] are almost no glass pearls left. When there are no glass pearls, plastic pearls are used. The old materials are better. The new synthetic materials are heavier, and they pull [the coiled wire] downwards. (Bärbel, Trachten headwear handcrafter)

The glass pearls Bärbel describes were historically made in Czechoslovakia and brought to her region of the Black Forest by peddlers. Handcrafters can work through the BHV to source traditional materials and may use the Internet to locate hard-to-find products, but ultimately, they may be forced to make substitutions. When contemporary materials are used to replace traditional ones, a process of “negotiation with the past” ensues. As Annette explains, of importance here is that the substitutions embody the tradition in its original form:

The Tracht has stayed the same for 100 years...If we need to take new material...I pay attention that it deviates as little as possible from the original. (Annette, Trachten tailor)

Thus, taken together, the flexibility of the guidelines, along with the handcrafters’ dedication to the concept of authenticity, allow for persistence of the Trachten tradition in the face of a context of change.

Negotiating authenticity of form. Unlike the guidelines pertaining to methods and materials, those addressing the form (i.e., silhouette and components of the Trachten ensemble) afford rather limited opportunity for change:

The [handed down] Trachten can, when necessary, be altered [to fit the new wearer...but] the basic character of the Tracht must be retained. (BHV Trachtleitliniein, 2013, para. 10)

The colors of specific Tracht pieces should be the same as the traditional pieces. They definitely must be harmoniously matched to one another. (BHV Trachtleitlinien, 2013, para. 15)

In areas where Tracht is no longer worn, but old patterns and motifs are known, the Tracht should be newly constructed based on these templates. If new Trachten are created, they are to be carefully inspected...based on documentation (for example, old photographs, remembrances of elders, inventory, descriptions from the county commissioner, church records). (BHV Trachtleitliniein, 2013, para. 11)

As the excerpts above demonstrate, the guidelines provide clear criteria for sustaining Tracht traditions relative to the form of this ethnic dress as well as for establishing and evaluating the authenticity of newly-produced Trachten ensembles or those ensembles requiring alterations.

Despite the standards set out in the guidelines, findings demonstrated that change in stylistic form of the Trachten ensemble and/or its components is, in fact, part of lived practice in contemporary Black Forest society. For instance, Annette, a Trachten tailor, shared that she has accommodated clients' requests for smaller, less boxy, shirt silhouettes. Annette noted also that, in a neighboring community, Trachten wearers had begun to adopt a larger version of their traditional headwear, suggesting a departure from the style worn prior to 1900.

Thus, although limited change to the form of the Trachten ensemble is sanctioned by the guidelines, in lived practice, change to the ensemble and its components is necessary to accommodate the tastes and comfort of contemporary wearers. These negotiations are necessary for the tradition to remain relevant and are undertaken in such a way that the overall appearance of Trachten remains authentic.

Wearers: Lived practice and the negotiation of authenticity. As noted, the BHV guidelines allow for some departure from the traditional methods, materials, and forms associated with Trachten production and crafting. The same is not true, however, of the BHV guidelines governing the wearing of Trachten. Although the overarching aim of BHV guidelines is to prevent the progression of stylistic changes to the traditional form, the guidelines also

include specific rules that address when to wear Trachten, how to wear Trachten, and what can and cannot be permitted while wearing Trachten (i.e., issues of comportment). In other words:

It is the mission of the [BHV] guidelines, to show the principles which are equally important for all [Trachten] forms ... [and to serve as] an aid and guide for the responsible Trachtenvereine as well as for the individual Tracht-wearer and serve to prevent discrepancies. (BHV Trachtleitlinien, 2013, para. 6)

Thus, the guidelines formalize the practice of wearing Trachten, and in so doing, enable the persistence of the tradition.

Although, for the most part, Trachten wearers seemed to comply with the BHV practices established in the guidelines, findings revealed that, at times, liberties were taken and rules of authenticity were challenged or effaced, suggesting that the Trachten tradition is, in fact, a lived practice negotiated in daily life. For example, wearers frequently violated rules regarding the basic forms of the ensemble. Although tights are specified as required legwear by the guidelines, knee- and ankle-length socks frequently were observed on Trachten-wearing children. Similarly, apron strings were observed hanging beneath the skirt hemlines of several Trachten-wearing women; this also represents an infraction of the guidelines.

The guidelines also outline the types of accessories that can and cannot be worn with Trachten, yet, on several occasions, breaches of the rules laid out in the guidelines were observed. For instance, the guidelines specify that neither fashion jewelry nor facial piercings incorporate the character of the Tracht (BHV Trachtleitlinien, 2013, para. 30), however, frequently, these forms of inappropriate adornment were noted. Trachten wearers also were observed violating the guidelines for comportment while wearing Trachten at public events; most notably, several wearers were observed smoking; some did so openly, while some attempted to hide the act from other Trachtenvereine members. Seemingly, wearers were attempting to

balance their desires to uphold tradition with their needs to express who they are in a contemporary society.

Conclusion and Implications

This research sought to better understand the persistence of the Black Forest Trachten tradition in contemporary society. Analyses of field and interview data revealed that the endurance of this ethnic dress tradition could be interpreted in terms of both themes of persistence and change. In one regard, findings highlighted varied efforts to purposefully “keep the Trachten tradition alive.” Participants referenced formalized Trachten guidelines and clubs that served to regulate and safeguard Trachten practice as well as Trachten festivals and events that celebrated the connection of Trachten to local cultural heritage. Additionally, because participants viewed Trachten wearing and crafting as meaningful ways to build and express their cultural identity (e.g., as an expression of Heimat), they regarded it as worthy of preservation and worked toward that end to promote Trachten as a cherished cultural practice.

