



UNIL | Université de Lausanne

Unicentre

CH-1015 Lausanne

<http://serval.unil.ch>

Year : 2021

Living with tourism in Lucerne. How people inhabit a tourist place

Eggli Florian

Eggli Florian, 2021, Living with tourism in Lucerne. How people inhabit a tourist place

Originally published at : Thesis, University of Lausanne

Posted at the University of Lausanne Open Archive <http://serval.unil.ch>

Document URN : urn:nbn:ch:serval-BIB_9F987E4640F11

Droits d'auteur

L'Université de Lausanne attire expressément l'attention des utilisateurs sur le fait que tous les documents publiés dans l'Archive SERVAL sont protégés par le droit d'auteur, conformément à la loi fédérale sur le droit d'auteur et les droits voisins (LDA). A ce titre, il est indispensable d'obtenir le consentement préalable de l'auteur et/ou de l'éditeur avant toute utilisation d'une oeuvre ou d'une partie d'une oeuvre ne relevant pas d'une utilisation à des fins personnelles au sens de la LDA (art. 19, al. 1 lettre a). A défaut, tout contrevenant s'expose aux sanctions prévues par cette loi. Nous déclinons toute responsabilité en la matière.

Copyright

The University of Lausanne expressly draws the attention of users to the fact that all documents published in the SERVAL Archive are protected by copyright in accordance with federal law on copyright and similar rights (LDA). Accordingly it is indispensable to obtain prior consent from the author and/or publisher before any use of a work or part of a work for purposes other than personal use within the meaning of LDA (art. 19, para. 1 letter a). Failure to do so will expose offenders to the sanctions laid down by this law. We accept no liability in this respect.

FACULTÉ DES GÉOSCIENCES ET DE L'ENVIRONNEMENT

INSTITUT DE GÉOGRAPHIE ET DURABILITÉ



Living with tourism in Lucerne
How people inhabit a tourist place

THÈSE DE DOCTORAT

présentée à la

Faculté des géosciences et de l'environnement
de l'Université de Lausanne

pour l'obtention du grade de

Docteur en études du tourisme

par

Florian Egli

*diplômé en Master of Arts in International Tourism Management,
Université Métropolitain de Londres*

Directeur de thèse

Professeur Mathis Stock, Université de Lausanne

Jury

Professeure Monika Büscher, Université de Lancaster
Professeur Tim Freytag, Université Albert-Ludwig de Fribourg
Professeur Jonas Larsen, Université de Roskilde
Professeur Patrick Rérat, Université de Lausanne
sous la présidence de Professeure Marie-Elodie Perga,
Université de Lausanne

LAUSANNE

2021

Lausanne, Octobre 21, 2021

Summary

Lucerne has been a much sought-after tourist place for over two hundred years. Since the wake of the 19th century, guests have been visiting this mediaeval town in central Switzerland, settled on the shore of its lake, and surrounded by an impressive panorama of mountains. Over time, the tourism industry has not only shaped the physical appearance of the cityscape, but it has also influenced self-awareness, capabilities, knowledge, and know-how of its residents, as well as the overall identity, quality, and ability of the place, which hence formed its “touristic capital” (Stock et al. 2014:13).

Whereas in the beginning of the tourism development in the 1840es it was mainly tourists from elsewhere in Europe, above all the English upper classes, who visited Lucerne, since World War II the city has developed more internationally, with growing visitor numbers from the Americas, mainly the USA. Due to the ongoing globalisation, the market has become even more diverse, with many Asian tourists also visiting the city. This change in tourism segments has gone along with a constant growth in visitor numbers, increasingly fostering a debate over what kind of tourism Lucerne wants, how many visitors are enough, and where the tourism industry generally intends to develop. Under the umbrella of the catch phrase *overtourism*, an all-encompassing, vivid, and engaged controversy about how to deal adequately with tourism has dominated the public discourse in recent years.

As a tourist place, Lucerne is thus contested: many different actors are inhabiting the city through many different practices, which are sometimes mutually enhancing, sometimes conflicting. The present PhD dissertation aims to improve understanding of Lucerne’s touristic situation and therefore opts for a qualitative examination of the field of research. It wants to comprehend the origins of the problem of *overtourism*, where conflicts, misunderstandings but also friendly encounters are rooted, and finally what lessons can be learned from this analysis so as to deal with the current situation more satisfactorily and adapt future developments.

The present body of research approaches this endeavour in three different ways. First, it investigates the *people* dwelling in Lucerne (Ingold 2011; Lussault and Stock 2010; Sheller and Urry 2004). By enlarging the focus on the different actors inhabiting the city on a temporary, periodic, or even long-term basis, I hope to go beyond the outdated duality of the traditional host/guest relationship. The research integrates commuters, international students and part-time residents as equally important actors as natives, long-term residents, and newcomers, as well as day-trippers, weekly holiday-makers, and regular guests.

Second, I argue that it is not only the number of visitors that is decisive in assessing Lucerne’s tourism situation. In contrast, the study postulates that it is rather about social, cultural, and material *practices* (Schatzki 2019; Reckwitz 2016; Stock 2014), that is, about how actors inhabit a place, instead of merely the amount of people who do so. Tensions over tourism arise out of different background knowledge, cultural norms, learned understandings, and personal motivations when dwelling in a place. By investigating actual people’s practices, the predominantly numerically oriented concept of carrying capacity will be expanded and enhanced with reference to more qualitative considerations.

Third, the dissertation shows how a *place* unfolds out of the practices of the people associated with it (Bærenholdt 2004; Sheller and Urry 2004; Stock 2019). A tourist city such as Lucerne is not a fixed and determined container filled with definite purpose and meaning, but a fluid, dynamic and ever-changing place which is constantly negotiated, shaped, and produced by those living in it.

Tourism in this process is not regarded as an alien entity which comes on top of a pre-existing cityscape, but is an interwoven, interrelated and mutually constitutive element, which is part and parcel of a nuanced, complex, and vivid urban fabric.

The work presented here draws heavily on the new mobilities paradigm (Sheller and Urry 2006), which proposes that tourist places are co-produced and actively shaped by different actors and mobilities. In this research, a tourist place is conceptualized as produced by practices that are understood as “a routinized type of behaviour which consists of several elements, interconnected to one another: forms of bodily activities, forms of mental activities, ‘things’ and their use, a background knowledge in the form of understanding, know-how, states of emotion and motivational knowledge” (Reckwitz 2002:249). These practices might be bundled into so-called “practice plenums” (Schatzki 2019:80), which are overall complexes moulded out of various constellations of all sorts of practices, all related to each other as equal but distinct parts.

Following this theoretical conceptualization of the research, its consequences for my research methods must be drawn. Urban tourism situations cannot be observed satisfactorily in closed laboratories, but only in a vivid, open, dynamic living space such a city is. This research therefore opts for mobile research methods (Büscher et al. 2009; Fincham et al. 2010; Urry 2007) which are succeeding information and informants on the move.

The research applies three methodological avenues to investigate the terrain. The first is walking interviews, as suggested by Kusenbach (2003), Thibaud (2001) or Burckhardt et al. (2015), in which the researcher conducts interviews in joint walks with informants within the field of scrutiny. Second is strolling alone through the streets and passively observing, a method inspired by Debord’s concept of the *dérive* (1958) and Benjamin’s concept of the *flâneur* (1997/1973). Third is active participation in the discourse while dealing with the media and engaging in public debates.

During the elaboration of the PhD dissertation, a vast amount of empirical material was gathered from 38 walking interviews (with individuals, groups and families resulting in more than 80 interview partners) and numerous city-walks with associated participant observation, all documented in text and pictures. The interpretation of these findings brought out the insights to explain how ‘living with tourism’ is organised, practiced, and made sense of. The empirical unfolds in the form of an urban ethnography that sheds light on ‘living with tourism’ in Lucerne by finding new reasons for conflicts over tourism and fresh perspectives on potential future developments.

As a result of this dissertation, several persisting misconceptions which currently exist in dealing with tourism are overcome. The conclusion shows (a) that tourism is not a single and isolated issue, but part and parcel an interwoven fabric of the living together in urban spaces, (b) that it is not only the visitors numbers which count, but how people engage, interact and relate to the place with their distinct practices, (c) that there is not only a monetary benefit, but various other values of equal importance which though are not as present in the current discourse, (d) that tourism is embedded in a social realm, which calls for empathy and tolerance and disqualifies existing selfish approaches, (e) that there is no simple solution, a quick fix to solve an ever ongoing, persisting, complex controversy on living together with tourism, which is a co-constitutive and enriching element of city life at the end.

Acknowledgments

First of all, I would like to thank all my interview partners, who have taken their time and showed an interest in partaking in the study. I have walked with many people, whether from afar or living nearby, and who have thus all been inhabiting the place with their distinct practices. I warmly thank Miriam L. with her son Fionn, Monika S., Admir S., Amy and Vincent with their son and their befriended couple with their son, Judith S., Markus S., Marc-André R., Karin S., Maya von D. and Reto B., Urs Anton K., Anton and Calin S. with Mina and Fred, Tobias M., Sukanya I. and Phunnawydee M., Evelyne S. with Amelia and another friend, Zhao K. with cousin Jan H., mother Ba Z., her friend Carry with daughter Phoebe, a couple from Bangkok of whom I did not capture their names, Nadine S., Flaminia and Alessandro, Dominic W., Claudio A., Ursula K., Peter F., Marcel G., Andrea I. and Max S., Marie-Therese E. and Heimo, various unnamed guests on a guided tour at the Lucerne light festival Lilu, Diana and James, two anonymous persons swimming in the River Reuss, Roberto C., Aree and Hugo, Adil and Qani L., Franz and Silvia F., Vivienne and Peter, Andreas G., Christoph F., Martina and Stefan (two made up names for a couple on the city train) as well as the mother and daughter sitting in front of them, Micha E. und Janine R., Christopher B., a family of five from Herisau on their bicycles, Pascal A. and his e-tuk-tuk guests Arie R. with his two grandchildren, as well as Urs D.. They have all contributed significantly to this dissertation with their own observations, personal views, and meaningful comments on tourism and the city. Most of these interview partners were encountered spontaneously, but some were recommended by friends and colleagues. Here I would especially like to thank Lena F., Polona L., as well as Martin W. for reaching out to their aunts, boyfriends, and international students.

Second, I greatly appreciate the valuable inputs and useful comments of the *Comité de Thèse* who accompanied me in regular meetings along the way, namely my *Directeur de Thèse* Mathis Stock of the University of Lausanne as main supervisor, as well as Tim Freytag of the Albert-Ludwigs-Universität Freiburg, and Martin Müller of the University of Lausanne. Finally, I would also like to thank the *Jury de Thèse* for their time and interest in reading this dissertation. I very much look forward to our discussions in the private and public defence: Thank you Monika Büscher of the University of Lancaster, Jonas Larsen of Roskilde University and Patrick Rérat of the University of Lausanne for joining the team and making up the jury panel that will assess this work.

Third, this dissertation would not have been possible without the financial support and time resources provided by the Lucerne University of Applied Sciences and Arts (HSLU). Thanks to the so-called ‘doctoral model’ I was able to dedicate myself to this research project along with ongoing part-time engagement at the Institute of Tourism and Mobility. I would mainly thank the head of the Institute Jürg Stettler and my immediate supervisor Urs Wagenseil for their great understanding, flexibility, and continuous backing. Also, I would like to thank Fabian Weber, Timo Ohnmacht and Lukas Huck for their critical comments on my manuscript, Widar von Arx for engaging discussions on the topic and the many colleagues for the various projects we have conducted within the broader context of unbalanced tourism growth. It was a great privilege to be able to make direct use of the insights of this study in ongoing research and consulting projects for the City of Lucerne, the Canton of Lucerne, the Lucerne Tourism Board, the Swiss Tourism Association, the European Innovation Council and Small and Medium-sized Enterprises Executive Agency (EISMEA), and UNWTO. Also, I would like to express my gratitude to the partner university network of the World Tourism Forum Lucerne, with which the Institute of Tourism and Mobility has conducted joint research on *overtourism*, and

to Matthias Bürgin of the Department of Engineering and Architecture at HSLU, with whom I conducted a joint study, some interviews from which also found their use within this dissertation.

It is not possible to list all the meetings, conferences, and academic gatherings in which I have presented parts of this dissertation and received so many useful inputs and comments, but I would like to highlight just a few that have significantly inspired my work. These include the conference on *Touristifizierung urbaner Räume* at the Albert-Ludwigs-Universität Freiburg, the *Deutscher Kongress Geographie* at the Christian-Albrechts-Universität Kiel as well as the *3rd International Conference on Tourism and Business* at Mahidol University International College in Bangkok, Thailand, which all took place prior the lock-downs in 2019. These academic exchanges stimulated my research project at an early stage and fostered my confidence in continuing on my intended path. Also, the monthly colloquiums at the ‘*Cultures et natures du tourisme*’ and the periodic gathering ‘*Penser (avec et par) le tourisme*’ at the University of Lausanne were of great stimulus and enriched my theoretical thinking continuously. Further to that, I would like to thank the Urban Research Group of the Georg-Simmel Center for Metropolitan Studies, which I joined along the way and proved to be at the same time a critical interlocutor and a most valuable source of inspiration. Here I thank Christoph Sommer (Leibniz Universität Hannover), Natalie Stors (Universität Trier), Luise Stoltenberg (Universität Hamburg), Thomas Frisch (Universität Hamburg), and Nils Grube (TU Berlin). Also, I thank Clara Sofie Kramer and Nora Winsky for inviting me to the Albert-Ludwigs-Universität Freiburg and sharing the insights of my research project there. Also, I thank the Luzerner Theater, namely Giacomo Veronesi and Nikolai Ulbricht, for integrating many substantial thoughts and critical ideas of this dissertation in their theatre piece *souvenir*, which was performed within the urban landscape of Lucerne in 2020/2021 and by doing so further inspired my proper work. And a warm thanks goes to Franca Fosco for designing the various graphs, maps, figures, and tables, as well as to Robert Parkin for proofreading my manuscript.

Finally, I thank most warmly my friends and family who supported me on this journey, had to forego my company on many occasions and motivated me again and again in realising this encompassing project. Thank you for believing in me and encouraging me to continue along this path. Most importantly, my warmest thanks go to Daniela, who not only inspired and cheered me, but also opened so many doors and slowly but steadily introduced me to Lucerne, which in the meantime has become more than merely a field of research for me.

Contents

Part I: <i>Approaching the field</i>	11
Chapter 01: Introduction.....	12
1.1 Preface	12
1.2 Structure of the dissertation.....	13
1.3 Lucerne: A long-lived tourist place	14
1.4 The situation today: Animated discussion on <i>overtourism</i>	17
1.5 Research question	24
Chapter 02: Theory.....	26
2.1 Introduction: Different avenues to conceptualising a tourist place	26
2.2 The emergence of the term <i>overtourism</i> in tourism studies and its conceptual roots..	26
2.3 First concepts to capture tensions between hosts and guests and its critique	29
2.4 Conceptualising a tourist place as practiced by people	32
2.5 Conclusion of chapter.....	43
Chapter 03: Methodology.....	46
3.1 Introduction: How to gather practices on the move.....	46
3.2 Three methodological avenues for gathering applied data	47
3.3 Evaluation of the data gathered by interviewing, observing, and participating.....	60
3.4 Conclusion of chapter.....	65
Part II: <i>Inhabiting the city</i>	69
Chapter 04: People	70
4.1 Introduction: A wide array of different actors present in the field	70
4.2 Oversimplification of Asian tourists as all Chinese	71
4.3 Some exemplary guests from Europe.....	83
4.4 A look at Lucerne’s local life	93
4.5 Conclusion of chapter.....	105
Chapter 05: Practices.....	109
5.1 Introduction: Manifold practices that relate to each other.....	109
5.2 Mundane practices.....	109
5.3 Extraordinary practices.....	129
5.4 Practices to create economic value.....	146
5.5 Practices of critical reflection	158
5.6 Practices of protest and resistance.....	169
5.7 Conclusion of chapter.....	174

Chapter 06: Places.....	176
6.1 Introduction: Three places of scrutiny, where it all accumulates.....	176
6.2 The Lion Monument: a <i>pièce de résistance</i>	178
6.3 Migros Schweizerhof, a tightrope shopping place	186
6.4 Hirschmatt-Neustadt, a new urban quarter.....	196
6.5 Conclusion of chapter	209
Part III: Concluding, and moving further.....	213
Chapter 07: Synthesis.....	214
7.1 Introduction: Recapitulation on how people practice place	214
7.2 It's about the quality, not merely the quantity, of the <i>people</i>	214
7.3 It's about the maze of <i>practices</i> , where some are more dominant than others.	216
7.4 It's about <i>place</i> which is constantly made and re-made.....	218
7.5 Overcoming some prevailing prejudices.....	220
7.6 Limitations of this dissertation and avenues for future research.....	221
List of interview partners	226
References	228
Annex I: Overview of walking interviews.....	240
Annex II: Applied recommendations	252