In another sense, findings suggest that Trachten, itself, is, “alive,” as Ingrid observed during her interview:

[Trachten] have always changed, although the basic form has remained the same. Elements are taken out of fashion trends even today (fabrics, materials, ribbons). It remains alive, because the things get incorporated... We say: “The Tracht is alive!” (Ingrid, Trachten expert and wearer)

Thus, findings revealed that, although, in some ways, Trachten wearing and crafting were bound by traditions of the past, they also constituted a lived practice that reflected the incorporation of changes related to technological, social, and cultural patterns of contemporary life. In turn, participants sought to make sense of these changes by framing them within the context of authenticity. That participants located relevant meanings (e.g., cultural identity, heritage, Heimat,

authenticity) in their Trachten and related practices illuminates the role of such meanings in promoting the persistence of cultural traditions within a context of change.

Findings also provide insight to understand existing theory within the context of ethnic dress as a lived practice in contemporary society. Eicher's (1995/1999) proposition that ethnic dress traditions may change in ways that enable its persistence was strongly evidenced in the data. As Trachten producers and wearers have incorporated some modicum of contemporary with traditional, Trachten has remained relevant. It is through these changes in practice, based on the formalized past, in the mixing of new with old, that Trachten persist. As Keyes (1995) reminds us, it is in the interplay between past and present that identities are negotiated in the context of swiftly changing contemporary life. Within these contexts, the "voices of the past" – such as those embedded in the Tracht guidelines – enable the maintenance of Trachten traditions as meaningful cultural forms and practices.

The present study invites opportunities for further inquiry. This work focused upon practices and traditions relevant to the making and wearing of Trachten by women. However, men also participate in the Trachten tradition, and as such, it will be important to explore how men's experience of wearing and making this form of ethnic dress may differ from women's. Additionally, it would be valuable to examine the process by which younger generations are socialized in the Trachten tradition. Certainly, findings from such an inquiry would have implications for gaining a deeper understanding the mechanisms of persistence and change within the Trachten tradition.



Figure 1. Two unmarried women wearing Trachten ensembles that include the Bollenhut hat.

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APPENDIX I

Research Instrument: Interview Schedule for Trachten Wearers

Interview Schedule for Trachten Wearers

For the purposes of this research study, I am exploring what it means to craft and wear Black Forest Trachten for people living in Germany today. Additionally, I wish to explore the reasons for why this cultural tradition continues. The questions asked in this interview may not cover everything you would like to discuss, so please feel free to add any additional information that is relevant to this study. Also, if there are questions that you are not comfortable answering during the interview, please let me know.

The Wearer's Trachten and Meanings

1. Please describe the Tracht you wore or brought with you today.
2. Did you buy your Tracht, craft it, or was it handed down to you?
3. If you did buy or craft your Tracht, did you get to customize any part of it to your liking?
4. Who decides what your Tracht looks like? The fabrics, embellishments, and accessories used?
5. If you purchased your Tracht, who made it for you or where did you buy it?
6. If someone made your Tracht, what does it mean to you to have something handmade?
How does it differ from other clothing that you own?
7. What do you like best about your Tracht? Why?
8. What do you like least about your Tracht? Why?
9. What do the separate pieces of your Tracht communicate?
10. Will the style or elements of your Tracht ever change? How and why?

Trachten Wearer and Cultural Meanings

1. Why do you wear Tracht?
2. When do you wear your Tracht?
3. Where do you wear your Tracht?
4. How long have you been wearing Tracht?
5. Do other members of your family wear Trachten? Who?

6. Do your friends wear Trachten?
7. Do you belong to any associations that promote the preservation of Trachten? If so, which ones?
8. Do you participate in cultural events that promote Trachten? If so, which ones and why?
9. Do your family and culture place importance on wearing Trachten? Does contemporary society place value on this tradition?
10. How has the tradition of wearing Trachten in your community changed over the years, and what is its future?

Trachten Wearer and Personal Meanings

1. What does it mean to wear Tracht in a contemporary society? Why is it important to you?
2. While wearing your Tracht, what do you want other to know about you?
3. How does wearing Tracht help you express who you are in a contemporary society?
4. Do you feel differently while wearing your Tracht than when wearing contemporary attire? If so, how?
5. How do you feel when you see others wearing Trachten?
6. Do you think Trachten are connected to Heimat? Why or why not?

APPENDIX II

Research Instrument: Interview Schedule for Trachten Crafters

Interview Schedule for Trachten Crafters

For the purposes of this research study, I am exploring what it means to craft and wear Black Forest Trachten for people living in Germany today. Additionally, I wish to explore the reasons for why this cultural tradition continues. The questions asked in this interview may not cover everything you would like to discuss, so please feel free to add any additional information that is relevant to this study. Also, if there are questions that you are not comfortable answering during the interview, please let me know.

Handcrafting Trachten

1. What form of handcraft do you specialize in?
2. How long have you been making this part of Trachten?
3. How did you learn your craft?
4. Have the methods changed from when you learned your craft? If so, how?
5. Have the materials changed over time? If so, how?
6. Where do you get your materials?
7. How do you craft this part of Trachten? Briefly explain methods.
8. Do you see the methods used to craft Trachten changing in the future? If so, how?
9. Who do you craft Trachten for?
10. Can anyone buy what you craft?
11. What part(s) of Trachten do you handcraft? How does it relate to the complete ensemble?
12. How long does it take you to craft them?
13. What are the special characteristics or meanings associated with the parts of Trachten that you handcraft?

Handcrafting and Meanings

1. What motivates you to handcraft Trachten?
2. Do you work alone or in a guild? If in a guild, whom do you craft with and how often do you meet?

3. What benefits do you get out of crafting with others who handcraft Trachten?
4. Why is it important for you to use the methods that you use?
5. How do you feel when you see someone wearing what you made?
6. What does your craft, as it relates to Trachten, say about you?
7. Do you participate in cultural events that promote your craft or Trachten? If so, which ones and why?
8. Will you train or have you trained others to carry on the tradition of your craft?
9. Is your craft valued in your culture?
10. Are Trachten connected to Heimat? Why or why not?

APPENDIX III

Recruitment Letter for Interview Participants Who Wear Trachten



Department of Design and
Merchandising
150 Aylesworth Hall SE
1574 Campus Delivery
Fort Collins, Colorado 80523-1574
(970) 491-1629
FAX: (970) 491-4855

Date

Dear [insert name of potential participant]:

My name is Amy Hughes, and I am a graduate student in the Department of Design and Merchandising at Colorado State University. The purpose of this letter is to tell you about a research study entitled, "Persistence of Ethnic Dress Traditions in Contemporary Society: An Interpretive Study of Germany's Black Forest Trachten." I am conducting this study for my thesis. Dr. Jennifer P. Ogle and Dr. Susan J. Torntore, Department of Design and Merchandising, are my graduate advisors and are overseeing the study.

The goal of this research is to learn about the cultural practices of making and wearing Black Forest Trachten. Specifically, I am interested in exploring what it means for people who craft and wear Trachten in Germany today. Additionally, I wish to explore the reasons these traditions still exist in Germany today. I would like to invite you, as someone who crafts elements of Trachten, to participate in this research study. You were chosen to participate in this study based upon a recommendation from [name of key informant] (if applicable). I will be travelling to the Black Forest region this summer to conduct interviews, and can meet with you in person at a location of your choosing. The interview will take approximately 60 to 90 minutes to complete. Your participation in this research is voluntary. If you decide to participate in the study, you may withdraw your consent and stop participation at any time without penalty.

If you chose to participate in this study and consent to do so, you will take part in an interview. To ensure accurate data collection, an interpreter (Dr. Jolyon T. Hughes, Ph.D., Associate Professor of German at Colorado State University) will accompany the researcher and the interview will be audio-recorded. Topics of discussion during the interview will include:

- a) Your experience with crafting elements of Trachten
- b) Your views on the cultural practice of crafting Trachten
- c) What it means to you to craft Trachten
- d) Reasons for keeping Trachten handcrafting traditions alive

To your interview appointment, you will be asked to bring examples or photos of your Tracht handcrafting to discuss (or a combination of both if you choose). These items will be used to guide the discussion during the interview. I will not keep personal items or photographs.



Department of Design and
Merchandising
150 Aylesworth Hall SE
1574 Campus Delivery
Fort Collins, Colorado 80523-1574
(970) 491-1629
FAX: (970) 491-4855

Date

Dear [insert name of potential participant]:

My name is Amy Hughes, and I am a graduate student in the Department of Design and Merchandising at Colorado State University. The purpose of this letter is to tell you about a research study entitled, "Persistence of Ethnic Dress Traditions in Contemporary Society: An Interpretive Study of Germany's Black Forest Trachten." I am conducting this study for my thesis. Dr. Jennifer P. Ogle and Dr. Susan J. Torntore, Department of Design and Merchandising, are my graduate advisors and are overseeing the study.

The goal of this research is to learn about the cultural practices of making and wearing Black Forest Trachten. Specifically, I am interested in exploring what it means for people who craft and wear Trachten in Germany today. Additionally, I wish to explore the reasons these traditions still exist in Germany today. I would like to invite you, as someone who crafts elements of Trachten, to participate in this research study. You were chosen to participate in this study based upon a recommendation from [name of key informant] (if applicable). I will be travelling to the Black Forest region this summer to conduct interviews, and can meet with you in person at a location of your choosing. The interview will take approximately 60 to 90 minutes to complete. Your participation in this research is voluntary. If you decide to participate in the study, you may withdraw your consent and stop participation at any time without penalty.

If you chose to participate in this study and consent to do so, you will take part in an interview. To ensure accurate data collection, an interpreter (Dr. Jolyon T. Hughes, Ph.D., Associate Professor of German at Colorado State University) will accompany the researcher and the interview will be audio-recorded. Topics of discussion during the interview will include:

- a) Your experience with crafting elements of Trachten
- b) Your views on the cultural practice of crafting Trachten
- c) What it means to you to craft Trachten
- d) Reasons for keeping Trachten handcrafting traditions alive

To your interview appointment, you will be asked to bring examples or photos of your Tracht handcrafting to discuss (or a combination of both if you choose). These items will be used to guide the discussion during the interview. I will not keep personal items or photographs.

If you decide to participate in this research, please know that any information you share will remain confidential. Numeric codes will be assigned to the audio-recordings of your interview and interview transcript. Only Dr. Ogle, Dr. Torntore, Dr. Jolyon Hughes, and I will know your identity and have access to the key of numeric codes. Upon completion of this research, I will destroy the list of numeric codes. Reports of findings will be shared with other researchers and may include comments from your interview. However, no identifying information will be included that would link you to your comments. In addition, your participation is voluntary. You may choose to withdraw from participation at any point in the study.

There are no known risks to participating in this study. It is not possible to identify all potential risks in research procedures, but the researcher(s) have taken reasonable safeguards to minimize any known and potential, but unknown, risks. Also, there is no known benefit to you from participating in this study. While there are no direct benefits to you, I hope to gain more knowledge about how wearing Trachten, as a form of traditional ethnic dress, is meaningful to you living in present-day German society. Very little is known about this topic, and your participation will allow for a better understanding into the reasons people uphold Tracht traditions in the Black Forest.

If you decide that you are willing to participate in this research study, please complete the attached form and email it to Amy Hughes at amy.hughes@colostate.edu by [date]. Upon receipt of the completed form, I will contact you via email to arrange for your participation in the interview. If you have any questions, please contact me at the email address above or at (001) 970-232-5876. You can also contact Dr. Ogle via email at ogle@cahs.colostate.edu, or by phone at (001) 970-491-3794. Dr. Torntore can be reached via email at susan.torntore@colostate.edu, or by phone at (001) 970-491-1983. If you have any questions about your rights as a volunteer in this research, contact Janell Barker, Human Research Administrator, at (001) 970-491-1655. Thank you for your consideration about your participation in my research study.