List of Figures

Figure 1: GIF-animated poster for the JUSO petition 2017 (© Erich Brechbühl, Atelier Mixer).....	17
Figure 2: Overview of the city of Lucerne with its most neuralgic hot spots.....	18
Figure 3: Twofold procedure to tackle tourism and traffic issues (Lucerne city council 2019:10).....	19
Figure 4: Tourism creates employment (Tourism Forum Luzern 2016, © Susanna Bertschmann).....	20
Figure 5: Campaign: Happy guests instead of empty funds (© CVP 2017).....	21
Figure 6: Economic value of tourism on cantonal and municipal level (© BAK Economics 2021).....	22
Figure 7: Tourism Area Live-Cycle Model (Butler 1980).....	29
Figure 8: Overview on how people are practicing places (compiled by author).	44
Figure 9: Example of an excerpt from an interview protocol (compiled by author)	55
Figure 10: Discursive elements: Voucher Booklet and Lozärner Feedbike (© Weltoffenes Luzern).....	59
Figure 11: Meeting Aree when she was taking touristy pictures with her mobile phone.	72
Figure 12: Virtual flowers of Aree Souvenirhouse to business partners in Thailand.	72
Figure 13: Aree selling souvenirs in her store, always observed by the Thai king and a golden Buddha	73
Figure 14: Evelyne encounters a woman she has befriended and others, who all call her ‘mother’	74
Figure 15: James jokes about Corona, which reminds Diana about a recent harassment against her.	76
Figure 16: Chinese family throwing snowballs and bobsleighting on snowy hills.....	77
Figure 17: Zhao and I spearheading the group, while Phoebe navigates for lunch with google maps.	78
Figure 18: Pausing on Schwanenplatz on a city tour following the route of the tourist map.	84
Figure 19: Heading for a city walk, but soon resting on a kid’s playground for lunch break.....	86
Figure 20: Touring the city by Pascal’s e-tuk-tuk with Arie and his grandchildren.....	87
Figure 21: Meeting Vivienne and Peter while window shopping.....	89
Figure 22: A Zurich couple buying tickets for a city train tour and cruising through town	90
Figure 23: The chestnut stand with its price list in several languages, with the 100 g listed last.....	94
Figure 24: Dominic W. serving Flaminia and Alessandro from Milan at his chocolate booth.	96
Figure 25: Feeding the seagulls is no problem for Monika S., but selling-out the city’s soul is.	98
Figure 26: Riding on a carriage to the Pfistern restaurant and waiting for guests for a fondue tour	101
Figure 27: Visitors on the Schwanenplatz thinking that you can get something there for free	103
Figure 28: The district police officer showing tourists the way to the left and to the right.....	104
Figure 29: Overview of attitudes to tourism and relations to place (compiled by author)	107
Figure 30: Flaminia and Alessandro walking on a tourist-crowded street in the city centre.....	111
Figure 31: Widening of the sidewalk from below and above.	111
Figure 32: A Thai couple taking a detour to catch public transport to the railway station	114
Figure 33: A Thai couple on the way to the railway station to catch the train to Paris.	114
Figure 34: Arriving on the platform just in time and meeting one’s fellow travellers in the train.	115
Figure 35: People waiting underneath the Coop canopy	116
Figure 36: Tourist grabbing swan by the throat, where feeding animals is prohibited.....	117
Figure 37: People feeding animals, captured by photographs	118
Figure 38: Posing for a picture with a dog, while attracting the attention of other tourists.....	118
Figure 39: Entering the supermarket while getting some free Lindt chocolate.	121
Figure 40: Getting the weekly ration of vegetables at the market	122
Figure 41: Record in the church guest book, opposing the light festival called Lilu	123
Figure 42: Alessandro standing reverently in front of a church, which is also used by children.	124
Figure 43: Whereas the <i>local</i> restaurants are reopened, the <i>tourist ones</i> are closed.....	125
Figure 44: Filling up hot and cold water at Casagrande Souvenir shop.	126
Figure 45: Tea ceremony at Yun Nan Tea House.....	126
Figure 46: Collecting garbage attracts the attention of tourists and is captured on photographs.	128
Figure 47: The city-train stopping briefly in front of the Alpineum.....	130
Figure 48: Blocking the view of a man resting on a bench and ousting pedestrians in the Kramgasse.	131
Figure 49: The lion outlined as a pig and passing two persons not wanting to be photographed.....	132
Figure 50: Eating fondue on a sightseeing tour in a horse-drawn carriage.....	133
Figure 51: Boarding a boat for an hour, while others rent for the week	135
Figure 52: Roaming the city as a group at Franziskanerplatz/Hirschengraben and on Kornmarkt.	137
Figure 53: Sightseeing with a mobile phone. Capturing where Goethe used to stay.....	138
Figure 54: Extraordinary tourist group as a media spectacle, a must-see for many onlookers.....	139
Figure 55: Posing for the perfect shot, using a multitude of cameras.....	142

Figure 56: Showing snapshots of Lucerne pedestrians, who seem rather unhappy (about it).....	142
Figure 57: Stepping out of Jean Nouvel’s <i>The Hotel</i> one feels like one is in a London park.....	145
Figure 58: Tourism creates employment (Tourism Forum Luzern 2016). © Susanna Bertschmann....	147
Figure 59: An Indian tour group descending on the Casagrande souvenir shop at Schwanenplatz.	148
Figure 60: Promoting Swiss watches with Chinese photographic models	149
Figure 61: Advertisements in English and Chinese in an organic grocery store	150
Figure 62: Relaxed opening hours could lead to further dominance by tourism retailers	151
Figure 63: Fruits on the go are in far less demand due to the lack of tourists	154
Figure 64: Mr. Roth pointing at souvenir and watch stores closed due to the coronavirus crisis.....	154
Figure 65: Campaign to illustrate the negative effects of empty beds for the city’s culture	155
Figure 66: Park benches and greenery on Löwenplatz, a former parking space for tour coaches.....	156
Figure 67: Flyer for Neubad Lecture on tourism.....	159
Figure 68: Editorial of the cultural magazine 041	160
Figure 69: Exhibition on Queen Victoria in Switzerland	161
Figure 70: Mount Rigi by Turner, and contemporary photographer Madörin re-interpreting Zünd	162
Figure 71: Madörin searching for an angle to capture Zünd’s view, using his paintings as a basis.....	163
Figure 72: The Wonder of Lucerne © MachArt Musicals, Design Susann Buchholz (2018).....	164
Figure 73: Visit Pyöngyang! A tourism comedy.....	165
Figure 74: Installation on flying medusas and on the selfie-culture at the Lilu light festival Lucerne..	167
Figure 75: Graffiti on a construction site asking if there is another watch store coming here?.....	171
Figure 76: Dividing lines in NYC and Lucerne by ©Mark Armstrong and © Timo Ohnmacht.....	172
Figure 77: The Lion Lodge from front and back, with the <i>trompe-d’œil</i> at Steinenstrasse.....	173
Figure 78: Plans, posters, and symbols of resistance at Steinenstrasse	174
Figure 79: Three places of scrutiny: The Lion Monument, the Migros supermarket, and the Neustadt	177
Figure 80: Andrea Iten performing ‘à table’ an artistic intervention on the Lion Monument.	179
Figure 81: Mao Zedong in the Lion’s pond, spotted by Anton and his family from Belgium.	180
Figure 82: Get a refill with the best Swiss Lion Monument tap water at the ice-cream kiosk.....	181
Figure 83: A member of the Jehovah’s Witnesses touting for followers from India and China.	182
Figure 84: A wooden lion lures customers into a souvenir paradise	183
Figure 85: Ironic use of Monty Python’s catch phrase ‘and now for something completely different’.	183
Figure 86: Chocolat Frey deli counter with Chinese speaking staff and moving chocolate fountain ...	187
Figure 87: Chinese group tourists buying chocolate by the kilo, mainly in its budget edition.....	188
Figure 88: A mountain panorama with Rigi, Pilatus, and Titlis framing the Migros chocolate world..	188
Figure 89: Some shelves of baby nutrition are empty, which calls for immediate resupply	189
Figure 90: Signs in German, English and Chinese show the way to the many customers.	190
Figure 91: Advertising the own ‘WeChat’ account and the option of paying with UnionPay.	190
Figure 92: Souvenirs are sought after also by many Swiss day tourists.....	191
Figure 93: Flaminia and Alessandro purchasing chocolate for their loved ones back home.....	192
Figure 94: Chinese instant noodle soup bought by Amy and Vincent for their little boy.	193
Figure 95: Pig’s trotters on Chinese herbal sauce with egg and rice and other take-away dishes.....	194
Figure 96: Two oversized golden pig’s trotters marking the entry of the Migros take-away.....	195
Figure 97: The borough of Neustadt is separated by busy roads from the inner-city and its old town.	198
Figure 98: Blocked movement: Heavy traffic hampering the <i>dérive</i> out of the old town	198
Figure 99: Every year a different artist designs a new map of the borough	201
Figure 100: Refurbishment of the park with possibilities for games, such as draughts and chess	203
Figure 101: In earlier days cars drove through here; today it is a restauration mile.....	203
Figure 102: Park benches along the lake front, clearly marked for an international audience.	204
Figure 103: Park benches denote the area by the presence or absence of a welcome tag.	205
Figure 104: A bus from Viking River Cruises loads tourists after their excursion to Lucerne	205
Figure 105: Markus Schulthess with a map indicating all currently available Airbnb apartments	206
Figure 106: Living with Vivaldi V, Mozart III and Beethoven IV.....	207
Figure 107: Call for baby buggies instead of rolling suitcases (© Jonas Wydler, Zentralplus)	207
Figure 108: Former short-term lettings now on monthly leases due to the pandemic crisis.	208

List of tables

Table 1: Structure of the economic branches in the city of Lucerne (Lucerne City Council 2014:22)...	23
Table 2: Share of group tourists on turnover at Schwanenplatz © Hanser Consulting AG 2018.....	148

Part I: *Approaching the field*

Chapter 01: Introduction

1.1 Preface

Lucerne is one of the most visited tourism destinations in Switzerland. Maybe because of that, I had never been there before, apart from once as a teenager, following my football team to an away game, and once at school, on an excursion to the *Swiss Museum of Transport* – the most popular museum of Switzerland, covering all sorts of different mobilities. Nevertheless, I hardly remembered anything about the city itself. I must confess that I have never seen the Lion Monument in real but felt over a hundred times on coffee cream lids, picture postcards and widespread tourism promotion material. Sure, I am well aware of the chapel bridge and its iconic water tower, but it would have never come to my mind to visit such a sight on my own.

Things have changed in the meanwhile. Lucerne has become a familiar place to me. I started to work at its Institute of Tourism and Mobility in 2017, commuting every day from Basel, knowing first no more than the direct way from the railway station to the university. However, gradually the city became my area of interest. I started strolling around it after finishing work, leisurely discovering the shores of the lake, the alleys of the old town and the associated bars and coffee houses. Sitting down there for a while, I started flipping through the local newspapers and chatting casually with the neighbouring tables. Such conversations often ended in discussing tourism issues – maybe because I introduced myself by stating where I was currently working on them, maybe because the journals at that time were full of controversies over what kind of tourism Lucerne wants, how many tourists are enough, and finally where this whole line of tour coaches can possibly park.

2017 was a time of *overtourism*. Headlines covered Venice, Prague, Amsterdam, Barcelona, and Rome as emblematic examples of cities being overwhelmed by visitors. Cruise ships, low-cost carriers and strongly growing new source markets were being blamed for disrupting the tourism system, putting it out of balance. This discourse was also omnipresent in Lucerne, a city substantially living from tourism. I therefore decided to look at this issue in more detail and started thinking about it for a PhD dissertation. First, I wanted to compare Lucerne with other European cities, such as Amsterdam, Vienna, or Berlin. Then I decided that, even though this might have been an interesting approach, there is enough going on in Lucerne itself for a dissertation. I figured that it would be worthwhile to scrutinize things more closely in one specific place than be distracted by comparing the measures, policies, and effects of other entities that were mostly not entirely comparable anyways. As every city has its own characteristics, its own historical background, and distinct cultural, economic, political, and social framework conditions, I decided instead to probe deep rather than compare the obvious, mostly already researched by others.

While investigating the actual tourism situation of Lucerne, I recognized a research gap. Even though the debate on overtourism has gained momentum and was omnipresent in media and public discourse, there were hardly any academic reflections on what is currently happening with the place itself. The debate seemed entrenched, and firm political positions were being taken, mostly fed by economic arguments or concerns about the city's numerical carrying capacity of accommodating tourist groups and park tour coaches. I have therefore felt an urge to contribute a fresh perspective to the ongoing discussion, providing a more dynamic and fluid understanding of place, which is informed by urban theory, mobilities studies and a rather actor-centred approach.

I therefore started to analyse the situation in Lucerne. Using my ethnographic educational background, I opted for a qualitative research design. This seemed to be the most promising way of adding new values to a debate that had become stuck. I wanted to understand why people are feeling over-toured, why people are always visiting the same sights, taking the same beaten tracks, and why different cultures and understandings of a place clash so obviously. My initial leisurely strolls through the city started to become an actual research method, first merely by drifting and discovering the place as a flâneur, then accompanied by interview partners in interviews done on the hoof. I captured the practices of the place's people with my camera, collecting hundreds of photographs along the way. In addition, I constantly browsed the city for objects, artefacts, materialities and other items of interest, which I either took with me (like leaflets, stickers, and brochures) or captured in photographs (like graffiti, billboard posters and street signs). This method produced many insights, which will be presented in depth in the present dissertation.

1.2 Structure of the dissertation

The present dissertation, written to supplicate for a doctoral degree in Tourism Studies at the University of Lausanne (Faculty of Geosciences and the Environment, Institute of Geography and Sustainability), is structured into three principal parts. In *unit one* I approach the field. A first introductory chapter sheds light on the historical background to Lucerne's tourism development. It contextualizes the current tourism situation in a two-century long tradition of welcoming visitors to the town. This is important if the contemporary situation is to be understood better and is thus being briefly outlined in the paragraphs that follow. Here, the most important facts and figures will be presented, and finally the research question of the dissertation will be set out.

The second chapter then looks at the theoretical concept of *overtourism*. Where does this term come from, and what exactly does it mean? It will be shown that, even though this expression has only recently entered the tourism debate, the concept has long-standing roots in tourism studies. Early sustainable-development frameworks devised in the mid-20th century discussed critically on what the current notion of *overtourism* was based. To overcome the quantitative approach of these concepts, more actor-centric approaches to capturing and understanding contemporary tourism situations are introduced. By conceptualizing tourism places as practiced by a wide array of different actors, a dynamic, fluid, and multifaceted framework for analysing the field of research will be developed.

Chapter three then explores various mobile methods of capturing these practices on the move. The emphasis will be on walking interviews, where the interviewer is following the interviewee while engaging with the place of scrutiny. In addition, the technique of walking alone, passively immersing oneself and wandering casually in the city, will be elaborated. These qualitative research techniques are then completed by active participation in the discourse and an encyclopaedic collection of various objects of interest, such as artefacts, media articles, and other sources of information and materialities.

The empirical findings are then presented in *unit two* of this dissertation. This part is the core of this research project and encompasses the wide range of potential dealings with tourism in Lucerne. In its first chapter (Ch. 04) it starts by describing the different *people* who engage with the cityscape. The dual concept of host and guest will thus be overcome, and the manifold set of actors introduced. In the following, fifth chapter, the *practices* of these protagonists will be examined. How do they engage with each other? Are they benefiting from their mutual interaction, or are they rather competing for space? How do they relate to each other? Finally, in a last chapter of this unit, I will

analyse how the practices of these actors meet, and where they accumulate in time and space. Thus, three *places* of scrutiny illustrating in exemplary fashion the tourism situation in Lucerne will be identified and intensively described.

The *third unit* of the dissertation then wraps up the findings and discusses the conclusions controversially and overcomes the five most prevailing prejudices in the current dealing with tourism in Lucerne. Further, the final chapter discusses the limitations of the research project and indicates routes for future research, which will be worth tackling. In the adjoint annex of the herewith presented dissertation, first an overview of all interview partners is presented (stating their relation to place and their stance towards tourism) and second some applied recommendations for all involved people inhabiting Lucerne ‘to better live with tourism’ are derived.

However, before peering in the future, we will now look back in time to understand where tourism in Lucerne comes from and how it all began about two centuries ago.

1.3 Lucerne: A long-lived tourist place

Lucerne in particular has been strongly influenced by tourism for nearly 200 years. It owes a large amount of its modern development to guests visiting the city for leisure purposes. In the heydays of tourism between 1840 and 1910, the city grew beyond its historical walls and opened itself up to the littorals, in 1865 erecting a new suburb called “Wey”, which, with its monumental hotel buildings, was specifically focused on tourist development along the lakefront. Not every citizen supported this rapid urban expansion, as it significantly challenged the conventional architecture, as the new concept was intended to recreate the city patterns of Paris and the amusement standard of the Prater in Vienna. However, the economic outlook was too promising to take this criticism into account (Bürgi 2016:33). In parallel, modern transportation infrastructure, such as roads, trains, and steamboats, increasingly enabled easy access and fostered the city’s international connectivity. Entertainment facilities such as casinos, museums, dioramas (early versions of cinemas) and nicely adapted pedestrian quays were set up for amusement, and the city’s early electrification was also due to tourism. This development enabled urbanisation of the town, which did not halt at its borders. It had a strong impact on the adjoining mountain peaks, where cable cars and cog-railways conquered these formerly remote areas and made them accessible for guests from all over Europe. This led to the supposedly sinister alpine mountain range around the city, widely depicted as a menacing *force majeure*, to change into a panoramic object worthy to be gazed at from distance or even as a place to play in. Larsen and Urry (2011:14) cite the point of time around 1840 as “one of those remarkable moments when the world seems to shift, and new patterns of relationships become irreversibly established,” which they ascribe to two crucial innovations which actively enhanced this development: Louis Daguerre’s and Fox Talbot’s inventions of the camera in 1839 and 1840 respectively, and Thomas Cook’s organisation of the first ‘package tour’ in 1841. Even though these two inventions arose independently of each other, they mutually stimulated and influenced each other, fostering the desire to capture extraordinary views, and laying the ground for the so-called “tourist gaze” (Urry 1990; Urry 2002; Urry and Larsen 2011).

Tourism heydays in the Belle Époque

During these heydays of tourism, famous guests like Queen Victoria and Napoleon III were among the visitors who, with their presence, cultivated an image of aspiration of the town. Likewise, painters, poets, and musicians, such as J.M.W. Turner, Mark Twain and Richard Wagner, were fascinated by the landscape during their visits to central Switzerland and used the place as a source of inspiration for their creative work. These early influencers actively spread word about the destination. In doing so, they created the positive image of Lucerne which turned it into a true place of longing. By bringing with them urban norms and values from the European metropolises, the visitors not only fostered the urbanisation of the built environment but had impacts on the social norms and manners of a formerly rural-dominated society (see also Wirth 1938 on urbanisation as a way of life).

Industrialisation not only brought wealth to many European cities and provided more and more inhabitants with a regular income and increasingly with days off work. Industrialisation simultaneously fostered a distance from nature, accelerated the speed and pressure of the work environment, and thereby created a desire to relax and unwind in a pristine landscape during the holidays. Lucerne, with its lakes and mountains, offered and still offers these qualities and therefore has benefited from the impact of industrialisation, without having been largely industrialised itself. The development of tourism, however, went hand in hand with the development of an industrial civilisation, creating the irony that tourism destroys its imaginaries, its places of longings, its romantic idealisations, by the mere fact of achieving them and getting there: “Just like the fairy tale in which the tortoise awaits the panting hare, tourism is always outrun by its refutation. This dialectic is the driving force of its very development: far from resigning and giving up the struggle at the cost of freedom, tourism redoubles its efforts after each defeat” (Enzensberger 1996:126).

Slow recovery after wars and crisis

Two world wars and a global economic crisis in between brought this steady growth to an immediate halt. Bed capacity in the city of Lucerne dropped by nearly half between 1914 and 1918, from 9,400 to 5,400, only recovering slowly after the war (Flückiger Strebler 2013). However, Switzerland benefited from being spared the battles and served as an island of recovery for many war survivors. In addition, US soldiers based in Europe for peacekeeping after the wars benefited during their days off from the well-developed hotel and entertainment facilities and visited Lucerne for short periods of rest and recreation. This not only brought new visitors to town, but it also fostered the brand image of Lucerne as a holiday destination in the USA (ibid).

In the 1960s, the tourism industry as such boomed along with the economy more generally, and people had more and more time for leisure purposes. Due to the emergence of new holiday destinations around the Mediterranean and the spread of the automobile, as well as the global intensification of air links, traditional holiday destinations in Europe did not benefit as much from this economic upturn as their global counterparts. On top of that, the Swiss export industry was heavily hit by a currency crisis in the 1990s, which caused a grave situation in the tourism industry. New concepts therefore needed to be found, and Lucerne was one of the pioneering destinations in its striving to find new and additional markets which were not so currency-sensitive. In particular, the upper classes of India, Japan, and Korea were targeted to fill the gap the traditional market had left (Weber et al. 2019).