Sincerely,

Amy Hughes, B.S.
Masters of Science Candidate

Jennifer P. Ogle, Ph.D.
Professor

Susan J. Torntore, Ph.D.
Assistant Professor

Enc.: project summary, contact information form

APPENDIX IV

Recruitment Letter for Interview Participants Who Craft Trachten



Department of Design and
Merchandising
150 Aylesworth Hall SE
1574 Campus Delivery
Fort Collins, Colorado 80523-1574
(970) 491-1629
FAX: (970) 491-4855

Date

Dear [insert name of potential participant]:

My name is Amy Hughes, and I am a graduate student in the Department of Design and Merchandising at Colorado State University. The purpose of this letter is to tell you about a research study entitled, "Persistence of Ethnic Dress Traditions in Contemporary Society: An Interpretive Study of Germany's Black Forest Trachten." I am conducting this study for my thesis. Dr. Jennifer P. Ogle and Dr. Susan J. Torntore, Department of Design and Merchandising, are my graduate advisors and are overseeing the study.

The goal of this research is to learn about the cultural practices of making and wearing Black Forest Trachten. Specifically, I am interested in exploring what it means for people who craft and wear Trachten in Germany today. Additionally, I wish to explore the reasons these traditions still exist in Germany today. I would like to invite you, as someone who crafts elements of Trachten, to participate in this research study. You were chosen to participate in this study based upon a recommendation from [name of key informant] (if applicable). I will be travelling to the Black Forest region this summer to conduct interviews, and can meet with you in person at a location of your choosing. The interview will take approximately 60 to 90 minutes to complete. Your participation in this research is voluntary. If you decide to participate in the study, you may withdraw your consent and stop participation at any time without penalty.

If you chose to participate in this study and consent to do so, you will take part in an interview. To ensure accurate data collection, an interpreter (Dr. Jolyon T. Hughes, Ph.D., Associate Professor of German at Colorado State University) will accompany the researcher and the interview will be audio-recorded/ or video-recorded. Topics of discussion during the interview will include:

- e) Your experience with crafting elements of Trachten
- f) Your views on the cultural practice of crafting Trachten
- g) What it means to you to craft Trachten
- h) Reasons for keeping Trachten handcrafting traditions alive

To your interview appointment, you will be asked to bring examples or photos of your Tracht handcrafting to discuss (or a combination of both if you choose). These items will be used to guide the discussion during the interview. I will not keep personal items or photographs.

If you decide to participate in this research, please know that any information you share will remain confidential. Numeric codes will be assigned to the audio-recordings of your interview and interview transcript. Only Dr. Ogle, Dr. Torntore, Dr. Jolyon Hughes, and I will know your identity and have access to the key of numeric codes. Upon completion of this research, I will destroy the list of numeric codes. Reports of findings will be shared with other researchers and may include comments from your interview. However, no identifying information will be included that would link you to your comments. In addition, your participation is voluntary. You may choose to withdraw from participation at any point in the study.

There are no known risks to participating in this study. It is not possible to identify all potential risks in research procedures, but the researcher(s) have taken reasonable safeguards to minimize any known and potential, but unknown, risks. Also, there is no known benefit to you from participating in this study. While there are no direct benefits to you, I hope to gain more knowledge about how wearing Trachten, as a form of traditional ethnic dress, is meaningful to you living in present-day German society. Very little is known about this topic, and your participation will allow for a better understanding into the reasons people uphold Tracht traditions in the Black Forest.

If you decide that you are willing to participate in this research study, please complete the attached form and email it to Amy Hughes at amy.hughes@colostate.edu by [date]. Upon receipt of the completed form, I will contact you via email to arrange for your participation in the interview. If you have any questions, please contact me at the email address above or at (001) 970-232-5876. You can also contact Dr. Ogle via email at ogle@cahs.colostate.edu, or by phone at (001) 970-491-3794. Dr. Torntore can be reached via email at susan.torntore@colostate.edu, or by phone at (001) 970-491-1983. If you have any questions about your rights as a volunteer in this research, contact Janell Barker, Human Research Administrator, at (001) 970-491-1655. Thank you for your consideration about your participation in my research study.

Sincerely,

Amy Hughes, B.S.
Masters of Science Candidate

Jennifer P. Ogle, Ph.D.
Professor

Susan J. Torntore, Ph.D.
Assistant Professor

Enc.: project summary, contact information form

APPENDIX V

Participant Contact Information Form

Participant Contact Information Form

Thank you for taking the time to fill this contact information form. Please provide the following contact information:

Name: _____

Email: _____

Preferred Phone: _____

City in which you live: _____

Please indicate if you are a *Trachten* wearer or crafter: _____

APPENDIX VI
Participant Data Sheet

Personal Data Sheet

Participant Code #:

The following questions ask for information about you. Please circle the response or fill in the blank with the answer that best describes you.

1. Please indicate whether you are a Trachten wearer or crafter:

2. What is your age? (Please fill in the blank)

_____ YEARS

3. In what city do you live?

4. What is your religious affiliation?

5. What is your occupation?

6. What is your marital status?

APPENDIX VII

Consent Form

Consent to Participate in a Research Study

Colorado State University

TITLE OF STUDY: PERSISTENCE OF ETHNIC DRESS TRADITIONS IN CONTEMPORARY SOCIETY: AN INTERPRETIVE STUDY OF GERMANY'S BLACK FOREST TRACHTEN

PRINCIPAL INVESTIGATORS: Dr. Jennifer P. Ogle, Professor, Department of Design & Merchandising, ogle@cahs.colostate.edu and Dr. Susan J. Torntore, Assistant Professor, Department of Design & Merchandising, susan.torntore@colostate.edu.

CO-PRINCIPAL INVESTIGATOR: Amy Hughes, Department of Design & Merchandising, Master's Candidate, amy.hughes@colostate.edu

WHY AM I BEING INVITED TO TAKE PART IN THIS RESEARCH? The goal of this research is to learn about the cultural practices of making and wearing Black Forest Trachten. Specifically, I am interested in exploring what Trachten mean to people who wear and/or craft parts of them in a today's society. Additionally, I wish to understand the reasons that these traditions still exist today. I would like to invite you, as someone who wears and/or makes parts of Trachten, to participate in this research study.

WHO IS DOING THE STUDY? Amy Hughes, Master's candidate for the Department of Design & Merchandising; Dr. Jennifer P. Ogle, Professor in the Department of Design & Merchandising; Dr. Susan J. Torntore, Assistant Professor in the Department of Design & Merchandising; Dr. Jolyon T. Hughes, Associate Professor of German in the Department of Foreign Languages & Literatures (will serve as translator in the field)

WHAT IS THE PURPOSE OF THIS STUDY? The purpose of this study is to explore what it means to make and wear Trachten for people living in the Black Forest. Findings will help us better understand why people feel the need to hold onto cultural traditions, such as making and wearing Trachten, in today's society.

WHERE IS THE STUDY GOING TO TAKE PLACE AND HOW LONG WILL IT LAST? The interviews will take place at a local, mutually agreed upon location. The researchers will be in the Black Forest region of Germany in the summer of 2013. The interviews will last approximately 60 to 90 minutes.

WHAT WILL I BE ASKED TO DO? If you chose to participate in this study and consent to do so, you will take part in an interview. To ensure accurate data collection, an interpreter (Dr. Jolyon T. Hughes, Ph.D., Associate Professor of German at Colorado State University) will accompany the researcher and the interview will be audio-recorded. Topics of discussion during the interview will include:

- a) Your experience with wearing Tracht
- b) Your views on the cultural tradition of wearing Trachten

- c) What it means to you to wear your Tracht
- d) Reasons for upholding Trachten traditions
- e) Your experience with crafting elements of Trachten (if applicable)
- f) Your views on the cultural tradition of crafting Trachten
- g) What it means to you to craft Trachten (if applicable)
- h) Reasons for maintaining Trachten handcrafting traditions (if applicable)

To your interview appointment, you will be asked to bring examples or photos of your Tracht or Tracht handcrafting to discuss (or a combination of both if you choose). These items will be used to guide the discussion during the interview. I will not keep personal items or photographs.

ARE THERE REASONS WHY I SHOULD NOT TAKE PART IN THIS STUDY?

If you do not make or wear Trachten, are not a female, and are not 18 years of age or older.

WHAT ARE THE POSSIBLE RISKS AND DISCOMFORTS?

There are no known risks to participating in this study. It is not possible to identify all potential risks in research procedures, but the researcher(s) have taken reasonable safeguards to minimize any known and potential, but unknown, risks.

ARE THERE ANY BENEFITS FROM TAKING PART IN THIS STUDY?

There is no direct benefit to participating in this study. While there are no direct benefits to you, I hope to gain more knowledge about how wearing and making Trachten, as a form of traditional ethnic dress, is meaningful to you living in present day Germany. Very little is known about this topic, and your participation will allow for a better understanding into the reasons people uphold Tracht traditions in the Black Forest.

DO I HAVE TO TAKE PART IN THE STUDY? Your participation in this research is voluntary. If you decide to participate in the study, you may withdraw your consent and stop participating at any time without penalty or loss of benefits to which you are otherwise entitled.

WHO WILL SEE THE INFORMATION THAT I GIVE? We will keep private all research records that identify you, to the extent allowed by law.

For this study, we will assign a code to your data (participant #1W) so that the only place your name will appear in our records is on the consent and in our data spreadsheet that links you to your code. Only the research team will have access to the link between you, your code, and your data. The only exceptions to this are if we are asked to share the research files for audit purposes with the CSU Institutional Review Board ethics committee, if necessary.

WILL I RECEIVE ANY COMPENSATION FOR TAKING PART IN THIS STUDY? There is no compensation for taking part in this study.

WHAT IF I HAVE QUESTIONS?

Before you decide whether to accept this invitation to take part in the study, please ask any questions that might come to mind now. Later, if you have questions about the study, you can contact the principal investigators Dr. Jennifer P. Ogle at ogle@cahs.colostate.edu and Dr. Susan J. Torntore, at susan.torntore@colostate.edu, or the co-principal investigator, Amy Hughes at amy.hughes@colostate.edu or (001) 970-232-5876. If you have any questions about your rights as a volunteer in this research, contact Janell Barker, Human Research Administrator at 970-491-1655. We will give you a copy of this consent form to take with you.

This consent form was approved by the CSU Institutional Review Board for the protection of human subjects in research on (Approval Date).

WHAT ELSE DO I NEED TO KNOW? Participating in this study means participating in an interview. To make sure your answers are accurately recorded, the researcher would like to use an audio-recorder and take photographs. Again, all data collected will remain confidential.

CONSENT TO BE INTERVIEWED

Do you give us permission to interview you? Yes_____ No_____

Do you give us permission to audio tape your interview? Yes_____ No_____

CONSENT TO USE IMAGES OF ME OR OF MY PROPERTY

Yes, I consent to the use of digital images (photos) to be used for research and publication purposes.

No, I do not consent to the digital images (photos) to be used for research and publication purposes.

Yes, I consent to my photo being published in any of the final publications

No, I do not consent to my photo being published in any of the final publications

Your signature acknowledges that you have read the information stated and willingly sign this consent form. Your signature also acknowledges that you have received, on the date signed, a copy of this document containing 4 pages.

Signature of person agreeing to take part in the study Date

Printed name of person agreeing to take part in the study

Name of person providing information to participant Date

Signature of Research Staff

APPENDIX VIII

Verbal Recruitment and Consent Script

Verbal Recruitment and Consent Script

Hello, my name is Amy Hughes, and I am a graduate student at Colorado State University. I am conducting research about Black Forest Trachten, and I am interested in your experiences as a wearer/crafter. The purpose of the research is to better understand the reasons these cultural traditions still exist as well as what it means to wear/craft Trachten. Your participation will involve one informal interview that will last between sixty to ninety minutes. This research has no known risks. This research will benefit the academic community because it helps us to understand why certain cultural traditions stand the test of time.