Globalisation and new emerging markets

Kurt. H. Illi, the then president of the Lucerne tourism board, invested significantly in such emerging markets and was the first Swiss tourism director to fly to Beijing to promote Lucerne as a destination in 1986. At this time this pioneering move was not yet understood, as the potential of what is today's second biggest economy was widely underestimated. However, Illi made himself famous for unconventional marketing methods and in his 22 years as a leader of the tourism board became a successful driver of market diversification. In his era also fell the increasing professionalization of the Destination Marketing Organisation (DMO), which in 2000 he turned from a stolid public body (*Verkehrsverein*) into a more dynamic, privately financed stock company (*Aktiengesellschaft*). Today the following companies are among its main shareholders: Andermatt Swiss Alps AG, Bucherer AG, Bürgenstock Hotels & Resorts, Casagrande AG, Embassy Luzern, Grand Casino Luzern AG, and Gübelin AG (Luzern Tourismus n.d., a).

The ongoing globalisation of the tourism industry certainly supported this development, and in 2018, the Asian market generated 33% of overnight stays in Lucerne. This represents an increase of 42% since 2012. China is one of the main drivers of tourism growth, with an increase of 31.2% of overnights since 2012 (Federal Statistical Office of Switzerland 2018). These figures are in line with the worldwide development of the Asian travel market, which is expected to continue to grow significantly in the future (UNWTO 2017).

Another strong source market with high growth rates is the United States of America (USA). The USA is the second-largest country of origin and is responsible for 16% of overnight stays, a figure that grew by 48.7% between 2012 and 2017. In contrast, the numbers of visitors from the home market of Switzerland and neighbouring European countries have declined. The Swiss remain an important source market, with 22% of total share, but growth was negative (- 4.8%) between 2012 and 2017. Likewise, Europe has declined as a source market, losing 7.3% over the five years between 2012 and 2017 (Federal Statistical Office of Switzerland 2018).

Even though the city of Lucerne today only has a bed capacity of 6,000 (which is well below the capacity of 9,400 beds before the world wars), these numbers show how tourism development in Lucerne is currently booming as well as adapting. However, not all visitors are recorded in the overnight statistics. Alternatives forms of overnight stays, for example, in rented homes or shared apartments, are not counted in. Moreover, and even more importantly, the increasing numbers of day-trippers are also not captured in these official numbers. Estimates of the amount of day-visitors vary, as no official data exist. Hanser Consulting (2018) calculated there were 1.4 million foreign group tourists in 2018, who stopped in the city of Lucerne. Approximately half of them stayed overnight within the larger region of Lucerne, while the other half merely passed through, continuing their rapid tour through various European countries within a relatively short amount of time. A study by Price Waterhouse Coopers (PWC 2014) between 2009 and 2013 recorded an average of 55 tour coach movements daily on the Schwanenplatz (over 20,000 movements a year). In 2017, the city registered more than 50,000 vehicles making brief stops at this central location to drop off and pick up travellers. With an average of 30 to 35 passengers per coach (Hanser Consulting AG 2018), this makes up a remarkable number of visitors for a medium-sized city with about 80,000 inhabitants.

Most of the day-trippers, in particular those from Asian countries, visit the same bounded perimeter within Lucerne, as already noted elsewhere: "Owing to the short duration of their stay, visitors from Asia remain in the historic city centre and often narrow their activities to purchasing souvenirs and luxury goods, such as famous Swiss watches. Visitor pressure is therefore concentrated in a limited area around Löwenplatz and Schwanenplatz in the historic town, where most shops and attractions

are located. Not only are visitor flows in Lucerne limited to a relatively small spatial area but [they] also vary significantly depending on time and date” (Eggli et al. 2019:61).

Despite various other visitor intensive forms of tourism, such as the hosting of an international renowned classical music festival at the KKL (the Lucerne Festival), accommodating Switzerland’s most visited museum (The Swiss Museum of Transport), or housing many conventions and business fairs (such as at the Messe Luzern), tourism in Lucerne is heavily linked to Asian group tourism, which dominates the perception and the ongoing discourse. This oversimplification might be due to the visibility of this visitor segment and presents the offending object, as the following paragraph will show.

1.4 The situation today: Animated discussion on *overtourism*



Figure 1: GIF-animated poster for the JUSO petition 2017 (© Erich Brechbühl, Atelier Mixer).

This current situation is well disputed in public. Group travellers in particular, symbolised by tour coaches, have been subjected to critical discussion. The *Young Social Democratic Party* (JUSO n.d.) launched an initiative with 868 signatures by Lucerne residents (only 800 were needed) to ban tour coaches from a centrally located parking area. It claimed to repurpose the tarred area used by the tour coaches as a lakeside public green park.

The so-called “Inseli-Initiative” came to a poll in September 2017 and was narrowly accepted by 51.6 % of voters, which, according to Weber et al. (2019:178), can be interpreted as a protest sign against *overtourism*. The initiative was not only about creating green space, but also about drawing boundaries and imposing limits to the unwanted future development of tourism. This was also illustrated by the movement’s campaign poster (see Figure 1), which deliberately linked the initiative to the historic coming into being of tourism by using a traditional subject from a 20th-century tourism advertisement poster as its background.

This initiative clearly addresses the main crux of the matter with tourism in Lucerne: The controversy is predominantly focused on large tourism groups (mainly from Asia) visiting the city by tour coaches. This form of travel is largely regarded as disturbing and often subsumed within the catchphrase *overtourism*. As opposed to other cities dealing with (over-)tourism issues, like Berlin, where the bogeyman are the “rolling suitcases” visiting Airbnb apartments and gentrifying urban quarters (Füller and Michel 2014; Sommer 2019; Grube 2018); or likewise Barcelona, where strong tourism growth induced by large events (such as the 1992 Olympic Summer Games) are turning former “peripheral urban neighborhoods into tourist attractions” (Mansilla and Milano 2019:1); or Amsterdam, which is regarded as “a nightly city, which led to visitors coming for Marijuana and prostitution” which causes disturbances like “public urination, overindulgence in drugs and alcohol, noise pollution, littering, rude and arrogant mannerism, tourists occupying the streets to sleep” (Koens and Postma 2017:16), which are all evoking protest and resistance towards tourism in their respective cities – in Lucerne, the situation presents itself differently: It is less about the individual traveller gentrifying urban boroughs, but rather about the masses visiting the centre; it is less about a big initial event turning a former industrial town into a tourist attraction, as Lucerne has been a

tourist attraction for over 200 years; and it is less about night life and party tourism, as most of the visitors go to bed early in central Switzerland.

The Inseli initiative therefore focuses on the disturbing factor that matters the most in Lucerne: The hordes of tourists getting out of their buses, interested only in buying souvenirs and taking a brief selfie-pic, a coming and going which leaves nothing but money for a few. The problem is therefore generally regarded as a capacity issue for carparking (which also tangents the parkings at Löwen- und Schwanenplatz) and a visitor congestion issue within the area in the old town where most souvenir shops are located. The map below gives an overview where these neuralgic hot spots are located within the city of Lucerne.



Figure 2: Overview of the city of Lucerne with its most neuralgic hot spots.

The Inseli initiative was successful against most of the election forecasts. As a result, the city government had to come up with alternative parking options that the initiative had left open. However, this proved difficult, as adequate parking areas are scarce within a convenient distance from the main visiting area. The city explored different options, all of which had severe shortcomings, including the high costs. For example, the construction of a metro line for an estimated CHF 400 million was suggested by one interest group, but a financial loan to realise this option was rejected by a poll in February 2020. Current private initiatives to construct underground car parks at Schweizerhof or Musegg do not seem politically feasible either. To overcome this impasse, the city

government launched a comprehensive consultation, inviting more than a hundred stakeholders from a wide political and civic spectrum (including myself as a representative of the Institute of Tourism and Mobility) to discuss the fundamental challenges of this deadlocked situation. The process was scheduled for three evening meetings, but due to the pandemic crisis only the first workshop took place. Subsequent announcements of the organising committee declared that the process has been postponed but not cancelled.

In introducing this participatory workshop, the organising committee started with a look back at history. They stated that already in the 1970s and 1980s the tour coaches had led to heated discussions. The aim and objectives of the gathering are therefore nothing new, as in 1987 the Green Party had already launched an initiative to repurpose the car park at Schwanenplatz and convert it to a publicly open piazza. It must be noted, however, that at this time the Schwanenplatz was used as parking not only for tourist coaches, but also for private cars. Both the initiative of the Green Party and the counterproposal from the city government were defeated at the polls in September 1988, so that these vehicles could still park in the area. At the beginning of the 1990s, then, the entire perimeter of the old town was placed under a strict traffic regime, which generally banned private cars from the old town. The existing parking lots for the tour coaches nevertheless remained.

Different political agendas

The debate around the tour-coach parking issue might be the most evident one, but it is not alone. More generally, in January 2019 the Green Party issued a parliamentary motion to discuss the fundamentals of the development of tourism in Lucerne, in which a strategic vision for tourism was demanded from the city government. This plan for the mid-term future was to be established in close collaboration with the local tourism board and by including the opinions of the general public. The city government has time to answer this motion until 2021. To improve the linking of the challenges of the traffic regime with the more general tourism development, the city government decided to link what were formerly two distinct processes (governed by different administrative departments) with phase of a joint analysis and defined interfaces, as shown in Figure 3.

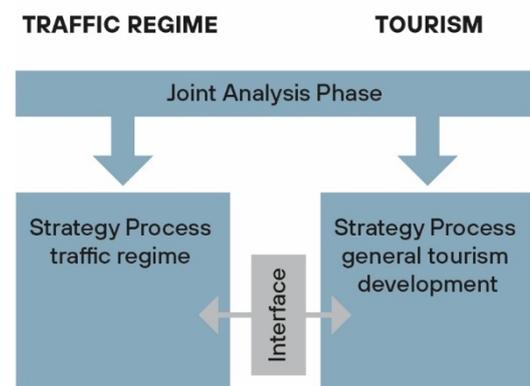


Figure 3: Twofold procedure to tackle tourism and traffic issues (Lucerne city council 2019:10)

The Institute of Tourism and Mobility supported the city council in this endeavour and was commissioned to contribute to the joint analysis phase, in particular with regard to the day visitors. These had been identified as one of the most critical issues, where the data were less robust. In addition, the cantonal department for area and economy (rawi) and the Lucerne tourism board were also involved (Stettler et al. 2019).

In a further mandate, the Institute of Tourism and Mobility was commissioned to conduct a representative survey to ascertain the tourism awareness of the Lucerne city population: “The survey was carried out in two waves between January 13 and February 23, 2020, based on a random sample of 6,779 people. A total of 1,530 people completed the survey online or in writing. The results show that the importance and benefits of tourism are undisputed and widely recognized. It also shows, however, that the one-sided distribution of the costs and benefits of tourism are viewed critically.

This resulted in the clear desire for no further tourism growth in future. Accordingly, a majority of those surveyed support stronger regulation and control of tourism”, Stettler et al. (2021:181) revealed.

Tourism lobbying and civic support

To counterbalance this hostile atmosphere toward tourism, several initiatives have been launched in the past couple of years. First and foremost, the *Tourism Forum Lucerne* and the *IG Weltoffenes Luzern* must be mentioned. Both are initiatives consisting of local small and medium enterprises as well as private individuals who recognize the potential harm of the increasing criticism of tourism. In February and March 2016, the Tourism Forum Lucerne, for example, released a broad media campaign (including billboards, media screens and newspaper ads) with several subjects. The campaign proclaimed the advantages of tourism in particular because of its provision of jobs (see Figure 4: *Tourismus schafft Arbeitsplätze* [Tourism creates employment]).



Figure 4: Tourism creates employment (Tourism Forum Luzern 2016, © Susanna Bertschmann)

IG Weltoffenes Luzern was only founded in 2018, to support the tourism business in Lucerne. This is an association consisting of the main tourism players, such as the lake cruise company, mountain cable cars, souvenir, chocolate, watch and jewellery stores, hotels, and museums, among others. The German term *weltoffen* literally stands for ‘open to the world’, meaning being cosmopolitan and liberal minded. Thus, the private initiative recognizes that social dimensions play a vital part in the current criticisms of tourism growth. Its supporters introduced a feedback-bicycle, a so-called *Lozärner Feedbike*, which toured the city in summer 2019 and spent time in dedicated locations listening to pedestrians passing by. This mobile letter box enhanced understandings of the tensions and gave people a say. By deliberately using a local tone in its title, for example through applying the dialect term ‘*Lozärner*’ instead of the standard German ‘*Luzerner*’, closeness and relatedness to the residents is made obvious. In addition, *IG Weltoffenes Luzern* also organized public meetings at which different stakeholders were able to articulate their views. As a measure to enhance the involvement of Lucerne residents, *IG Weltoffenes Luzern* distributed a voucher booklet to all households in Lucerne, allowing them to benefit more from the tourist infrastructure. The booklet includes two-for-one offers for excursions by cruise ships and funiculars, as well as discounts when buying products such as jewellery and chocolate. It also included free entry (sponsored by jewellery and souvenir stores) to some ice hockey and football games, though unfortunately not to the most attractive fixtures.



Attitudes to tourism are also a decisive factor in votes and elections. Most parties are therefore developing official positions on tourism and communicating them accordingly. Lucerne's largest party, the Christian Democratic People's Party (CVP), for example, stressed the economic benefits of tourism in their campaign, stating that they would rather have "happy tourists than empty funds" (CVP 2017, Figure 5). This unmistakably highlights the great importance of valuable taxpayers like the jewellery companies, souvenir shops, hotels, and transportation providers. It is argued that, in the end, tourism exists to the financial advantage of all the city's taxpayers.

Figure 5: Campaign: Happy guests instead of empty funds (© CVP 2017)

The political discussion does not halt at parliamentary debates and public campaigns: it also enters the classrooms. To sensitise the upcoming generation on the complex issue of living with tourism in Lucerne, the local teacher-training college (Pädagogische Hochschule Luzern) and the city of Lucerne jointly drew up guidelines for discussing tourism issues in secondary school. In a booklet on political education of over hundred pages (Sager and Hofstetter 2019), questions about the traffic problem, the direction of tourism development and the general future of Lucerne as an urban area place are raised. In a number of interactive exercises, pupils are actively engaged and encouraged to develop arguments for and against tourism.

This educational initiative certainly helps not only to focus on the economic aspects of tourism, such as job creation, tax money and sales figures. It is obvious that most of the arguments of the pro-side are emphasizing the financial benefits, but it seems that these are not really catching on. Dealing with tourism issues is a far more complex endeavour, as the further development of this dissertation will explicitly show.

Lucerne is not a sole tourism destination

These introductory paragraphs might give the false impression to the reader unaware of Lucerne that the city is purely a tourism destination. That is certainly not the case, as what is the largest city of central Switzerland has various other functions. The city, with its 80,000 inhabitants, is the capital of the canton of Lucerne and counts as many as 156,000 inhabitants when adjacent municipalities in the broader metropolitan area are included (Gemeindereform Luzern n.d.)

Tourism undoubtedly plays an important role in the local economy. According to a study of BAK Economics (2021:25), tourism in 2019 (pre-corona) generates 3.4% of the cantonal GDP and 7.1% of the municipal GDP, as the table below shows (Figure 6).

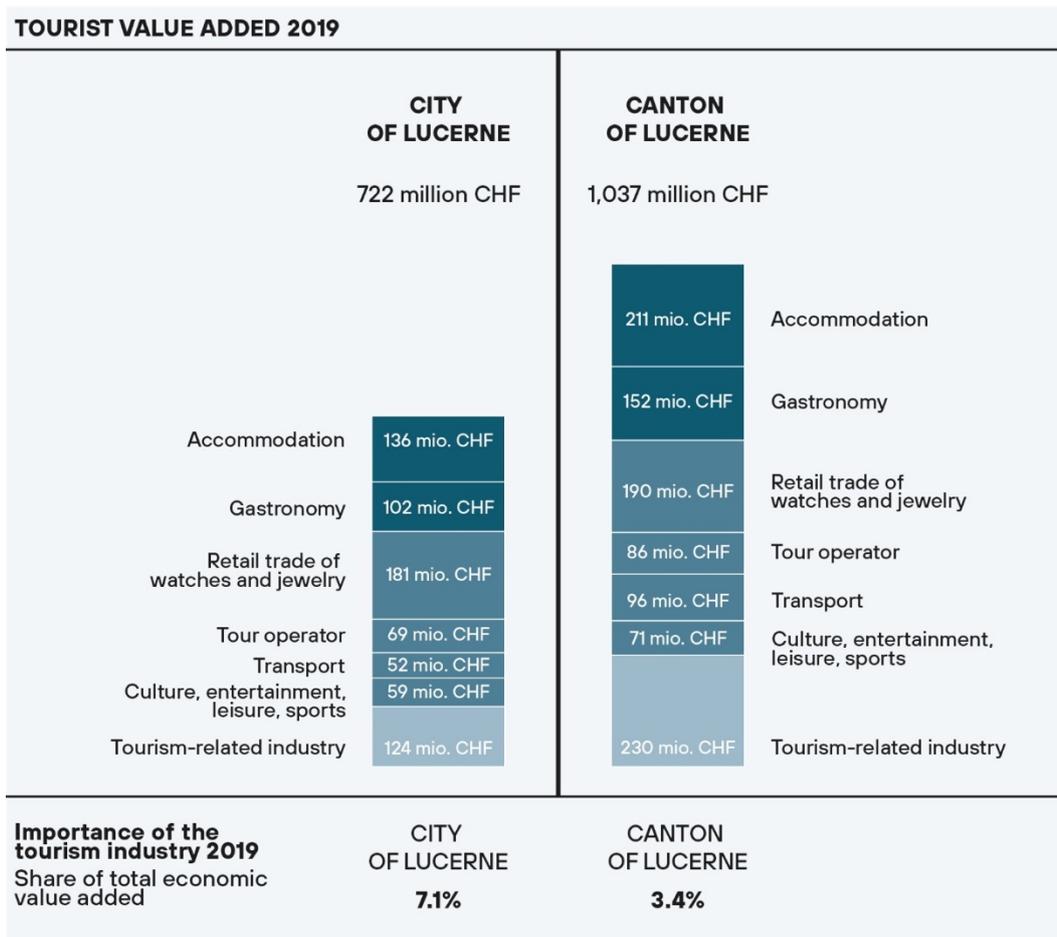


Figure 6: Economic value of tourism on cantonal and municipal level (© BAK Economics 2021)

These are certainly not negligible figures, in particular when considering the indirect value-added from tourism (such as cleaning or security services, etc.), which increases the GDP to 4.4% on the cantonal and 8.3% on the municipal level (ibid.:29). Nevertheless, the current discourse might suggest much higher figures when accounting for the high dependence on tourism, given that most of the GDP stems from the tourism industry. According to a study commissioned by World Tourism Forum Lucerne, this might be the case in Santorini (with tourism responsible for 70% of the GDP) but not the city of Lucerne (Weber et al. 2019:82).

In addition, tourism is often cited as creating many jobs (see, for example, the campaign in Figure 4 above), but these numbers are relatively small compared to the potential estimate one might expect through such campaigns. According to the BAK study, tourism contributes only 6.4% FTE (full-time equivalent jobs) on the cantonal and 12.7% FTE on the municipal level (2021:29). This is similar in importance to other branches, even when the numbers are calculated on a different basis and in another year. The economic report of the city of Lucerne for 2014 reveals the relevance of other branches in Lucerne (Lucerne City Council 2014:22). As the table below shows, health and social care created 15.8% FTE, retail business and trade 12.3% FTE, teaching and education 7.2 % FTE, and banks and insurance 9.6% FTE, whereas in this compilation tourism is not accounted for separately (see Table 1).

Economic sectors	Workplace (number)	Full-time equivalents (number)	Full-time equivalents (%)	Employees (number)	Employees (%)
Health, Social services	1026	9331	15,8%	12859	16,7%
Detail, Wholesale	1208	7232	12,3%	9158	11,9%
Education, Teaching	362	4267	7,2%	7473	9,7%
Freelance, scientific, technical Services	1421	5455	9,3%	6776	8,8%
Banks, Insurances	259	5627	9,6%	6538	8,5%
Hospitality sector	388	4232	7,2%	5630	7,3%
Other economic services	256	4322	7,3%	5393	7,0%
Public Administration, Social insurances	90	2873	4,9%	3792	4,9%
Various sectors	2382	15569	26,4%	19432	25,2%
Overall result	7392	58909	100%	77052	100%

Table 1: Structure of the economic branches in the city of Lucerne (Lucerne City Council 2014:22).

These figures show that, besides its role as a sought-after tourism destination, the city of Lucerne is also the economic, cultural, political, medical, financial, educational, and media capital of a region covering about 800,000 people, extending to five further cantons in central Switzerland (Uri, Schwyz, Obwalden, Nidwalden, and Zug). Lucerne has the headquarters of national insurance companies, local banks, media companies, a trade fair and the cantonal and several private hospitals. Lucerne has nine museums, four permanent theatres, and five international music festivals with 239,000 visitors (Stadt Luzern n.d.). One of Switzerland's largest shopping malls is on the edge of the city, attracting many customers from the entire area. Many people commute to work or to study in one of the three institutions of higher education, namely the University of Lucerne, the University of Applied Sciences and Arts, and the University of Teacher Education. In addition, there are many privately run international schools serving merely hospitality and business education.

Certainly, the foundational shift in urban restructuring, as noted in other European and North American cities by Colomb and Novy (2017:10), did not leave Lucerne unaffected. As in other cities a development towards leisure and consumption can be observed, conceptualized using the term "recreational turn" (Stock 2007:116). This process of increasingly leisure- and recreation-oriented cities is substantially changing "the essential quality of the urban space", which includes aspects such as "festivalization, heritageing, investing in industrial agglomerations, experiencing the modernity of cities, and the urbanisation of tourist resorts" (ibid.).

This orientation of city space towards leisure purposes also unfolds in the quest for places of "Musse" as postulated by Kramer (2020). By endowing urban space with a plurality of uses, cities are becoming an increasingly contested area, "where cohabitation becomes a crucial political issue" (Stock 2007:116). This political dimension of 'living with tourism' will be further analysed in detail in this dissertation, along with subversive tactics, strategies of adaption or resistance, and many other potential reactions to dealing with tourism. By doing so, this dissertation will mostly investigate the contemporary situation but not only. Nevertheless, I shall also embrace the contextual knowledge of the place's becoming into being by respecting its historical roots and long-lasting traditions in serving the many needs of the traveller.

Touristic capital as a valuable resource in dealing with tourism

Drawing on two centuries of historical tourism development in Lucerne, it becomes clear that the situation of today is not a random event, but the product of a comprehensive strategy. Since the middle of the 19th century, tourism has informed city development and coined its image and identity. ‘Living with tourism’ is therefore not a new and unknown affair for the people of Lucerne, but something they have been learning and dealing with for generations.

Stock et al. (2014) argue that such “lieux touristiques anciennement constitués” have accumulated a form of “touristic capital” over the years, which comes to be valued in different forms within a destination. On the one hand, it enables a destination to perform in the global tourism market and to compete successfully in it: “Touristic capital can be defined as an ensemble of physical, economic, social, political, urban, and symbolic characteristics that permits a place – and the actors living in it, developing it, or exploiting it – to position itself in a tourism field and, in comparison to other tourist places, to gain advantages. This concept aims at understanding the differential capacity of tourist places to maintain (or to lose) touristic quality – relative to the modification of the tourism field – over a certain period of time” (ibid.:12).

On the other hand, touristic capital also has “alternative valorisations” (ibid.), which are rather orientated introversively and applied on the approximate urban region, including fields besides tourism. Such valorisation includes, for example, “coherence building” (ibid.), which relates to governance and the establishment of local institutional arrangements, and therefore refers to the political dimensions of touristic capital. Such coherence building is a crucial element in dealing with *overtourism*, as a destination learns over the years how to integrate different world views and accordingly how to balance them in a coherent strategy. It is argued that places that have accumulated “touristic capital” gain advantages in such internal processes, as they have built up political structures and processes, the mutual confidence of the involved actors, and various forms of engagement in dealing with the respective challenges over the years.

1.5 Research question

With this background in mind, I will now unpack my research questions to improve understanding of the tourism situation in Lucerne. By investigating on qualitative aspects of what is widely perceived as *overtourism*, I intend to overcome the numeric driven dispute on visitor numbers, congestion issues and spatial and/or temporal distribution of tour coaches. Rather, the dissertation aims to discover new avenues in apprehending what is really happening in this particular place and is trying to provide a so far neglected rationale for the manifold critique, subtle aversion, and sometimes explicit protest and resistance. The dissertation also aims to understand what people regard as beneficial from tourism, and how and why they support its ongoing development. In Lucerne, rarely anyone is not involved in or concerned about tourism issues. But the current discourse about tourism in Lucerne lacks, in my opinion, depth and a greater overarching understanding for its nuances and complexity, which will thus be provided within this dissertation.

In this endeavour, it is not so much the quantitative aspects of the tourism development that are in focus, but rather the manifold dealings with the urban space of the mobile *people* involved. I critically ask who is involved in tourism issues and how and why? And do all mobile people see themselves as tourists? I shall pursue the protagonists in their respective experiences of ‘living with tourism’ and ask where their interests, values and imaginings meet and potentially collide. Are these encounters of mutual benefit, or are they rather marked by competitive power relations? How do the different

actors stand in relation to each other? Are they interacting, mingling, competing, or just living apart from one another? By closely looking at all sorts of different people, the plurality of potential protagonists will be set out and embraced in its manifold totality.

Of particular interest will be how these multifaceted actors go about practicing their use of urban space. Here I shall unveil the different tactics, motives, and diverse background knowledge of making sense of place. How are mundane daily activities performed along with other, rather extraordinary practices? How are similar activities, such as shopping, differentiated when performed by distinct actors? I shall investigate the respective practices and mobilities related to tourism, which all shape and co-constitute the realm in which these actors are living.

Then, I shall probe the vast playground the city offers on which to perform these practices and mobilities. Where do visitor flows accumulate, and where do the protagonists' paths intersect? Are there distinct *places* where the actors physically meet and encounter one another? How are these so-called hotspots politically negotiated? To whom does Lucerne belong, or to put it briefly in Lefebvre's (1968) words, who has the right to the city? And does the answer to this question vary according to whom you ask and what part of the city one is talking about? What is the role of tourism in this ongoing process of place-making and urban development?

Subsuming the above outlined array of research interest, the following research questions can be articulated and specified:

- My main research question is the following: *How do people inhabit a tourist place in a context where the presence of tourists is contested? How is Lucerne inhabited by a multiplicity of mobile people, practices and projects that are not reducible to tourism?*

The following three subquestions precise the former:

- Which actors are involved in tourism and how do they value tourism and urban space? Is their stance towards tourism conditional to their relation to place? And are all mobile *people* engaged in touristic situations?
- Which *practices* are performed when engaging with urban space, how do these practices differ in relation to the knowledge, motifs, and stance of these people? If practices are competing, which of the practices prevail?
- How does *place* emerge in several locations in Lucerne out of the practices of mobile people?

To start this venture, I shall now describe my fundamental theoretical understanding of how inhabiting a tourist place can be conceptualized and where the current notion of the situation is rooted in tourism studies.

Chapter 02: Theory

2.1 Introduction: Different avenues to conceptualising a tourist place

Although the term *overtourism* is fairly new, the concept has longstanding roots in tourism studies. This chapter examines where the new buzzword comes from and the theoretical thinking on which it is based. By discussing these early concepts, it will be shown how they are still influencing today's conceptualisation of *overtourism* through its rather quantitative approach. This will be challenged in this dissertation by looking at what happens in tourism places from a more qualitative point of view. More performative avenues informed by the practice turn in social sciences (Schatzki 2006) and the new mobilities paradigm (Sheller and Urry 2006) have been emerging as valuable ontologies for describing, analysing, and understanding how places are inhabited, constructed, and made sense of.

This chapter is therefore divided into two parts. First the definition and the actual debate around *overtourism* will be dealt with briefly, before investigating traditional concepts such as Butler's TALC (1980) and Doxey's Irridex (1975) model. Then, in the second part of the chapter, the current notion of place-making will extensively be considered to lay the basis for the analysis of the case study of Lucerne presented here. This serves as a theoretical foundation for investigating the various urban practices in the field. Even though the insights will finally be derived from empirical findings (see Ch. 3.4), an adequate theoretical framework for approaching, capturing, describing, and understanding the practices gathered in situ is suggested herewith.

2.2 The emergence of the term *overtourism* in tourism studies and its conceptual roots

The term *overtourism* was only coined a few years ago. It did not emerge out of an academic debate, but rather out of media and public discourses. *Skift.com*, a web-based business intelligence agency that focuses on mega-trends and transformations in the travel and tourism industry, claims to have first used the term in an article dated June 2016. The CEO of *skift.com* later stated that the term *overtourism* was "a simple portmanteau to appeal to people's baser instincts with an element of alarm and fear in it" (Ali 2018). Because of its self-explanatory and alarmist intent, it has rapidly influenced the debate on the limits on the growth of tourism destinations. Ali (2018) draws on all three dimensions of the well-established sustainability framework derived from the report "Our Common Future" of the Brundtland Commission of the UN's World Commission on Environment and Development, originally published in 1987 (Brundtland 1991), to define *overtourism* as follows:

"We are coining a new term, 'Overtourism', as a new construct to look at potential hazards to popular destinations worldwide, as the dynamic forces that power tourism often inflict unavoidable negative consequences if not managed well. In some countries, this can lead to a decline in tourism, as a sustainable framework is never put into place for coping with the economic, environmental, and sociocultural effects of tourism. The impact on local residents cannot be understated either".

Even though the new term *overtourism* was based on an existing and well-established concept, it lacks its own theoretical foundation. Additionally, the term is accused of being currently overused and overrated (Koens et al. 2018). Its academic success is attributed to its "marketability and popularity" rather than to its "explanatory value" (ibid.:2). It seems obvious that the term originally stems from a marketing agency and consulting firm, which hit a nerve at the time and was therefore

picked up immediately by the wider media. As it was not primarily intended to contribute to the theoretical debate on sustainable tourism development, the concept itself has also been described “as old wine in new bottles” (Novy 2019).

Despite this criticism, various international tourism bodies, such as the World Tourism Organization (UNWTO) and the World Travel & Tourism Council (WTTC), use the concept of *overtourism* in describing their activities, publishing reports and dedicating panel discussions to the topic (UNWTO 2019, 2018; WTTC and McKinsey&Company 2017).

In addition, the World Tourism Forum Lucerne (WTFL) spearheaded the topic in its biannual forum in May 2017 and mandated the Institute of Tourism and Mobility of the Lucerne University of Applied Science and Art to conduct a comparative study of what have been called “tourism destinations under pressure” (Weber et al. 2017). With eleven partner universities out of the academic network of the World Tourism Forum Lucerne, a collective study using the cases of Baku (Azerbaijan), Cozumel (Mexico), the Great Barrier Reef (Australia), Juist (Germany), Kasane (Botswana), Lombok (Indonesia), Muskoka (Canada), Ohrid (Macedonia), Rigi (Switzerland), Soweto (South Africa) and Vienna (Austria) has been carried out. The study analysed the drivers of increased tourism development and, by comparing these different cases around the world, suggested innovative solutions to mitigate the negative effects of extensive growth. Weber et al. (2017:187) refer to the concept of carrying capacity when defining *overtourism*:

“Overtourism can be seen as a function of the numbers of tourists as well as of the carrying capacity of the tourism system. Major challenges occur when carrying capacity is exceeded. Therefore, solution approaches can proactively aim at increasing carrying capacity and influencing the drivers of tourism growth as well as at better managing the challenges”.

The report emphasizes eight main challenges of *overtourism*, which are identified in all the case studies and can therefore be generalized to a certain level, even though the authors remark that every case is specific and differs in its unique framework conditions. The challenges revealed include low visitor satisfaction, bad governance, environmental impacts, the concentration of benefits, the reduced quality of life (i.e., insufficient involvement, poor working conditions, high prices, low level of tourism awareness, inappropriate visitor behaviour, and crime), capacity problems, overuse of infrastructure, and inadequate implementation of strategies.

The authors of the study maintain that “some of the challenges are similar to the factors determining carrying capacity” (ibid.:193), but nevertheless do not see the impact of tourism solely in terms of tourist numbers. The effect that carrying capacity may have on the tourism development of a destination is rather reciprocal: “While a limited carrying capacity can result in challenges, at the same time existing challenges can again have an impact on tourism carrying capacity” (ibid.). By addressing such existing challenges, Weber et al. open their concept up to more qualitative approaches, explicitly mentioning the change in visitor behaviour, new competitors, and emerging global trends as potential drivers for *overtourism* (ibid.:189), but still following a rather positivist and quantitative approach when measuring what counts as too much tourism for a destination. Even though the report distinguishes the physical-ecological, socio-demographic, and political-economic dimensions when assessing the carrying capacity of a place, this remains very much based on numerical data gathered in the respective fields of research spread around the world. This also emerged in a subsequent study by the Lucerne University of Applied Sciences and Arts in cooperation with the World Tourism Forum Lucerne academic network in 2019, when concrete numerical indicators for “measuring overtourism” were developed (Weber et al. 2019). This subsequent study with the WTFL’s partner universities certainly goes beyond the numbers of visitors

per square meter or arrivals per perimeter. For example, by developing indicators such as a comparison of the beer-price difference between tourist centres and the outskirts or the number of photographed menu cards in restaurants, the study also experimented with innovative indicators of *overtourism*. Nonetheless the research relied primarily on quantitative indicators.

In their comprehensive report to the European Parliament's Committee on Transport and Tourism (TRAN), Peeters et al. (2018) also associate *overtourism* mainly with the quantitative aspects, such as the amount of visitors: "By its very nature, the overtourism phenomenon is associated with tourist numbers, the type and time frame of their visit, and a destination's carrying capacity" (ibid.:21). But the report also emphasizes that perspectives on overtourism may include those of various stakeholders, such as residents, tourists, or businesses, and therefore capacity thresholds include the physical, ecological, social, economic, psychological, and/or political components, which enables more qualitative access to the issue.

This parallels the definition of Goodwin (2017), who refers to the quality of life (of the residents) or the quality of experience (of the visitors) when trying to comprehend the phenomenon of *overtourism*. Nevertheless, Goodwin also relates these negative effects to there being *too many* visitors within a destination: "Overtourism describes destinations where hosts or guests, locals, or visitors, feel that there are *too many* visitors and that the quality of life in the area or the quality of the experience has deteriorated unacceptably (ibid.:1, my emphasis). But Goodwin also counterbalances the concept of *overtourism* with what he calls *responsible tourism*: "[Overtourism] is the opposite of Responsible Tourism which is about using tourism to make better places to live in and better places to visit. Often both visitors and guests experience the deterioration concurrently and rebel against it" (ibid.) By contrasting overtourism with responsible tourism, Goodwin is drawing on early scholars such as Boissevain (1996), Tyler et al. (1999), Buhalis (2001) and Bosselman et al. (1999). He explicitly mentions the resistance of both visitors and guests to allegedly unacceptable development. Krippendorf, who entered the academic discussion on sustainable tourism development in the 1970s, argued in the same vein. With his seminal works *The Landscape Devourers* (Krippendorf 1975) and *The Holiday Makers* (Krippendorf 1987) he advocated "rebellious tourists and rebellious locals" (ibid.:107). Krippendorf called for a new form of tourism to "bring the greatest possible benefit to all the participants – travellers, the host population and the tourist business, without causing intolerable ecological and social damage". This was a call for a new form of tourism, which makes life more "fulfilling and enjoyable" and puts "the needs of people, hosts and guests" at its core (ibid.:107-109). By drawing on previous scholars of the 1970, it becomes clear that *overtourism* might be a new term but is far from being a new concept. Sustainable or responsible tourism has long influenced tourism studies and fed the debate about the most appropriate development of a place in ways that are mutually beneficial to all the stakeholders involved. However, recently developed definitions of *overtourism* indicate that this new concept is still strongly reliant on a numerical approach, using rather quantitative criteria to assess what is perceived as too much tourism. This way of thinking is also not without precedent and is rooted in long-established concepts, as the next section will show.

2.3 First concepts to capture tensions between hosts and guests and its critique

During this early period of the academic discourse on sustainable tourism, various concepts and models for systematically grasping and critically questioning tourism development were established. For example, in 1975, Doxey proposed an *Irritation Index* (the so-called *Irridex*), according to which popular support gradually declined with increasing numbers of visitors. Doxey divides this development into four phases: euphoria, apathy, irritation, and antagonism. While in the first phase, it is assumed that the local population welcomes tourism with *euphoria* as a promising source of income and a valuable means of fostering economic and social development. In this early stage, visitors and investors are regarded as enriching the place and bringing benefits to it. This euphoria weakens in a second phase, when tourism comes to be taken for granted and is considered as the new normal. *Apathy* characterizes this phase, when the tourism industry matures and the relationship between host and guests becomes more formalized. *Irritation* then occurs in a third step, when early signs of saturation appear, and general misgivings are expressed. Protests and annoyance gradually rise to challenge the increasingly institutionalized tourism industry. This finally turns into *antagonism*, the fourth and final stage, where resistance to tourism is openly expressed. This model therefore assumes a quasi-complete, temporally structured process with four consecutive phases, which begin with agreement with but end with resistance to tourism.