Please know that I will do everything I can to protect your privacy. Your identity or personal information will not be disclosed in any publication that may result from the study. Notes that are taken during the interview will be stored in a secure location. Would it be all right if I audiotaped our interview? Would it be all right if I take pictures? Saying no to either will have no effect on the interview. Dr. Jolyon T. Hughes, Associate Professor of German from Colorado State University, will be present during the interview, acting as my translator.

Please keep in mind that your participation is voluntary. You may choose not to answer any question or end the interview at any time. I can supply you with contact information regarding this study (have copies of recruitment letter & consent forms, and Dr. Hughes' business cards available to hand out).

Do you have any questions before we get started?

APPENDIX IX

Image Release Statement

Image Release Statement

My name is Amy Hughes, and I am a graduate student in the Department of Design and Merchandising at Colorado State University. I am conducting a research study for my thesis entitled, “Persistence of Ethnic Dress Traditions in Contemporary Society: An Interpretive Study of Germany’s Black Forest Trachten.”. Dr. Jennifer P. Ogle and Dr. Susan J. Torntore, Department of Design and Merchandising, are my graduate advisors and are overseeing the study.

The goal of this research is to learn about the cultural practices of making and wearing Black Forest Trachten. Specifically, I am interested in exploring what it means for people who craft and wear Trachten in Germany today. Additionally, I wish to explore the reasons these traditions still exist in Germany today. Using visual data, such as photographs, will help me to better understand Trachten traditions for the people who make and wear them.

RELEASE STATEMENT In signing this release it is my understanding that the material is to be used solely for research purposes and that the major outcome will be a published Master’s thesis.

I understand the risks and contributions of my participation in this project and agree to participate.

I agree to allow use of images for documentation and display of the project results as identified below. Please check all that apply:

IMAGES OF ME OR OF MY PROPERTY

Yes, I consent to the use of digital images (photos) to be used for research and publication purposes.

No, I do not consent to the digital images (photos) to be used for research and publication purposes.

Yes, I consent to my photo being published in any of the final publications

No, I do not consent to my photo being published in any of the final publications

I hereby release the student, Colorado State University, its legal representatives and assigns from all claims and liability relating to these images.

I am signing this release freely and voluntarily and in executing this release do not rely on any inducements, promises or representations made by said student or Colorado State University.

Name: _____ Date: _____

Signature: _____

Witness

Name: _____ Date: _____

Signature: _____

APPENDIX X

Human Subjects' Approval

NOTICE OF APPROVAL FOR HUMAN RESEARCH

DATE: May 02, 2013
TO: Ogle, Jennifer, 1574 Design and Merchandising
Hughes, Amy, 1574 Design and Merchandising, Miller, Nancy, 1574 Design and Merchandising, Tornatore, Susan, 1574 Design and Merchandising
FROM: Barker, Janell, Coordinator, CSU IRB 2
PROTOCOL TITLE: Persistence of Ethnic Dress Traditions in a Modern Society: An Interpretive Study of Germany's Black Forest Trachten
FUNDING SOURCE: NONE
PROTOCOL NUMBER: 13-4239H
APPROVAL PERIOD: Approval Date: May 02, 2013 Expiration Date: May 01, 2014

The CSU Institutional Review Board (IRB) for the protection of human subjects has reviewed the protocol entitled: Persistence of Ethnic Dress Traditions in a Modern Society: An Interpretive Study of Germany's Black Forest Trachten. The project has been approved for the procedures and subjects described in the protocol. This protocol must be reviewed for renewal on a yearly basis for as long as the research remains active. Should the protocol not be renewed before expiration, all activities must cease until the protocol has been re-reviewed.

If approval did not accompany a proposal when it was submitted to a sponsor, it is the PI's responsibility to provide the sponsor with the approval notice.

This approval is issued under Colorado State University's Federal Wide Assurance 00000647 with the Office for Human Research Protections (OHRP). If you have any questions regarding your obligations under CSU's Assurance, please do not hesitate to contact us.

Please direct any questions about the IRB's actions on this project to:

Janell Barker, Senior IRB Coordinator - (970) 491-1655 Janell.Barker@Colostate.edu
Evelyn Swiss, IRB Coordinator - (970) 491-1381 Evelyn.Swiss@Colostate.edu

Barker, Janell



Barker, Janell

Approval is to recruit up to 15 adult women who wear Trachten and 15 adult women who craft Trachten living in communities throughout the Black Forest region of Germany with the approved cover letter recruitment, consent form, verbal script consent (as appropriate per group), and image release. CONDITIONS: 1. Please submit the emails of cooperation from the 4 key informants as an amendment via eProtocol upon receipt. 2. Permission must also be obtained by an authorized individual from the outdoor museum dedicated to historic farmhouses & traditional ways of life in order for the Co-PI to recruit & interact with participants at events.

Approval Period: May 02, 2013 through May 01, 2014
Review Type: EXPEDITED
IRB Number: 00000202

APPENDIX XI

Ethnographic Research Interviews and Activities

ETHNOGRAPHIC RESEARCH INTERVIEWS AND ACTIVITIES

KEY:

Research Activity

I-F Formal interview
I-I Informal interview

Type of Setting

M-G Museum, general
M-T Museum, Trachten collection
H Home of respondent
O Office of respondent
RS Retail shop
F Festival, local
NTO Non-Trachten related other

Date of Interview	Respondent	Age, Gender, Marital Status	Religion	Type of Business or Information about Respondent	Hometown/Region	Research Activity	Setting	Activity
6/30/13 (3 hours)	Anke	52 F Married	Protestant	Homemaker, member of Trachtenverein, Trachten wearer	Kandern/ Markgräflerland	I-F	H	Formal interview about wearing Trachten, about local Trachten history, observe and photograph her wearing Trachten and the individual Trachten parts
7/6/13 (3.5 hours)	Julia	61 F Married	Protestant	Farmer, local Trachten expert, Trachten wearer	Kirnbach/ Kinzigtal	I-F	H	Formal interview about wearing Trachten, crafting Trachten, local Trachten history and current status of traditions, observe and photograph individual Trachten parts, inquire about local antique stores and the possibility of purchasing old Trachten from them
7/6/13 (3.5 hours)	Karin	42 F	Protestant	Gasthaus owner, Trachten wearer	Gutach/ Kingtal	I-F	H	Formal interview about wearing Trachten, observe