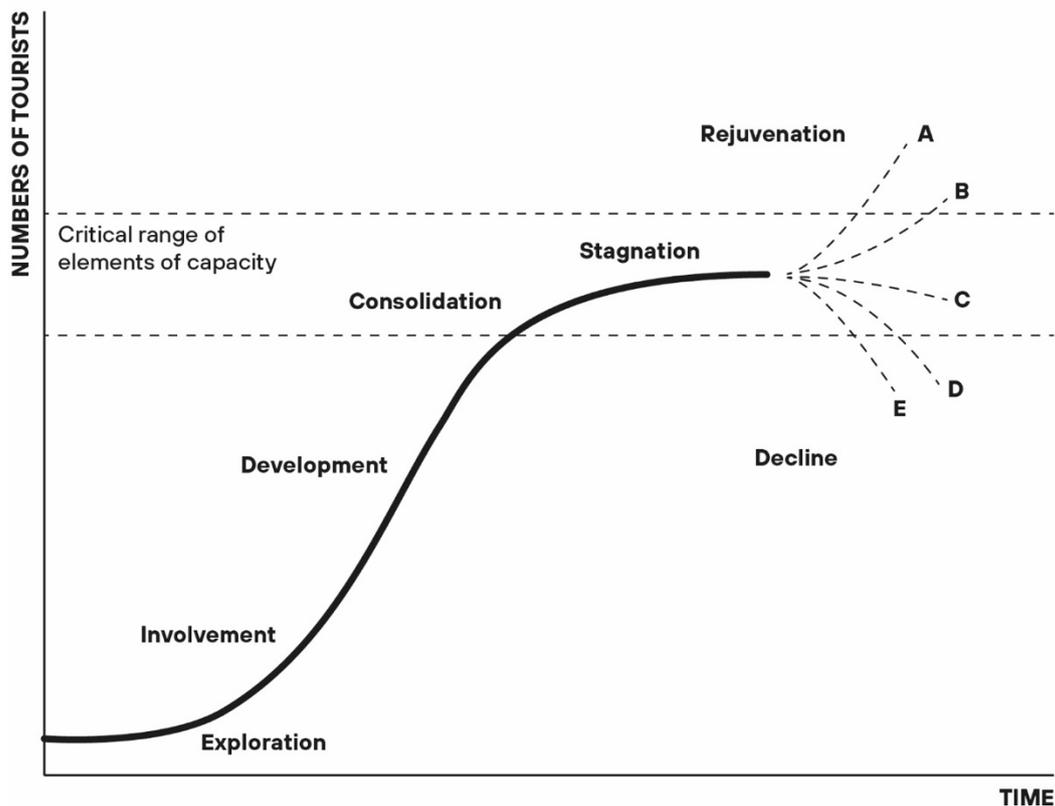


Figure 7: Tourism Area Live-Cycle Model (Butler 1980)

Butler (1980) modifies this concept as a circular model (see Figure 7). The Tourism Area Live-Cycle Model (TALC) opens up a variety of options after the peak of saturation is reached, allowing the process to start anew. Thus, in the TALC model, a destination may either decline or be rejuvenated, having gone through the phases of exploration, involvement, development, and consolidation. This

model draws on the traditional marketing concepts of a product lifecycle, which is commonly divided into introductory, growth, maturity, saturation, and degeneration phases. Moreover, the concept incorporates the notion of carrying capacity, which according to Goodwin (2017:8) is “an approach that draws on rangeland ecology to determine the optimal numbers which can use an area without degradation”. This focus on the merely quantitative aspects of growth is highly contested, however, as it is not only about numbers of people, but rather about qualitative aspects such as the behaviour, interaction, and mode of using a place. Whereas such a positivist concept might be applicable to national parks and nature reserves, it shows its limits when dealing with cities and other open-ended destinations that cannot be so easily controlled and measured, such as closed entities like parks and reserves.

This is regarded as the first and most important point of criticism, in contrast to today’s *overtourism* debate, which increasingly addresses cities and other open-ended destinations. In self-contained systems, it might be possible to define capacity limits and regulate visitor flows accordingly (Butler 2019). However, even in demarcated systems “the search for the ‘magic number’ of visitors who can be carried by a specific place” (Butler 1999:15) can be misleading. Often, there is no simple upper limit, or, as Shipp (1993) puts it, “in most cases, there is no clear threshold and the effects are often cumulative, sometimes in a linear but not necessarily simple relationship, depending on a wide range of variables” (Shipp 1993 cited in Butler 1999:6). Visitors rarely represent a homogenous group with similar behavioural patterns and aspirations. This must be integrated into the current debate on *overtourism*, where distinct segments of travellers vary widely in their needs and wants. It is not only the quantity of visitors, but also their travel behaviour, their temporal and spatial distribution, their social and cultural intercourse, their attitudes and claims, in short, their distinct forms and characteristics of practicing space must be taken into account when discussing the upper limits and capacities of a place.

In addition, and as a second point of criticism, the TALC and the Irridex model both put forward a dichotomy that has the hosts at one end and guests at the other. This is an oversimplification, as places are practiced by a wide range of actors beyond simply visitors and locals. A place is equally produced by commuters, international students, expats, or long-time visitors, who cannot be classified as neither hosts nor guests, but inhabit a place in rather hybrid roles. This binary view does not reflect reality sufficiently and must therefore be avoided in describing a tourist situation in a place in a more pronounced and accurate way. The views, practices, and opinions of all the stakeholders involved must be integrated into the debate to conceptualise a tourism “beyond binaries” (Sommer 2018:1).

Third, both models suggest that host and guests share a common position on tourism. This is most often not the case, as perspectives differ according to roles, relations, and personal circumstances. There is a no joint agreement neither among locals, nor among tourists, concerning what they regard as the destination’s best tourist development. Moreover, actually, there is sometimes not even agreement on one’s own personal opinion, as individuals must balance their views as well and often do not have a conclusive and stable point of view on tourism, but rather an ambivalent take on it. Therefore, it is not possible to assess a comprehensive ‘resort-perspective’, as estimation and appraisal differ greatly in relation to the perspective and situation of the individual urban actors. Hence, a more actor-centrist approach is required to understand the multifaceted notions of a tourist place.

Stock et al. (2014) further criticize (among other aspects) the limited and isolated perspective on a single destination (or *resort*, in their words) of the TALC model, which lacks a meta-perspective on

the global tourism field. Tourism development rarely takes place in isolation at a sole location, but is shaped and co-constructed by global trends, superordinate framework conditions and various dependencies. Stock et al. (2014) argue that the decline of tourism in one place cannot generally be blamed on a local crisis, but on multiple crises that are urban, environmental, economic, or political in origin. This aspect is impressively illustrated by the recent crisis caused by COVID-19, which started end of 2019 in Hubai, China and spread in the following month around the entire globe. With an unprecedented lock-down of the economic system and the closing of most national borders, political measures to repress the virus hit the tourism industry ferociously. Such a multiple crisis therefore not only affected Lucerne as a single resort, but the global travel economy generally.

The differences between places in dealing with such a crisis, argue Stock et al. (2014) lay in the “touristic capital” that a resort has accumulated over time. This form of capital draws on Bourdieu’s concept of capital within sociology (Bourdieu 1986) and “analyse[s] the variable trajectories of resorts over time”, which includes “[t]he differential capacity of accumulating and engaging resources, governance, image, monetary incomes urban qualities and knowledge in the tourism field [...]” (ibid.:3). According to Stock et al. (2014) “resort development raises not only the question of the rise and decline of tourism, but also of change of place qualities”. It is therefore not just a quantitative question whether a destination undergoes phases of exploration, involvement, development, and consolidation (Butler 1980) or euphoria, apathy, irritation, and antagonism (Doxey 1975) respectively. It is far more a question of how a place engages in debates over tourism development, how stakeholders negotiate the different options, assess the costs and benefits, and make conclusions about tourism in the place. It is about acknowledging the variability of resort development in general and constantly balancing the contrasting interests of different stakeholders. That there is neither a sole and privileged interest, nor a linear development to the situation, as the TALC and Irridex models both suggest, has already been shown in the historical outline of the tourist development in Lucerne (see Ch. 1.3). It is far more a constantly contested development, sometimes over generations, instead of an arithmetically determined mean value that gives reference to the place. In Lucerne, people say, the debate on tourism is as old as tourism itself. From the very beginning in the 1840s, there has been scepticism about the seductive promises of the tourism industry (Bürgi 2016:79). Tourism was never regarded as a single case, but as a manifold, ambivalent and contested issue entangling the different spheres of a place. There is therefore no linear order of phases, as they are not subsequent to each other; rather, they take place simultaneously in time and space. Exploration, euphoria, involvement, apathy, irritation, antagonism and so forth are experienced, performed and expressed at the same time by different actors in different situations, constantly producing the touristic capital of the place. These positions are sometimes contradictory, showing the great ambiguity that many actors are continuously dealing with.

In addition, there is no such thing as a logical consequence leading from one phase to another. These models may suggest that, for example, after apathy follows irritation or after involvement follows development, but in reality, such phases are far more random, jumbled, and incidental. Global crisis like world wars, pandemics and economic downturns are as responsible for rather erratic and volatile development as local incidents such as earthquakes, terror attacks or political turmoil. Phases are therefore characterised by leaps and bounds, rapid and unprecedented up and downs, which are more similar to an unsteady fever chart than the product lifecycle of a marketing concept. History proved to be full of twists and wriggles, and the recent crisis caused by COVID-19 is only part of this constantly unstable development. Instead of this ordered and static view of the tourism destination, a more flexible, fluid, and dynamic approach is required that respects the liquid nature of tourist flows and its various interdependencies.

This is very much in line with the new mobilities paradigm (Sheller and Urry 2004), which argues that tourist places are co-produced, co-constituted and actively shaped by different actors and mobilities. “Places to play are also places in play: made and remade by the mobilities and performances of tourists and workers, images and heritage, the latest fashions and the newest diseases”. Such playful places are informed by the “urge to travel elsewhere, the pleasure of immersing oneself in another environment, and the fascination with little differences in the materiality of the word” (ibid.:1). However, such *places in play* are not subject to a singular tourist use but offering a variety of additional functions for a wide range of stakeholders. A tourist destination, especially one with an urban character, can perform various other economic, social, political, and cultural tasks and roles in addition to its touristic function (Stock 2007). Reducing a destination solely to its role as tourist place wrongly assumes that if the touristic value of a place declines, the entire place will face an economic, social, and cultural decline. This neglects the fact that a tourist place can inherit other, non-touristic roles and functions. Thus, the TALC model might be able to measure empirically “the decrease in tourism’s relative importance in a place, but this does not necessarily mean that a *place* declines” (Stock et al. 2014:6, emphasis in the original).

To conclude, it becomes clear that the concepts introduced above have contributed significantly to initiating and fostering the debate over what counts as the adequate tourism development of a place. Yet these existing models must be extended, refined, and adopted to understand better what is meant by *overtourism*. It is not only the number of tourists coming into town that matters, but also what they do, how they shape and connote a place and how they practice their respective activities in situ. Assessing *overtourism* by means of models of carrying-capacity might not be sufficient to comprehend the complex situation of how a place is inhabited. The next section will therefore scrutinize how different urban actors interact with, deal with, and relate to tourism to understand better what is going on in a city that is entangled in tourism and all its various effects.

2.4 Conceptualising a tourist place as practiced by people

This dissertation conceptualises the city as a tourist destination as produced by practices and mobilities. In contrast to the prevailing understandings of tourism, where places are merely produced by tourism boards, the tourism industry, or the tourists themselves, it is argued that a place only becomes meaningful through the process of production, whereby humans engage with the world (Bærenholdt et al. 2004:4). Places are produced, consumed, encountered, and made sense of by different sorts of urban actors and can therefore be conceptualised as an active form of “dwelling” (Ingold 2011, 2004, 1993). According to Lussault and Stock (2010) this is a process or an activity rather than a passive and static relationship with space, where questions of the geographical referents of identity, the values of landscape, etc. are discussed. A concept of space is therefore suggested “which is inhabited and co-constructed by practice and symbols, and is not only a pure arrangement of things, albeit earthy things” (ibid.:15).

This second part of this chapter will provide a theoretical framework for how the city of Lucerne is conceptualised in this dissertation. In doing so, it will contrast the existing, more quantitative approaches that have been privileged in the *overtourism* debate and opened to more qualitative avenues. First, it looks at those *people* who co-construct urban space. It will shed light on how individuals perform space in relation to their different backgrounds, roles, and understandings. In this section, the multiple arrays of actors and their mobilities will be presented and how symbols, artefacts, materialities and discourses actively contribute with their agency will be analysed.

Second, I shall examine the *practices* of these actors. I understand practices, with Reckwitz (2002), as a routinized type of behaviour which consists of several elements that are connected to one another: forms of bodily activities, forms of mental activities, ‘things’ and their use, background knowledge in the form of understanding, know-how, states of emotion and motivational knowledge” (ibid.:249). I shall look how these practices relate to each other, how mobilities and proximities become intertwined and entangled, and how cultural, social, material, discursive, emotional, or affective practices shape, inform, and co-construct urban space.

This leads me, in a third step, to the notion on how a *place* is practiced by these people. I shall look at how these practices mutually constitute Lucerne as a tourist place (Bærenholdt et al. 2004) and will use the concept of dwelling, to describe and understand how the place is inhabited and domesticated by its actors (Lussault and Stock 2010; Sheller and Urry 2004; Ingold 2011). By understanding a tourist place as a networked and interwoven space, I acknowledge its fluidity, dynamism, and openness. I shall investigate the process of its production and examine the various factors that influence its coming into being.

2.4.1 How people inform space

One aspect of the main criticism of Butler’s TALC (1980) or Doxey’s Irridex model (1975) that has been put forward is that it oversimplifies comprehensive stakeholder mapping of tourism into binary distinction between hosts and guests. This dichotomous view must be overcome by integrating the various stances, roles, and characteristics of all the actors involved and their mobilities. Sheller and Urry (2006:207) include “[a]sylum seekers, international students, terrorists, members of diasporas, holidaymakers, businesspeople, sports stars, refugees, backpackers, commuters, the early retired, young mobile professionals, prostitutes, armed forces and many others” in the set of actors who fill “the world’s airports, buses, ships, and trains”. It is therefore not only one sort of local who informs Lucerne’s host community, assuming those who have been born and raised in central Switzerland and have spent most of their lives there. It is also, among others, about expats living in the city, investors constructing hotels and becoming part of the local economic community, and second-home owners residing partially, maybe in summer or at weekends only, in their holiday apartments, or after their retirements, some for even longer.

Equally, there is not just one sort of guest flocking into the town as a tourist, but a wide array of persons coming from far and near. Commuters from neighbouring villages are just as much guests of the city as international students spending one or two years at one of the numerous Lucerne high schools. There might be group tourists visiting the main sights on a short stopover on a trip through Europe or a family pitching their tent on a campground for several weeks. Guests are of different origins, and they visit the place for various reasons and with distinct mobilities. Some of them approach Lucerne in tour coaches, other in camping vans or on rental bikes. Other mobilities involve public transport, private or rented cars, or a combination of them all. These actors contribute their different use of time, space and means of transport to the constitution of the tourist place such as the city of Lucerne is. Sheller and Urry (2006:212) state that these “mobilities need to be examined in their fluid interdependence and not in their separate spheres (such as driving, travelling virtually, writing letters, flying, and walking)”. Mobilities and practices stand always in relation to each other, sometimes enhancing, sometimes competing. They never stand alone and therefore must be analysed for their complexities, ramifications, and mutual correlations.

This is of particular importance when dealing with places such as cities, regions or even whole countries being promoted as destinations and described as victims of *overtourism*, as Jóhannesson

and Lund (2019) have pointed out. Assessing what is estimated to be too much tourism is a far more complex question than putting in a two-dimensional coordinate system between an x and a y axis. “What is excessive or out of proportion is highly relative and might be more related to other aspects than physical capacity, such as natural degeneration and economic leakages (not to mention politics and local power dynamics). It depends on *who* you ask, and *when* and *where*” (Jóhannesson and Lund 2019:94, my emphasis). This similarly applies to questions of *undertourism*, which is equally appraised differently by role, perspective, and the backgrounds of the respective actors.

It is therefore not only about the person one is asking, but also about the timing and location because perceptions, stances and opinions may vary according to circumstances. Or as Stock (2014:198) puts it: “Depending on the situation and intentionality, one and the same place is interpreted differently. People practice the same place not only as tourists, but also in other world conditions, for example in work situations, as a congress participant, language course participant, football fan, as a father or mother, athlete, lover, student, music lover, grandmother etc.”. Therefore, the same person might argue differently, depending on the situation one is in. Hustle in front of a football stadium, to choose a random case, might be considered too tense for someone in the role of a father on a stroll with a baby-buggy. However, the very same place can be considered stimulating for the same person when in the midst of the crowd as part of a group of fans. Actors are constantly changing their roles within a social setting, arguing about supposedly objective things in rather subjective ways. Therefore, the tourism situation in Lucerne is appraised from different angles by the same person, sometimes as a stressed-out citizen, sometimes as a relaxed leisure tourist in one’s own town.

Appraisal of a situation also differs according to whom one is talking to, as opinions are evolving, changing, and adapting in respect of the counterpart. Geiselhart et al. (2019:54) explain this using the concept of *transaction*, which differs to the concept of *interaction* in so far as “there are not finished entities which enter into a relationship with each other, but that both parties only develop a possibility of their own, when they come into contact”. Actors therefore create each other as subjects, being transplanted in dialogue. It depends on whom one is discussing tourism-related issues with to what extent tourism is criticised or praised. This certainly might affect one’s opinion only in nuances, but it clearly shows the ambiguity one inherits, the different and sometimes opposing poles one must deal with, within one’s own personal standpoint. Geiselhart et al. (2019:55) draw on Barnett and Bridge (2013) when characterizing transactional space by its heterogeneity, where disagreements not only arise along large lines of differentiation, but also in multiple details between a large number of individuals who participate in the transactional dynamics of the formation of public opinion. Such transactional concepts draw heavily on relational ontology, as pointed out by Emirbayer (1997) in his manifesto on relational sociology.

Relating to each other therefore requires common ground for mutual understanding. This might be taken for granted in inner-personal conflicts, as one is normally aware of the different roles one inhabits oneself. Also, in settings where people know each other or have similar backgrounds, a certain shared perception (even when disagreeing about reasons, characteristics, and approaches) often serves as a given basis. However, in intercultural settings, which are mostly the case in tourist situations, this might not always be the precondition. Different cultural backgrounds, norms and understandings may lead to conflicts, as the interpretation of signs, practices, and circumstances depends on them. Cohen and Cohen (2017:157) therefore argue, “[t]his highlights issues of contestation and breakdown in the performance of practices in tourism, which are perhaps less salient for practice theoreticians in other fields”. They also add that “[t]he creation of such mutual understanding in cross-cultural situations has still to be explored by practice theoreticians”. Mordue (2005:180) argues similarly, when postulating that “how local people encode and enact performances

that compare and compete with those of tourists who occupy the same space is a fresh vein of analysis". They are therefore knocking at an open door, as the research presented in this dissertation aims to investigate the various aspects of living together in such contested space. People, in this context, are not regarded as passive, but as actively engaging. Or as Quinn (2007:459) reveals in her study of Venice: "Rather, populations who share their places with tourists are active in reconfiguring practices, relationships, and mobilities with and within places".