7/16/13 (4.5 hours)	Ingrid		68 F Married	Married	Catholic	Member of Bund Heimat & Volksleben, Trachten expert, Trachten wearer, Trachten crafter	Denzlingen/ Glottental	I-F	O	and photograph individual Trachten parts and her wearing them Formal interview about wearing Trachten, crafting Trachten, local Trachten history, Trachtenvereine and current status of Trachten traditions, observe Trachten pieces, observe Trachten slideshows and other Trachten documentation
8/4/13 (1.5 hours)	Claudia		49 F Married	Married	Catholic	Salesperson, member of Trachtenverein, Trachten wearer	Löffingen/ Breisgau	I-F	F	Formal interview about wearing Trachten, observe and photograph her in Trachten both during and after Trachten parade at Wine festival
7/6/13 (2 hours)	Annette		54 F Married	Married	Protestant	Women's tailor, Trachten crafter, member of Trachtenverein, Trachten wearer	Kirnbach/ Kinzigtal	I-F	H	Formal interview about crafting Trachten, local Trachten history, observe and photograph her examples of her craft and other Trachten parts, inquire about local antique stores and the possibility of purchasing old Trachten from them
7/7/13 (1 hour)	Bärbel		58 F Married	Married	Catholic	Homemaker, Trachten crafter, Trachten wearer	Haslach/ Kinzigtal	I-F	M-G	Formal interview about crafting Trachten, observe and photograph examples of her Trachten crafts
7/7/13 (1 hour)	Gisela		65 F Married	Married	Protestant	Homemaker, Trachten crafter, Trachten wearer	Gutach/ Kinzigtal	I-F	M-G	Formal interview about crafting Trachten, observe and photograph examples of her Trachten craft and other crafted non-Trachten related products
7/7/13 (1 hour)	Frieda		64 F Married	Married	Protestant	Homemaker, Trachten crafter, Trachten wearer	Gutach/ Kinzigtal	I-F	M-G	Formal interview about crafting Trachten, history of her Trachten craft, observe and photograph examples of her Trachten craft
7/7/13 (1 hour)	Birgit		58 F		Protestant	Homemaker, Trachten crafter, Trachten wearer, member of	Gutach/ Kinzigtal	I-F	M-G	Formal interview about crafting Trachten, history of

		Married		Trachtenverein								her Trachten craft, observe and photograph examples of her Trachten craft and her collection of Trachten craft techniques
7/6/13 (1.5 hours)	Klaus	Unknown M Unknown	Unknown	Museum curator, Trachten wearer, member of Trachtenverein	Haslach/ Kinzigal	I-F	M-T					Formal interview about the museum, Trachten wearers and crafters, acquisition of historical Trachten, and his experiences with Trachten, observe and photograph Trachten collection
7/6/13 (1 hour)	Karl	Unknown M Unknown	Unknown	Assistant museum curator, non-wearer	Haslach/ Kinzigal	I-I	M-T					Informal interview during tour of Trachten museum about local Trachten traditions, history of Trachten acquisition of old Trachten, and current status Trachten in the area
6/30/13 (3 hours)	Hans	Unknown M Married	Protestant	Farmer, local Trachten expert, member of Trachtenverein, Trachten wearer	Kandern/ Markgräflerland	I-I	H					Informal interview about the history of local Trachten, current status of local Trachten traditions, historical changes of local Trachten, and detailed information about how local Trachten are crafted, inquire about local antique stores and the possibility of purchasing old Trachten from them
6/27/13 & 7/2/13 (1.5 hours)	Hedy	Unknown F Unknown	Unknown	Antique shop owner, non-Trachten wearer	Freiburg/ Breisgau	I-I	RS					Informal interview during purchase of antique Trachten hats, and follow-up informal interview about the origins of the hats and if she frequently sells Trachten pieces
7/2/13 (1 hour)	Elsa	Unknown F Unknown	Unknown	Antique shop owner, non-Trachten wearer	Freiburg/ Breisgau	I-I	RS					Informal interview while shopping antique stores in search of Trachten for sale, gather knowledge about old Trachten pieces ending up (or not ending up) in antique stores
7/29/13	Dagmar	Unknown	Unknown	Higher Education, non-	Gundelfingen/ I-I	I-I	NTO					Informal interview during

(2 hours)		F Married		Trachten wearer	Bresgau			social gathering from a non-wearing local's perspective of Trachten traditions and her experience with neighbors and community members who still wear Trachten
8/4/13 (1.5 hours)	Jürgen	Unknown M Married	Catholic	Mechanic, local Trachten expert, member of Trachtenverein, Trachten wearer	Löffingen/ Breisgau	I-I	F	Informal interview after Trachten parade at Wine festival- discussed history of local Trachten, current status of local Trachten traditions and Trachtenverein, participation in Trachten public events; observe him in his Trachten and in Trachten procession
8/4/13 (2 hours)	Dieter	Unknown M Married	Unknown	Technology materials sourcing, member of Trachtenverein, Trachten wearer	Staufen/ Münstertal	I-I	F	Informal interview after Trachten parade at Wine festival- discussed current status of local Trachten traditions and Trachtenverein, participation in Trachten public events; observe him in his Trachten and in Trachten procession

APPENDIX XII

Proposal Approval Form

Master's Plan A Proposal Approval Form
Department of Design and Merchandising

PROPOSAL TITLE/TOPIC

Persistence of Ethnic Dress Traditions in a Modern Society: An Interpretive Study of Germany's Black Forest Trachten

This form must accompany the proposal and be completed for the proposal to be accepted. Acceptance must be made prior to collection of data and no later than the term before planned completion of the degree. Any conditions related to the acceptance of the proposal are to be listed prior to the signing. This includes filing for and receiving approval from the Committee on Human Research to study human subjects.