Such an analytical approach not only includes various forms of active hosts and guests and widens its scope to a range of other involved urban actors: it also includes symbols, artefacts, materialities and discourses in the analysis. Sheller and Urry (2006:210) suggest that the *new mobilities paradigm* involves "a set of questions, theories, and methodologies rather than a totalising or reductive description of the contemporary world". This set leans on theories of liquid modernity (as put forward by Bauman 2000) which "usefully redirect research away from static structures of the modern world to see how social entities comprise people, machines, and information/images in systems of movement" (ibid.). Drawing on Bauman (2000), Sheller and Urry (2006:210) state that "[t]here is a shift from modernity seen as heavy and solid to one that is light and liquid and in which speed of movement of people, money, images, and information is paramount". This research therefore embraces this paradigm shift and not only considers human beings as actors in urban space, but also integrates materialized processes, signposts, graffiti, advertising billboards, park benches, language signs and even tarred sidewalks and public toilets as active subjects that co-construct and inform the city as a vivid and engaging tourist place.

In dealing with these people, signs and symbols, the crucial question is how we understand and identify each other. Schütz (2020/1957) put forward in his phenomenologically informed approach of differentiated "life-worlds" [*Lebenswelten*], which can be closer or further away in time and space. Schütz argues that our social world is organised into distinct "spheres" or "regions", all mutually related and not selectively separated from each other. It is rather by a gradual grading with several interim stages that the different life-worlds are mutually referencing and stand to each other. Schütz (ibid.:110), for example, proposes the notion of "the world of fellows in direct experience" [*Umwelt*], which refers to those who act directly and simultaneously in time and space. In this sphere people jointly co-construct social meaning in immediate relation. Greater distances he allocates to the "world of contemporaries" [*Mitwelt*], where no reciprocal immediateness is paramount, though actors still interact in concurrent time and congruent space. This distinguishes the sphere from the "world of predecessors" [*Vorwelt*] or the "world of successors" [*Folgewelt*] respectively, which allocate the shifted time zones people are relating to. Those sharing and referring to these spheres are therefore either co-humans [*Mitmenschen*] or by-humans [*Nebemenschen*], ancestors [*Vorfahre*] or descendants [*Nachfahre*].

This is crucial to "comprehend the foreign" [*Fremdverstehen*], where the sense of the practices of one's fellow inhabitants are coded and decoded in intersubjective and reciprocal exchange (ibid.: 293). By means of this constant interrelation, categories of human existence are created and the "being in the world" is informed. This fosters the collective identities of "we" and "they" (in-group and out-group) or the individual conceptions of the "self" and "I" or the "you" respectively, which are regarded as the basis for human engagement in the day-to-day world. It is by interrelating with each other in time and space that people create each other and dwell the place they inhabit. That meaningful relations to each other are increasingly under threat in a fast-paced and profit and status orientated society is impressively laid out by Rosa (2019), who identifies "resonance" as a crucial element of our living together.

In the following chapters I shall examine how the people of Lucerne embrace tourism in their respective “life-worlds” by relating to the many people, how they resonate with each other, distinguishing themselves from others, and using shared signs and symbols to gather together in the world of direct experiences or contemporaries. It is by means of the notion of the “we” that people from Lucerne distinguish themselves from the “they”: it is through gradual distances that people are considered as related more or less closely to each other. I shall now look in more detail at their practices of interacting by which the people encountered in the field of Lucerne create and comprehend the social realm in which they are dwelling.

2.4.2 Practices: Active engagement with the world

In this section, I shall examine how the people introduced above engage actively with their practices and performances with the world. The concept of performances is heavily influenced by Goffman (1959), who describes life as a stage on which people perform their everyday practices as a play. Tourism studies incorporated this notion as early as MacCannell (1976), and particularly worked out aspects such as the authentic or respectively the staged nature of the tourist experience. Within this dissertation, I do not focus in detail on the performative aspects of practices, or their staged, enacted dimension. Rather, I draw on Reckwitz (2002:249) in defining practices as “a routinized type of behaviour which consists of several elements, interconnected to one another: forms of bodily activities, forms of mental activities, ‘things’ and their use, a background knowledge in the form of understanding, know-how, states of emotion and motivational knowledge”. I thus see practices as everyday encounters with tourism or as routines way of exploring the world as tourists.

Differentiated manifestations of practices bundled in a plenum

According to the practice turn in social sciences (Schatzki 2006), practices can be of many sorts and have many characteristics. They show how actors are bodily engaging with the world, for example, by taking their dogs for a walk, doing their daily shopping, meeting friends for coffee or commuting to work. Such tasks and habits can be of greater or lesser routine, having a certain pattern or a much less regular replication. Practices depend on tacit knowledge, as they implicitly draw on standardised rules, learned processes and cultural norms. Therefore, Reckwitz (2016) suggests, *social* practices are always *cultural* practices too. They are informed by implicit knowledge schemes, providing common understandings like, for example, how to greet each other, stand in a queue, or drive a car in traffic. By being anchored in bodies and artefacts, social practices are also *material* practices (Reckwitz 2016:98). This manifests itself in earthy things, objects, and fixed properties, such as benches to sit on, trodden down trails or touristified streets, where souvenir shops materialise the dominant use in bricks and mortar. Such practices are also articulated in *discursive* practices by signposts, billboards and brochures addressing tourists in all kinds of languages and with a dedicated touristic imagery. This transfers the championed understanding of a place, and adopts images and connotations of physical, mental, and emotional realms. Such transfers also evoke the articulation of further discursive practices, such as readers’ letters, government statements, or subversive graffiti in public space. All these practices, whether social, cultural, material, or discursive in nature, will be integrated into this piece of research. Practices are looked at in the “nexus of doings and sayings”, to put it in Schatzki’s (1996:189) words, and are understood in all their complexity, contrariness, and ambiguity.

In addition, this research aims to include *emotional* and *affective* practices in its analytical framework, in order to overcome this often-neglected dimension of social practices (Reckwitz 2012). As emotions and affects can be anchored in bodies and artefacts, they are of great relevance in understanding how people actively practice ‘living with tourism’ in urban spaces. Hoppe-Seyler et al. (2019:273) argue that “emotions play a decisive role in the constitution, continuation and change of social practices”. Emotions, such as grief, nostalgia, jealousy, mischievousness, anxiety, or frustration, can be embedded in practices and inform an affective quality of space. Böhme (2014) even speaks of “atmospheres” in this regard, when affects and emotions are spatially inscribed in space. Reckwitz (2012) argues that affects and emotions only inform space when they are practically appropriated by its users and are activating the users’ tacit cultural schemes and routines. However, in doing so, they allow integration into the analytical framework. Tucker (2016:32) likewise focuses on empathy, defining it as an emotional capacity to ‘put oneself into the shoes of another’ in order to understand the often-cross-cultural settings in tourism encounters. Considering the limitations and risks of empathy, which can be either “unquestioned or non-reflective” or rather “unsettled” (ibid:41), will contribute to the further understanding of complex tourist situations, such as that exemplified in the city of Lucerne.

According to Schatzki (2019), such manifold practices and material arrangements are bundled into so-called “practice plenums”. These are overall complexes consisting of various constellations of all sorts of practices, which are interwoven and related to each other as equal but distinct parts. Schatzki explains further (ibid.:80): “Social life inherently transpires as part of bundles of practices and material arrangements. Such bundles connect to form broader constellations, and the broader constellations themselves connect and make up one overall complex: the practice plenum. This plenum is a plenitude: a sum of particular things that, as such a sum, amounts, not to a bigger thing, but simply to a multiplicity. Just as the bundles and constellations that make up the plenum are nothing but the practices, arrangements and relations that constitute them, the plenum is the entity of the practices, arrangements, and relations that compose it”. At the end, following Schatzki (2016:6), it all comes together in a “gigantic maze of practices and arrangements”, which are all related to each other: “relations among practices, among arrangements and between practices and arrangements form arrays that can be thicker, more compact or spread out, continuing and fleeting, and patterned or scattered” (Schatzki 2016:6).

This research will look closely at how these practices are related to each other, how they interact and mutually influence each other and how they resonate in space. Ingold draws an analogy with a music orchestra when describing how the individual performances of musicians interplay with and refer to each other at one and the same moment: “For the orchestral musician, playing an instrument, watching the conductor, and listening to one’s fellow players are all inseparable aspects of the same process of action: for this reason, the gestures of the performers may be said to resonate with each other” (1993:65). Moreover, by staying in the same illustrative image of a music orchestra, he highlights *resonance* not only as a result but even as a requirement for this interplay: “In orchestral music, the achievement of resonance is an absolute precondition for successful performance” (ibid.). This analogy clarifies the inseparability of the practices and champions its interweaving nature as it unfolds in space. Ingold even concludes (ibid.): “Indeed it could be argued that in the resonance of movement and feeling stemming from people’s mutually attentive engagement, in shared contexts of practical activity, lies the very foundation of sociality”.

By analysing the social world through practice theory, several problematic dualisms can be overcome, such as those between actor and structure, sociality and materiality, body and mind, or stability and change. The world is seen as a texture interwoven by relating practices which form

patterns, rather than in binary and opposing parts, such as host and guest, home and away, good and bad. Cohen and Cohen (2012:2182) therefore remove the conventional boundaries between former distinct domains “such as work and leisure, study and entertainment, ordinary life and extraordinary holidays, and even reality and fantasy”. Such progressive blurring of once opposed dichotomous pairs is enforced by the new mobilities paradigm and serves a more differentiated and dynamic view. Often it is not possible to determine exclusively whether an urban actor inhabits a place as a leisure tourist or as a foreign exchange student, a commuter or a part-time resident, a business traveller or a visitor to friends and relatives, as roles are constantly alternating and coalescing. Furthermore, another aspect weakens the host-guest binary, as hosts are frequently themselves guests during their own holidays and therefore change positions according to their respective roles. Just as Coleman (2008:9) realises: “We also note that those who are tourists one week, may well be the toured the next”.

Practices therefore vary according to the subjects performing them. Even if the activities are similar, they differ in meaning, rhythm, and context. While shopping at a local supermarket might be performed as a routinized everyday practice for an actor who has been living next door to the supermarket for his or her entire life, the same shopping activity might be part of the extraordinary travel experience of a short-term visitor. Edensor argues that “it is contended that the whole of social life can be considered as performative, and that tourist performances exhibit continuities with enactments in other, non-tourist settings. Nevertheless, it is argued that particular dimensions of this performance can be explored according to time and space, social and spatial regulation, and issues of power” (2000:323).

This dissertation explores these temporal, spatial and social dimensions of urban practices in Lucerne and looks at the power relations they are performed with. Practices are not standing loose in space but are always relating to each other in networks. Or as Lussault and Stock (2010:11) state, practice can never be “a-spatial”, as actors always “cope with space” *nolens volens*. This is also attributed to mobilities, which are always relating to something, as Adey (2010:xvii) puts it. By drawing on Lois McNay (2004:175-177) Adey even calls it a *lived relation*, an “orientation to oneself, to others and to the world” (Adey 2010:xvii). This concept always works out a “certain kind of position, standpoint or way of relating – it is a way of addressing people, objects, things and places”, Adey (ibid.) further states. The next section of this chapter will now show how the practices of urban actors constitute place and how the tourist city is conceptualized accordingly in this dissertation.

2.4.3 Place: Dwelling and inhabiting the tourist city

This section conceptualises the city as a practiced place. A city like Lucerne is not regarded as a fixed and static container, but as a place co-constituted “by flows of people, objects, memories and images”, which perform and stabilise the “material natures, social relations and cultural conception” of a tourist place (Bærenholdt et al. 2004:32). By applying the concept of dwelling (Ingold 1993) it will be shown how a tourist place is inhabited, produced, and made meaningful.

De Certeau (1988) distinguishes between space (“espaces”) and place (“lieux”), whereby the first is constituted by practicing the second. Drawing on the concept of language (“langue”), de Certeau compares the act of performing space to the act of talking (“parole”): as speech constitutes language, so do practices constitute the urban space. Lussault and Stock (2010:14) accordingly state, “practising is always a practice of space” where “different kinds of activities transform a place into space, therefore creating space by mere practice”. De Certeau’s distinction between place and space therefore puts forward two distinct concepts: for one, place as the geometrical arrangement of things,

and for the other, space as a linking-together of geometrical arrangements through practice. Space is conceptualised as produced by the actors, emerging out of their actions, doings, and sayings, and is accordingly considered “lived space” or “inhabited” (ibid.:14). Space as a concept has a specific quality for human societies Lussault and Stock (2010:15) further state: “it is inhabited, that is co-constructed by practice and symbols, and not only a question of pure arrangement of ‘things’, albeit ‘earthy things’. ‘Doing with space’ means therefore to get in proof with distance, territory, place, landscape, environment, technologies of space, placing and displacement, images, spatiality etc.”.

This dissertation inherits this notion of space and considers places as produced by actors and their mobilities. As a consequence, the term *place* is therefore used as an actively produced, mobile, inhabited and jointly lived space. In particular, I shall look at how a city is lived with, by and alongside tourists. I shall investigate how actors deal with distances and proximities, how they encounter each other “face-to-face” and engage “face-to-place” (Bærenholdt et al. 2004:3). As tourist places are equally places to play and places in play (Sheller and Urry 2004), the dissertation aims to capture the ludic performances of the actors and the multiple engagements that shape it for tourist, leisure, business, educational or everyday use. This array of utilization, interpretation and approaches of place are making Lucerne a city for living, working, studying, passing through, staying overnight or simply for longing, and remembering. How a city is dwelled in is therefore a question of practice. Dwelling in this context must not be confused with sedentarism, as dwelling can equally take place on the move and in motion (Frank 2016; Hannam et al. 2006). This is “[e]ven though the term dwelling is derived loosely from Heidegger (2006/1954) for whom dwelling (or *wohnen*) means to reside or to stay, to dwell at peace, to be content or at home in a place”, Sheller and Urry (2006:208) elucidate. In the present context, the concept of dwelling is understood as an overall category that summarizes the individual practices of inhabiting the place (Stock 2019). These practices can be mobile, such as walking, driving, or travelling through, or immobile, such as residing, mooring, or settling down. Dwelling can thus be both mobile and immobile, “as mobility is just a part and expression of dwelling but is not opposed to it” (Stock 2019:49). This is in line with Sheller and Urry (2006:210), who claim that “a research agenda addressing such mobilities need not embrace them as a supposed form of freedom or liberation from space and place”. In contrast, mobilities are always rooted and contextualised in bodies, places, and artefacts, and embrace all sorts of moving, including the immobile, the static and those in the slow lanes of life.

A dwelling regime is “where space and spatiality are, to a large extent, defined by mobility”, Stock (2007:2) argues, and which “should be understood as the ordering and ordered way of constituting/experiencing space and of ways of coping with space. The central idea is that the association of quality of space (a city for example) and place practices (tourism for example) in an ordered way include conceptions, images, and values of space, as well as geographical referents of identity and technologies. In this dwelling regime, both the quality of places (the city as open to commuters, businessmen, tourists) and the individual’s ways of inhabiting different urban places (practicing the city as a tourist, for example) are informed by mobility. The issue of mobility is highly important, for individuals associate distant places with their practices far more than in otherwise organized societies”.

Inhabiting a place can be performed and enacted by all sorts of individuals, who make use of the urban space. Locals, residents, visitors, and tourists alike can be framed as *inhabitants*, whether on a temporal basis or ongoing and more or less persistently. Inhabiting the city is therefore a practice that can take different forms and characteristics, be of shorter or longer duration, and of different intensity. In this research, how these practices of inhabiting a place between tourists, locals and further involved actors differ, how they enhance each other and where these practices conflict will

be subject to critical scrutiny. As “individuals develop specific modes of inhabiting, i.e., specific relationship to place according to the intentionality with which they practice space” (Stock 2019:8), one must look with great attention to detail on the background and the reason for these practices to fully understand how urban space is constructed and performed. According to Stock (ibid.), it “is an illusion to see the resident and the tourist as equivalent categories of inhabitants when visiting the city because of a different mastering of the urban space. For the former, the urban space is experienced as a familiar space where different spatial problems (such as orientation, accessibility through transport, knowledge) are mastered. For the latter, the urban space is experienced as a space of otherness, where even the most mundane elements (such as food, drink, public transport, traffic) are elements of excitement”. One therefore has to accept that practices differ, even when they involve similar activities.

Ingold (1993) brings forward the notion of “taskscape” in this regard. This refers to the ways humans inscribe themselves in space, by using, inhabiting, and moving through it. “Just as the landscape is an array of related features so – by analogy – the taskscape is an array of related activities” (ibid.:64). Places are therefore produced by the tasks, activities, and practices of their inhabitants or, as Ingold puts it, “tasks are the constitutive acts of dwelling” (ibid.:64). Stock (2007:3) further elaborates that “[w]ithin the framework of dwelling, a city is seen here as a place of specific qualities with which its inhabitants cope – i.e., mobilize as resources within their actions, recognize as problems within their practices, or give sense to by encoding a certain meaning through their practice”. This dissertation will therefore investigate how the different inhabitants of Lucerne cope with the city. It will be shown how actors mobilise the city as their resources, for example, by using pedestrian flow to advertise products and services, playing with the image and expectations of the place, and using tacit knowledge to experience the city in a memorable way. Inhabitants deal with problems that occur while practicing the place: They complain, resist, or use subversive tactics to overcome obstacles and discontents. In doing so, they always put meaning in their practices. This meaning “is constructed through the intentionality that guides the performed practice” (Stock 2007:3) and will be of great value in understanding the purpose of certain actions and activities that shape the place. The dissertation therefore asks why certain practices take place in order to comprehend better how they are informing space. As practice and place stand in a mutual dialogue, constantly interacting with and relating to each other, Stock (2007:3) argues that “the individual experiences the city and the city makes sense as a place for specific practices. It is therefore the quality of the place, mediated through the specific situation, which is important for dwelling”.

That this mediation of urban situations is always also politically negotiated and directly or indirectly depends on the power relations of the involved actors has been suggested by Massey (2012) through her theoretical concept of “throwntogetherness”. In an “ever shifting constellation of trajectories” (ibid.:151) of human and more than human relations, meaning and purpose of a place are disputed and controversially arranged. “From the greatest public square to the smallest public park these places are a product of, and internally dislocated by, heterogenous and sometimes conflicting social identities/relations” (ibid.:152). It is a question about control of place, about explicit or implicit regulations, which might exclude certain actors and privatize or commercialize former common property. It is constant negotiation about the meaning and purpose of a place, a controversy which is “sometimes riven with antagonism, always contoured through the playing out of unequal social relations” (ibid.:153). This struggle over the right to the city is thus nothing foreign, no alien element of a place. In contrast, as Massey states, citing Deutsche (1996:278), “[c]onflict is not something that befalls an originally, or potentially harmonious urban space. Urban space is the product of conflict” (Massey 2012:153).

A place is therefore never completed and definitely agreed on, but continuously contested and always wrapped up in a public discussion. Within this relational approach, it becomes obvious that earlier binaries have been overcome. Concepts of front- and backstage, for example, as introduced by MacCannell (1976) are put aside, as they misleadingly suggest two separate realms: one inhabited by tourists, another inhabited by locals. However, in reality these realms merge together, as different actors using the same space for various purposes. Tourists also shop in supermarkets, which were initially designed for local use but increasingly adapting to further needs. Commuters use public transport like long-ago settled natives and share train compartments with foreign backpackers and external second home-owners. Cruise ships on the lake are used for romantic dates by young local couples, as well as group excursionists. Restaurants serve international food to all kind of guests, mingling at the tables and loosely interacting. Spheres cannot easily be separated, as they are interwoven, connected, and blended with each other. A city is rather an amalgam of different spheres, as opposed to an artificial resort with clearly marked sectors of front- and backstage, such as is the case in a theme park (see Larsen 2012:70). Whereas in the latter the roles are unmistakably allocated, one being Mickey Mouse, the other the paying visitor, life in cities generates more hybrid roles. Whereas one person might be selling tickets for a tourist attraction in the morning, the same person can be a visitor of a museum, a mountain railway, or an ice café in the afternoon. Certainly, the practices of different sorts of actors diverge. They vary in rhythm, scope, and intention, and therefore are likely to intersect with each other and collide. This could produce fruitful encounters, but equally tensions and misunderstanding. As individuals have different demands for the disposability of space, the velocity of movement and the need for adjustments and assistance, interests may be opposed. People have different degrees of familiarity with the codes needed to enact the practices, the knowledge needed to perform and master the space. This includes language skills, habitus, cultural dispositions, and many other factors which come into play.

‘Living with tourism’ is therefore a political issue. Depending on the allocation of power relations, the admission for access to and the distribution of knowledge, not all actors have the same opportunities to benefit from tourism. In contrast, many actors are deprived of lucrative business models and are becoming alienated from their natural habitat. This development raises serious concerns when rents rise, access to public spaces becomes increasingly fraught, and certain leisure activities become problematic, as space is occupied differently. As Colomb and Novy (2017:15) show, “conflicts surrounding tourism are rarely only about crude tension between *hosts* and *guests*, but instead reflect wider struggles over the urban restructuring and socio-spatial transformation and who benefits and loses from them. A particularly good example of this are the complex links between *touristification* and *gentrification* processes, which are difficult to disentangle. The growth of tourism has been one factor among others which has fuelled changes in the residential markets of various cities”. The authors also talk of a “politicization from below” in this regard when attributing an active, powerful, and subversive role to the urban resident. Such social mobilizations for protesting against “economic and environmental injustice, austerity politics, speculative gentrification and displacement, neighbourhood destruction, homelessness, etc.” urge a more just and democratic city and draw heavily on Lefebvre’s concern over to whom urban space belongs and who has the “right to the city” (1968).

By drawing on such holistic concept, the duality of urban and tourism studies is being increasingly weakened and is a formerly distinct concept being overcome. The city is regarded as a complex amalgam, entangling different spheres of life, work, and pleasure, which do not always naturally come to terms. In contrast, urban life is characterized by intersecting interests, colliding practices, and mutually excluding notions of place. It is therefore becoming more and more difficult to draw a

distinct line between tourist and non-tourist areas, or front- and backstage. Especially in cities, it becomes sparse what are theoretically seen as “distinct venues for performances” (Edensor, 2000: 325) or what Chaney (1993:18) calls “physically and symbolically bounded space”. Urban space has a less common-sense understanding of which activities should take place within them, but provides many opportunities and alternatives to perform, enact and self-realize.

Edensor (2000:327) draws a further line between enclaves and heterogeneous spaces. Whereas enclaves are understood as controlled and managed tourist spaces with mostly a single purpose, such as resorts or theme parks, heterogeneous spaces are rather unenclosed, disorganised, and multi-purpose in function. Urban space clearly qualifies as the latter, as different social, political, economic, and cultural use is made of it. Edensor (2000:340) argues that in such heterogeneous spaces “it may often be difficult to move in a straight line”, as moving patterns of actors differ and various practices of inhabiting the space compete. Edensor therefore states, “walking cannot be an uninterrupted journey but is a sequence of interruptions and encounters” (ibid.). The following empirical ethnographic field study of Lucerne will analyse such interruptions and encounters, their potential for conflict, their productivity, and their power relations. It will be of great importance in providing a better understanding of the phenomenon of *overtourism* to determine in what relative strength the different practices refer to each other. In a contested space, such as a city is, the principal question remains which practices dominate the other and thus creates the privileged use of the inhabited place.

By understanding a place from such a relational perspective, it becomes clear that the actors involved all depend on, refer to, and correlate with each other. Hannam et al. (2006) argue, on the basis of the emergent new mobilities paradigm, that there is a complex relationality between places and persons that are connected through both performances and performativities. Hence, places are “not so much fixed but are implicated within complex networks by which ‘hosts, guests, buildings, objects and machines’ are continually brought together to perform certain performances” (ibid.:13).

Place as practiced space over time

This interplay between place, objects, practices and mobilities persists over time, as “places are never finished, but always becoming” (Simonsen 2008:15). Temporality is a key feature in the production of places, as meaning is constantly being inscribed and sedimented in the environment. Practices actively stabilise the meaning of places and afford its constitution, or as Stock (2007:2) puts it, “urban areas have not arisen naturally or instantly, but have grown out of a gradual process that has transformed, temporarily, a location or an urban place into a tourist place. This process takes time and is embedded in a specific moment, a ‘dwelling regime’, where societal processes develop in a similar way”. A place is therefore continuously evolving, adding different layers of symbols, meanings, and imprints of corporal use over time. This process of embodiment is widely recognised as “a movement of inscription, whereby some preexisting pattern, template or programme [...] is ‘realized’ in a substantive medium” (Ingold 1993:63). This might be misleading, though, as it wrongly privileges form over process and refers too much to a static archaeological way of thinking. Ingold (ibid., quoting himself 1990:215) prefers to regard “embodiment as a movement of *incorporation* [...] than inscription, not a transcribing of form onto material but a movement wherein forms themselves are generated”. Temporality is therefore an active agent constituting space whereby meaning is constantly negotiated and produced. But the notion that these layers of meaning are lying on top of each other and can simply be stripped away, layer by layer, to uncover the ‘coming-into-being’ of the place, in a process similar to archaeological practice, neglects the real purpose the place inherits for its inhabitants and their actual involvement with the environment. Ingold (ibid.) therefore champions an approach to “study the meaning of the landscape, not by interpreting the many layers

of its representation (adding further layers in the process) but by probing ever more deeply into it. Meaning is there to be discovered in the landscape, if only we know how to attend to it. Every feature, then, is a potential clue, a key to meaning rather than a vehicle for carrying it. This discovery procedure, wherein objects in the landscape become clues to meaning, is what distinguishes the perspective of dwelling”.

With this perspective in mind, this dissertation aims to drill down into Lucerne’s city life, looking for clues ‘of living with tourism’ and taking them for concrete hints, tracks, and scents of how the place is actually dwelt in. It is about digging deep, going down to the roots of the mobilities and practices constituting the city of today. And since “the process of dwelling is fundamentally temporal, the apprehension of the landscape in the dwelling perspective must begin from a recognition of its temporality”, Ingold (ibid.) concludes. This is very much in line with the notion of the “touristic capital”, as put forward by Stock et al. (2014), and has already been outlined at the beginning of this chapter. Places accumulate experience and the capacity to deal with challenges over the years, sometimes over generations. They build up image and reputation, and not at least financial means, which can put value in differentiating the place from competing destinations. Such “touristic capital” resides in the built structure of a place, but equally in the mind and body of its inhabitants, whether local or foreign. Such “touristic capital” is sedimented over time and can be reverted to in different situations and with various intentions. A place is therefore never without history and, as the proverb says, a city, just like Rome, is never built in a day.

This “touristic capital” can be utilised in various senses in dealing with the crises of the present, such as *over-* or *undertourism*. As tourism flows are highly volatile and prone to incidents and crisis, they are likely to grow rapidly, but also to burst suddenly. As Bærenholdt et al. (2004:46) note, “the complexities of images, materialities, businesses, tourists and locals may become destabilized, so that networks fade away and tourist places change or become ‘dead’ places of the past”. That this shift from apparently too many to suddenly too few can happen very quickly and is therefore not so much characterised by “fading” but rather by extinguishing, has been impressively shown by the crisis initiated by COVID-19.

2.5 Conclusion of chapter

This chapter has shown how place is theoretically conceptualised in this thesis. The city of Lucerne is inhabited by a wide range of different subjects, all actively producing, connoting, and shaping the place by their practices. Subjects are not reduced to a simple dichotomy between hosts and guests, as was been the case in today overhauled frameworks of the 1970s, but encompasses an array of different actors, ranging from human bodies, ideas, and information to material artefacts. Tourist places, such as Lucerne, are therefore “simultaneously places of the physical environment, embodiment, sociality, memory, and image. Tourism depends on these diverse but also overlapping notions of place” (Bærenholdt et al. 2004:32). The following graphic model provides an overview of how the city of Lucerne is conceptualised within this thesis. It serves as an emblematical ideograph for a tourist place, where manifold practices of differentiated actors are unfolding in space. Whereas the largest circle stands for the city itself, the three smaller circles address distinct localities within the city. These are the places I shall scrutinize and on which I shall dwell with closer attention in chapter four. I shall investigate how people, marked below as dark blue spots, move in and out these circles, how these people, images and materialities actively shape and connote the place by mutually interacting with and relating to each other through their practices. This relating to each other, this constant interaction (or lack of interaction) is indicated in the figure below with black arrows.

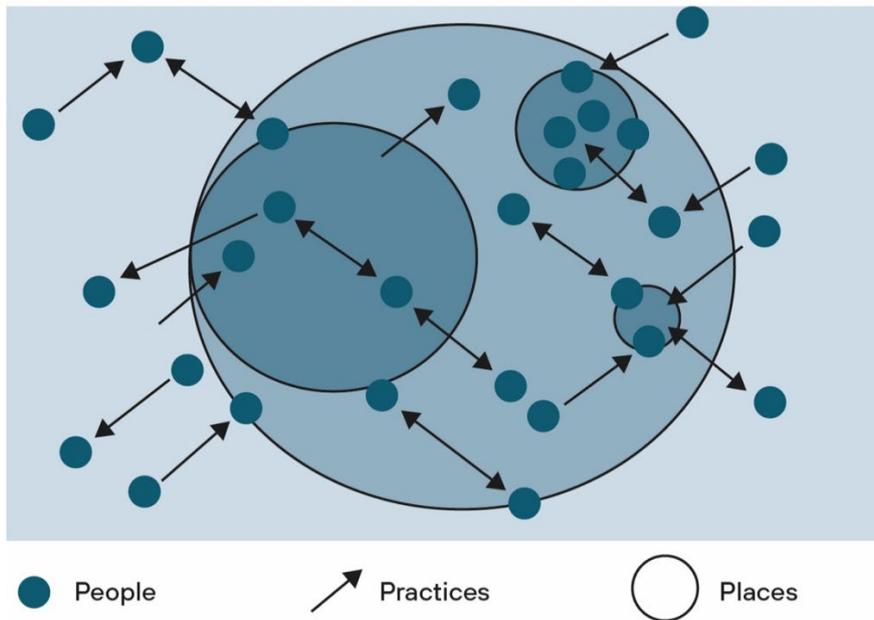


Figure 8: Overview on how people are practicing places (compiled by author).

By conceptualising the city as a practiced tourist place, complex issues such as *overtourism*, or *undertourism* respectively, can be captured in a more differentiated, nuanced, and encompassing way. As destinations are not exposed to a linear development, but actively and constantly negotiating interests, a more mobile and fluid approach must be applied, to describe what is happening in the tourist city of today. According to Quinn (2007:460) “[t]hey are fluid entities that change depending on the mobilities, performances, and encounters ongoing among and between a range of actors at any given time”.

By focusing in particular on the meetings, proximities, and distances of a diverse range of urban actors that are present in the field, this dissertation will look at how practices in the city of Lucerne have evolved over time, how they mutually influence each other, and how they merge together in new streams and accumulations of joint performances. Practices of transformation, for example, are understood not only as individual adjustments to a dominant trend, but also as a collective form of adaption. Every single detour of an individual resident, every single menu variation in a local restaurant, every small increase in the price of a street vendor will accumulate into a bigger picture. All these small bits and pieces co-constitute the touristification of the place, transforming its meaning and its quality, and evoking action and reaction on the part of its co-habitants.

A place such as a city has no single purpose. On the contrary, a city is a complex entity with several tasks and features serving the different needs of different people at different times. Cities have a central function in organising social, economic, cultural, and political life, and simultaneously serving more and more the recreation of its inhabitants (Stock 2007). This does not happen without conflict, as interest collide, and agendas differ. The dominant purpose of a city is constantly being negotiated and is not set in stone, as opposed to tourism in a closed resort or theme park. Actors actively embody their stances and claim their right to the city (Lefebvre 1969, but also Kaschuba 2014). This research describes how tourist practices and urban development intertwine, coalesce, and mutually resonate. The study therefore aims to overcome the former double neglect between tourism and urban studies, which has separated the two disciplines so far (Stock 2019). With this theoretical

background in mind, the contested city of Lucerne will be envisaged closely in situ, where different actors actively reconfigure the meanings, relationships and mobilities of the place.

To capture this array of practices in the field empirically, a set of innovative methods must be deployed. The following chapter outlines three avenues for investigating the complex situation in the tourist city of Lucerne and sheds light on the experience of gathering qualitative data in the field of research.

Chapter 03: Methodology

3.1 Introduction: How to gather practices on the move

Following the *practice turn* (Schatzki 2006) in social sciences, and given that practices are not performed in a fixed container, but in a fluid, interconnected and mobile world (Sheller and Urry 2006), the appropriate consequences for research methods have to be drawn. Urban tourism-related practices in particular cannot be observed satisfactorily in a closed laboratory, but only in a vivid, open, and dynamic living space such a city is. This research therefore opts for mobile research methods (Büscher et al. 2011; Fincham et al. 2010; Urry 2007), which follows information and informants on the move.

Büscher et al. (2011:1) argue that the temptation to hold down and dissect a social phenomenon, such as tourism, destroys it, as its fluidity, its multiplicity, its chaos, and complexity cannot be captured from a remote and detached position. It is through sensory, emotional and kinaesthetic engagement that social practices can be unveiled and discovered; it is “through the investigation of movement, blocked movement, potential movement and immobility, dwelling and place-making, social scientists are showing how various kinds of ‘moves’ make social and material realities” (ibid:2).

Fincham et al. (2010) emphasize that such mobile methods are always rooted in context, within the physical and social realm where research takes place, as the activities under scrutiny are very much intertwined and embedded in space. That said, carrying out data collection, for example, by doing an interview, “in another unrelated space, can limit the potential data – it removes the immediate relationship between the interviewee and the emotional and social space that is being discussed” (2010:4).

This suggested methodical approach of gathering data on the move emerged in the wake of the new mobility paradigm, which Urry outlines as “various methodological innovations that in different ways simulate the movement of people, transport, objects, information and images” (Urry 2007:42). These methods have therefore to be seen as resources endorsing and supporting the theoretical framework of the *mobilities turn*, as introduced in the previous chapter. They are both a result and a prerequisite for theorizing the social world by means of “a wide array of economic, social and political practices, infrastructures and ideologies that all involve, entail or curtail various kinds of movement of people, or ideas or information or objects” (Urry 2007:43).

Büscher et al. (2011) consequently outline a dozen mobile methods for capturing, describing, and analysing social phenomena on the move. These suggested methods include, for example, “observing” and “following people’s movement”. This explicitly encompasses “directly observing mobile bodies either through overt methods such as ‘shadowing’ others, or covert methods that are in effect a kind of sociological ‘stalking’”. Other suggested mobile methods are focusing on the “observing [of] the movement of objects, such as the picture postcards” (ibid.:8). As objects move as part of world trade, methods need to “follow the thing”, which can be shown in cultural biographies of objects, and in digital mapping and measuring people’s space–time movement. Further methods include, among others, the investigation of “face-to-face relationships with other people”, “mobile video ethnography”, “time–space diaries”, “virtual mobility”, “capturing the atmosphere” of particular places or how “memories” are actively developed and performed (ibid.:8). For the present research project, the “method of ‘participating’ in patterns of movement while simultaneously conducting research” (ibid.:8) is of particular interest. This involves inter alia

“walking with people while interviewing”, or on the other hand, maybe a little less intrusively, strolling along through the field of research like a *flâneur*, drifting and observing. It also includes participating in the discourse, where an array of messages, images and texts mobilise meaning and co-constitute urban space.

In particular, “such ‘walking with people’ involves sustained engagement within their worldview (Ingold 2004; Ingold and Vergunst 2012) and reveals the emplacement of professional judgements (Büscher 2006) emotional attachments, activity patterns and life-style possibilities”, as Büscher et al. (2011:9) state. The example of the fieldwork of Haldrup and Larsen (2010) shows that “this may also involve ‘participation-while-interviewing’, as the researcher first participates in patterns of movement, and subsequently interviews people individually or in focus groups, as to how diverse mobilities constitute their patterning of everyday life while on holiday” (Büscher et al. 2011:9). Walking with interviewees, according to Ingold and Vergunst (2012), encourages “a sense of connection with the environment, which allows researchers to understand how, for example, places are created by the routes people take” (quoted in Evans and Jones 2011:850). Such walking interviews are an important part of the set of mobile methods and have been experimented with in various disciplines, even long before the *mobilities turn* or the *new mobilities paradigm* entered the social sciences at the start of the millennium.

3.2 Three methodological avenues for gathering applied data

Within this wide array of mobile methods, this research project has mainly adopted three distinctive approaches to gathering data in the field: first and most importantly, the approach of *go-along* or *walking interviews* (two terms that are used synonymously in this dissertation); second, the approach of the *dérive* or the *flâneur* merely observing alone the field; and third, active participation in the ongoing discourse, whether in media, politics, or academia. This section introduces these three approaches in detail, gives reasons for the selection of each, and subsequently provides insights in evaluating and interpreting the material gathered. It terminates with a conclusion, critically reflecting on the use and interpretation of mobile methods and their implications for the research process.

3.2.1 Walking interviews in the field of Lucerne

Several scholars inform this first methodological approach. The following section gives an overview of the interdisciplinary background to walking interviews in general and provides reasons for its adoption in the field of Lucerne. It explains how participants were selected, and how interviews were conducted and recorded in both text and pictures.

Strollology, go-along and the parcours commentés

Walking interviews, as a constitutive feature of the mobile research methods approach, parallel the idea of *strollology* (Spaziergangswissenschaften) developed by Lucius Burckhardt in the 1980s. His approach merely focused on the aesthetics of landscape, asking why certain areas and urban spaces are perceived as beautiful and thereby drawing implications for architecture and design. Burckhardt et al. (2015) called for a constant change of perspective and asked his student architects to take over the alternative positions of potential space and environment users-to-be when thinking about planning.