CONDITIONS:

Expand concept of data/data collection; Consider sample size; add definition of habitus; make other revisions as suggested by committee

COMMENTS/RECOMMENDATIONS/ADDITIONAL COURSES REQUIRED:

SIGNATURES:

Amy Hughes 3/15/13

Graduate Student

Date

Jen Ogle 3/15/13

Advisor

Date

Stacy J. De 15 March 2013

Co-Advisor

Date

Burgard Hunt

Committee Member

Date

Diane Sparks 3-13-13

Committee Member

Date

Jen Ogle 3-15-13

DM Graduate Coordinator

Date

DISTRIBUTION: Student, Advisor, Committee Members, Department Records

Attach Copy of Proposal



Department of Design and
Merchandising
150 Aylesworth Hall SE
1574 Campus Delivery
Fort Collins, Colorado 80523-1574
(970) 491-1629
FAX: (970) 491-4855

Date

Dear [insert name of potential participant]:

My name is Amy Hughes, and I am a graduate student in the Department of Design and Merchandising at Colorado State University. The purpose of this letter is to tell you about a research study entitled, "Persistence of Ethnic Dress Traditions in Contemporary Society: An Interpretive Study of Germany's Black Forest Trachten." I am conducting this study for my thesis. Dr. Jennifer P. Ogle and Dr. Susan J. Torntore, Department of Design and Merchandising, are my graduate advisors and are overseeing the study.

The goal of this research is to learn about the cultural practices of making and wearing Black Forest Trachten. Specifically, I am interested in exploring what it means for people who craft and wear Trachten in Germany today. Additionally, I wish to explore the reasons these traditions still exist in Germany today. I would like to invite you, as someone who crafts elements of Trachten, to participate in this research study. You were chosen to participate in this study based upon a recommendation from [name of key informant] (if applicable). I will be travelling to the Black Forest region this summer to conduct interviews, and can meet with you in person at a location of your choosing. The interview will take approximately 60 to 90 minutes to complete. Your participation in this research is voluntary. If you decide to participate in the study, you may withdraw your consent and stop participation at any time without penalty.

If you chose to participate in this study and consent to do so, you will take part in an interview. To ensure accurate data collection, an interpreter (Dr. Jolyon T. Hughes, Ph.D., Associate Professor of German at Colorado State University) will accompany the researcher and the interview will be audio-recorded/ or video-recorded. Topics of discussion during the interview will include:

- e) Your experience with crafting elements of Trachten
- f) Your views on the cultural practice of crafting Trachten
- g) What it means to you to craft Trachten
- h) Reasons for keeping Trachten handcrafting traditions alive

To your interview appointment, you will be asked to bring examples or photos of your Tracht handcrafting to discuss (or a combination of both if you choose). These items will be used to guide the discussion during the interview. I will not keep personal items or photographs.

WILL I RECEIVE ANY COMPENSATION FOR TAKING PART IN THIS STUDY? There is no compensation for taking part in this study.

WHAT IF I HAVE QUESTIONS?

Before you decide whether to accept this invitation to take part in the study, please ask any questions that might come to mind now. Later, if you have questions about the study, you can contact the principal investigators Dr. Jennifer P. Ogle at ogle@cahs.colostate.edu and Dr. Susan J. Torntore, at susan.torntore@colostate.edu, or the co-principal investigator, Amy Hughes at amy.hughes@colostate.edu or (001) 970-232-5876. If you have any questions about your rights as a volunteer in this research, contact Janell Barker, Human Research Administrator at 970-491-1655. We will give you a copy of this consent form to take with you.

This consent form was approved by the CSU Institutional Review Board for the protection of human subjects in research on (Approval Date).

WHAT ELSE DO I NEED TO KNOW? Participating in this study means participating in an interview. To make sure your answers are accurately recorded, the researcher would like to use an audio-recorder and take photographs. Again, all data collected will remain confidential.

CONSENT TO BE INTERVIEWED

Do you give us permission to interview you? Yes_____ No_____

Do you give us permission to audio tape your interview? Yes_____ No_____

CONSENT TO USE IMAGES OF ME OR OF MY PROPERTY

Yes, I consent to the use of digital images (photos) to be used for research and publication purposes.

No, I do not consent to the digital images (photos) to be used for research and publication purposes.

Yes, I consent to my photo being published in any of the final publications

No, I do not consent to my photo being published in any of the final publications

Image Release Statement

My name is Amy Hughes, and I am a graduate student in the Department of Design and Merchandising at Colorado State University. I am conducting a research study for my thesis entitled, “Persistence of Ethnic Dress Traditions in Contemporary Society: An Interpretive Study of Germany’s Black Forest Trachten.”. Dr. Jennifer P. Ogle and Dr. Susan J. Torntore, Department of Design and Merchandising, are my graduate advisors and are overseeing the study.

The goal of this research is to learn about the cultural practices of making and wearing Black Forest Trachten. Specifically, I am interested in exploring what it means for people who craft and wear Trachten in Germany today. Additionally, I wish to explore the reasons these traditions still exist in Germany today. Using visual data, such as photographs, will help me to better understand Trachten traditions for the people who make and wear them.

RELEASE STATEMENT In signing this release it is my understanding that the material is to be used solely for research purposes and that the major outcome will be a published Master’s thesis.

I understand the risks and contributions of my participation in this project and agree to participate.

I agree to allow use of images for documentation and display of the project results as identified below. Please check all that apply:

IMAGES OF ME OR OF MY PROPERTY

Yes, I consent to the use of digital images (photos) to be used for research and publication purposes.

No, I do not consent to the digital images (photos) to be used for research and publication purposes.

Yes, I consent to my photo being published in any of the final publications

No, I do not consent to my photo being published in any of the final publications

I hereby release the student, Colorado State University, its legal representatives and assigns from all claims and liability relating to these images.