Furthermore, Kusenbach (2003) describes and elaborates the *go-along* as an ethnographic research tool that enables the development of a *street phenomenology*. Büscher et al. praise her approach for

its potential to dive deep along with the informant: “Through such ‘copresent immersion’ the researcher moves within modes of movement and employs a range of observation and recording techniques” (2001:9). By means of go-along interviews, the researcher is able to “capture the sometimes hidden or unnoticed habitual relations with place and the environment because it has a tendency to highlight environmental perception, spatial practices, biographies, social architecture and social realms in the data gathered” Evans and Jones (2011:850), commenting further on Kusenbach’s developed method. The approach uses an innovative technique to study the “phenomenological structures of lived experience” (Kusenbach 2003:458) by combining the advantages of ethnographic observation and interviewing, enabling one to “access some of the transcendent and reflexive aspects of lived experience in situ” (ibid.:455). Observing the experience of the informant’s spatial practice while at the same time capturing their experiences and interpretations makes this facet of mobile methods so worthwhile and distinguishes it from traditional interview settings. Classical seated interviews, according to Kusenbach, have two shortcomings in reconstructing the informants’ lived experience of place, namely “the limits of narrativity” and “the limits of the interview situation” (ibid.:462). To overcome these limits and capture “the stream of perceptions, emotions and interpretations that informants usually keep to themselves” (ibid.:464), a more mobile form of interviewing must be developed. While sit-down interviews are “primarily static encounters in which talking becomes the centre of attention” (ibid.: 462) and any other allegedly distracting activities are pushed into the background, go-alongs “develop phenomenological themes by placing researchers in the mobile habitats of their informants, thus facilitating access to their experiences and practices as they unfold in real time and space” (ibid.:478). Consequently, researchers take “a more active stance towards capturing their informants’ actions and interpretations” and “by tracking the natural sequence of places in practical everyday life, go-alongs enhance our understandings of how individuals connect and integrate the various regions of their daily lives and identities” (ibid.).

In a similar vein, but with a stronger focus on the social implications and their relation to anthropology, Thibaud (2001) developed what is called the *parcours commentés*. He developed the process of strolling with informants into an innovative and appealing interview technique that enabled different perspectives to be acquired on a certain topic by walking, perceiving, and describing. According to Thibaud (ibid.), these methods must be adapted to the needs of the object of scrutiny, the research questions, and the terrain. In his concept, he puts forward three central hypotheses as a basis for this mobile method. Firstly, the researchers must accept that there is no superior position. All findings must be contextualised within their environment and in relations to practices. Urban actors are active and engaging observers themselves; researchers are therefore not positioned above the informants. Thibaud demands a shift from the distant savant observing to a simple but engaging process of describing. Secondly, there is a mutual interplay between saying and perceiving: what we perceive is what we say, and what we say is what we perceive. These two dimensions must be seen as a reciprocal enhancing dialogue, rather than two separate and distinct sources. Capturing and understanding the sensitive (perception) and the intellectual (concept) as one entity is therefore an essential feature of his technique. Thirdly, perception is not stable, but constantly moving. What is regarded as ‘true’ in a specific spatial position may vary in another, as perspectives change. Perceptions also vary temporally. Stimuli change over time and are influenced by weather, temperature, or other external factors. Movement and perception are therefore not isolated from each other but must be seen as two interacting and mutually influencing factors. With his approach, Thibaud therefore postulates a research method that levels the positions between the interviewer and the interviewee and engages both actors in a joint process of data generation. This is a method that enables them to capture different perspectives from various angles.

By assembling these three distinct but similar methods – Burkhardt’s *strollology*, Kusenbach’s *go-alongs*, and Thibaud’s *parcours commentés* – an original potpourri of my own has been assembled, merging the advantages of each, and creating a personal approach to conducting interviews on the move.

Applying go-along interviews in the field

As described above, walking and strolling are receiving special attention in mobile methodologies. In particular in the tourism context, pedestrianism is regarded as a central form of movement, as, according to Lorimer (2010), walking is a well-established tourist practice. Urry (2007:63) even states, “in terms of the history of movement, walking is easily its most significant form, and it is still a component of all other modes of movement”. The thesis presented here applies this rationale by focusing on interviews with urban actors, and thus utilising, performing, and co-constructing the city by foot. However, this research is not at all limited to pedestrianism, but encompasses various other forms of mobility, such as using public transport (Interview 14, 16) private cars (Interview 12, 20), tourist trains (Interview 33), e-tuk-tuk (Interview 37), snow-sledges (Interview 4) and horse-drawn carriages (Interview 22). Furthermore, some walk-along interviews are not characterized by a lot of walking, but rather by mooring. This is illustrated by a full-hour interview on the Seebrücke with two female Thai tourists, who used the panorama of the bridge as a backdrop for an extensive holiday photo-shoot, limiting their movement to a range of a few meters (Interview 13). In addition, not all walking interviews take place outdoors, as moving and strolling also happens in supermarkets (Interview 3, 17, 19 and partly 11, 24 and 27), art galleries (Interview 21), souvenir shops (Interview 18, 28), cafés, restaurants (Interviews 2, 12, 18, 20, 24, 28, 35), retail stores (5, 14, 30), churches (18, 27, 30), train carriages (16) international school buildings, and second-hand shops (24).

The research not only investigates different kinds of mobilities, but also various kinds of urban actors who are dwelling in the city. Interviews include people living in Lucerne for most of their lives (Interview 1, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 20, 22, 23, 26, 27, 30, 32, 34, 35), others only partly, such as migrants and expats (Interview 14, 25, 28, 29) or international students (Interview 24). The practices of people working in Lucerne, but living elsewhere, are gathered in this way, such as commuters (Interview 19, 22, 23) or former residents visiting Lucerne anew (33). Other interview covers artists from Basel and Zurich exhibiting in and on Lucerne (Interview 12, 21). Most interviewees represent their private views, while others were asked in official roles, such as a community police officer (Interview 10), civil servants (Interview 9) or representatives of local borough associations (Interview 6, 7, 8). Of particular interest are urban actors, visiting the city as guests, from Thailand (Interview 13, 16), China (Interview 4, 15), Philippines (Interview 14, partly also USA), Italy (18), Belgium (11), the Netherlands (33), France (35) and Switzerland (28, 36) or particularly of the surroundings of Lucerne (22, 23). This broad range of backgrounds, reasons, and motivations of visiting Lucerne opens up an encompassing spectrum of urban actors, performing and inhabiting the place by means of different mobilities and practices. All interviews have been conducted within the city borders of Lucerne, except for one interview that started in Basel and continued while travelling by car to Lucerne (Interview 12). The interview partners were all aware of the aims of the PhD dissertation, which were communicated in a broad and general sense at the beginning of each interview. Disclosure of the researcher’s personal stance on the issue being discussed was avoided so as not to bias the conversation.

How to find, select and approach the right walking partner

The question now arises, how this wide array of different interview partners was determined and how the informants were selected. Here, I have opted for three different approaches:

First, actors were identified during *flâneurie* or in the wake of walking interviews who are generally involved in the tourism development of the city of Lucerne, but not in an official 'tourism role'. Such actors include the manager of a supermarket (Interview 3), a community police officer (Interview 10) and members of borough associations (Interview 6, 7, 8). Others, such as a local tour operator (31), a e-tuk-tuk driver (37) or a souvenir salesperson (28), were more directly involved in tourism. All these persons were approached beforehand by e-mail or phone to set a time and date for conducting a joint go-along interview. Some others have been approached through casual small talk during a stroll through town, and only later fixed a date for a walk (Interview 5, 19, 28). It must be noted, however, that the research was deliberately not intended to include the opinions of the omnipresent stakeholders of the field. Tourism development is discussed controversially in the media and at public events, so that the take of the tourism director, the representative of the hotel association, the spokespersons of the watch and jewellery stores, and political party leaders are publicly known and accessible. Moreover, the researcher has been participating in his own role as an academic, investigating this research area, at various public debates and open forums, where the key stakeholders have been exchanging their views. It has therefore been considered more worthwhile to include informants in the research who do not have such a powerful say in the media and the public discourse but have strong insights into the mundane aspects of tourism in town.

Second, along the way, colleagues, friends, and other acquaintances have suggested some of their private contacts for an interview. These individuals may live close to the old city centre (Interview 1), have an apparent view of the topic (Interview 2) or work and live in the wider context of tourism in Lucerne, such as a salesman of hot chestnuts in the city centre (Interview 20) or international students (Interview 24). Such recommended interviews were also fixed in advance and would most probably not been possible without the support of the researcher's personal network. Nevertheless, none of these persons were seen or talked to in advance. All contacts have been new and without any other relation, despite the contact for the interview, and were in place prior the interview. The only exception is the artist in interview 12, with whom I am on friendly terms.

Third, and predominantly, the researcher approached random persons in the city of Lucerne, asking them if they would spontaneously have the time for and interest in a short walking interview. These individuals were mostly tourists (Interview 4, 11, 13, 15, 16, 17, 18, 22, 23, 33, 35, 36, 37), but with a wide array of different backgrounds in terms of source markets, travel motifs, length of stay or mode of transport. Sometimes they were also people I mistook for tourists on first sight and only later discovered their more profound relation to place (Interview 14, 25, 29, 33). During these spontaneous encounters, the researcher was allowed to participate in the intended tourist journey through the town, the shared benefits, and obstacles in visiting unknown places and discovering jointly new facets of the field of research. Not all these random participants were easy to win for a go-along interview. Therefore, regular rejections must be taken into account. To overcome such refusals, it helped to ask first if it were possible to take a picture, stating that this would contribute to a report on tourism. Once this first interaction had been agreed to, more specific explanations on the aim and context of the study had to be added before starting the actual interview. In addition, spontaneous interviews were conducted with local people, for example, at the *finissage* of an art exhibition (Interview 23), on a guided tour of the Lilu festival (Interview 23) or while eating a fondue on a horse-drawn carriage (Interview 22).

In the wake of COVID-19, the intensity of tourism in Lucerne rapidly changed. This inspired me to get back to some of the first interviews and ask the protagonists if their view on the topic has changed. In particular, in some of the initial interviews in January 2019, tourism was reflected very critically (Interview 2 and 5) and perceived as disturbing. With these individuals, additional interviews were conducted after the lock-down in summer 2020 (27 and 30 respectively). Also, a representative of a borough association (Interview 7 and later 26) and the local police officer (10 and later 34) were interviewed twice, once before and once after the lock-down of March/April 2020.

Go-along with individuals, with couples or in a group of many

These go-along interviews were conducted in different constellations. Most of them were with one person only (Interview 2, 3, 5, 6, 7, 8, 10, 12, 17, 19, 20, 26, 27, 30, 31, 32, 34, 35) or merely accompanied by a little baby boy (Interview 1), who did not really contribute to the conversation himself, though stimulated through some interesting thoughts and comments by his mother.

Other interviews were conducted with couples or pairs (Interview 9, 13, 16, 18, 24, 28, 29) who sometimes did not have the same opinion on the topics discussed, evoking minor disputes. This certainly enriched the empirical material, as it also uncovered the ambiguities of many interviewees in relation to their views on tourism. In addition, a partner, friend, or travel companion may act as a kind of corrective when talking about tourism practice, which is sometimes memorized differently than it actually was. Here the typical tourism dilemma (e.g. Botton 2002), the gap between what one thinks is good and one really does, became apparent. This might not have been discoverable by the interviewer himself without additional triangulation of informants' statements.

Interviews were also conducted in larger groups, such as a bunch of friends (Interview 14, 22, 35), families (Interview 11, 22, 36, 37) or with couples and families travelling with other couples, friends, or families (Interview 4, 15, 16) or groups of people who did not know each other (Interview 21, 23, 33). Most of these collective interviews proved very productive, as interview partners mutually ruminated over their own travelling and hosting expectations, and social, cultural, and discursive practices, as well as the self-perceived impact on and of their travelling or hosting behaviour. This is very much in line with Kusenbach (2003:464), who found "that conducting go-alongs with more than one person at a time, for instance accompanying a couple walking their dog around the neighbourhood or running errands together, can be very productive". She explains that "the presence of a partner or friend can reduce some of the obvious discomfort that a number of informants feel about being followed in, and queried about, their mundane local practices by an ethnographer" (ibid.). This does not suggest that a go-alongs with individual persons are more artificial or unnatural, but it certainly makes clearer the allocated roles between the interviewer and interviewee and enables a rather natural discussion between 'equal' people about a distinct topic. I must admit, though, that in some situations it was rather complicated to deal with a large number of people in a group. This was particularly the case with groups who did not all have the same command of English, as in foreign families with kids, for example. This excluded some traveling companions from participating in the joint discussion or forced some member to interpret throughout (Interview 4, 11, 15, 35, 37). In such situations, the research interfered in a social setting, which sometimes made it uncomfortable to continue after a certain while. Despite these challenges, this research encompasses all different kinds of actors, whether singles, couples, or groups, and tried to deal with the given circumstances in order to unfold their potential.

In addition, I did not conduct all the interviews by myself. Some emerged out of another internal research project with the Lucerne School of Engineering and Architecture of the Lucerne University of Applied Sciences and Arts (Interview 6, 7, 8, 9, 10) and were conducted together with Matthias Bürgin. In interview 15 another colleague and in interview 23 my girlfriend assisted and accompanied me respectively.

Who is following whom on the long or short leash?

When conducting walking interviews, one of the most central questions is who is leading whom. Is the researcher indicating the way and setting the scene, or is it rather the informant who is able to determine the itinerary and the flow of the topics? Evans and Jones (2011:850) declare, “the most important choice that researchers must make when designing walking interviews is whether the route is set by the interviewer or the interviewee”. In their literature review, Evans and Jones (2011:850) divide existing research between two poles, where at one end the interviewee is familiar with the area and is determining the route, as exemplified by the “natural go-along” interviews of Kusenbach (2003) or the “participatory walking interviews” of Clark and Emmel (2008). At the other end, where strictly “guided walks” (Reed 2002), “urban walking tours” (Paulos and Goodman 2004) or “Botanical Garden Tours” (Hitchings and Jones 2004) belong, more strict guidance and narrow boundaries are indicated. The latter are therefore described as situations in which the interviewer is more familiar with the area than the interviewees are, and therefore determining the route.

In the context of the present research, familiarity with the place varies widely, as interviews are conducted with long-term residents (Interview 1, 2, 5, etc.), as well as with short-stay guests on a simple stopover on their holidays (Interview 4, 11, 13, etc.). As for the researcher himself, he is not fully accustomed to the field, as he had only lived partly in the city for a rather short term of approximately three to four years. Nevertheless, all interviewees, regardless of whether they are familiar or not with the place, were asked to lead the respective interviews and take the researcher along their normal paths or already intended itineraries through the city. This is very much in line with the approach Kusenbach chose for her fieldwork in Hollywood, California, where she declared having “tried giving my informants as little direction as possible with regard to what I would like them to talk about. If they insisted on instructions, I asked them to comment on whatever came to mind while looking at and moving through places and also to share with me what they usually experienced during routine trips” (2003:465). It must be remarked, however, that in all the interviews conducted for this research, the topic was clearly set, and the conversations were actively guided so as to stick to the topic. Certainly, talking about tourism allows the inclusion of different aspects and various grades of relatedness. However, when the discussion was losing its connection to the main topic, I usually insisted gently in coming back to it. This guidance, however, neither affected the routes nor the duration of the interviews, as this was always and without exception left to be determined by the interviewee.

Duration of the interviews

Some interviews only lasted a few minutes, in which case they have not been selected for data analysis. Most interviews, however, lasted for approximately one hour, though in some cases this was greatly exceeded (Interview 4, 10, 18), where the walk and talk went on the entire afternoon. Mostly interviews were stopped when saturation was reached or the interviewees decided that they had said (and walked) enough. Kusenbach made similar observations in her research, stating that her “go-alongs lasted anywhere from a few minutes (walking with an informant to the gas station on the

corner to buy cigarettes) to many hours (spending almost entire days with informants as they worked, ran errands and socialized)” (2003:464). In her experience, a productive time window for an interview is about an hour to ninety minutes, confirmed by the findings of this research.

Interruptions, unplanned social interactions, engagement with the world

The researcher neither leads the way nor interrupts the talking, but is guided by the interviewees, listening, and observing their encounters. Spontaneous interactions with the environment are not only possible but encouraged. This is regarded as a distinct advantage over conventional interview situations in closed rooms or isolated areas. Interviewing the actors involved where and when the practices of interests are happening means participating in their encounters and engaging with the field. “Not only [...] do we walk because we are social beings, we are social beings because we walk”, Ingold and Vergunst (2012:2) state. This is impressively shown by many walking interviews with local Lucerne people, who constantly met and greeted others passing by. In various situations, it was made clear that people know each other, in particular when strolling around with representatives of borough associations (Interview 6, 7, 8, 26) or the local police officer (10, 34), but also with others who were socially attached to the place (Interview 1, 2, 14, 20, 22, 30, 37). Interviewees showed pride and positive emotions when it became obvious that they are known and recognized. In such circumstances, the third persons were often integrated into the discussion, always after explaining seriously the actual interview setting and their role within. In other situations, we were approached during the interview by passers-by asking where to buy cigarettes (Interview 1) or by a dog owner, which allowed the interviewees interact with his puppy (Interview 13). These interruptions served as rewarding inputs for the ongoing discussion, feeding the conversation with elements which would not have been available otherwise. In one particular case, this external stimulus was of great value, as it revealed the ambiguities felt by an interview partner (Interview 2). This woman has been complaining about Chinese tourists for most of the interview, allowing not one good thing about their presence in town. A spontaneous encounter with two female Chinese tourists, however, evoked a rare positive comment: “One thing I have to admit, these Chinese tourists sometimes really dress up in a fancy way. It would do some good if our local Lucerne women could adapt this metropolitan fashion style in one way or the other” (Interview 2, Pos. 28). This instant reaction exemplifies the great advantages of conducting such mobile methods in situ.

Pinning down the interviews in text and pictures

Capturing this plethora of information on the move can be very challenging. As described above, go-along interviews are intended to uncover the perceptions, emotions and interpretations of the informants and thus aim to gain access to their experiences and practices as they are happening in real time and space. These experiences and practices can unfold in different senses, are mostly articulated orally, but can also be expressed emotionally, with bodily gestures, or by walking to particular sites to demonstrate exemplary situations. This poses some real challenges to the researcher, as this information can not only be captured by the spoken word but needs to encompass all further nuances such as embodied reactions to spontaneous encounters, like eye contact with passers-by, mutual smiling, or a friendly handshake. It also implies the rhythm and pace of the walks, such as casually mooring while talking or explicit avoidance of certain paths or places. Experiences and practices can also include mundane aspects, such as using public transport, pushing a pram, or running errands. These are all practices that happen almost ‘on the side’ of the actual interview, but they distinguish this method from traditional interview techniques and are therefore of great relevance. These interactions, observations and comments therefore need be included in the protocol

of the interview. This is best done by writing field notes directly when conducting the walking interview. This is a technique that Kusenbach (2003:465) also recommends: “Jotting down key phrases and facts on the spot turned out to be quite helpful, as long as it did not interfere with the original pace or the nature of the outing”. As for the first-mentioned aspect, the interference with the pace of the walk, one must remark that in the research presented here, taking field notes actually helped the researcher to stand back in the conversation and allow pauses for the interviewee to think and contemplate. It forced me to listen, to ask about details I did not initially understand and to broach the subject again when I realised that I had not been able to take sufficient notes. Without taking such notes, the conversations would have clearly been more influenced and guided than, say, digital recording techniques.

Another argument to waive one-to-one recording is that it allows the situation to become more relaxed. Digital recording techniques would have stood in the way as an unnatural element and would have hindered an open and casual discussion. Evans and Jones (2011:851), for example, mention video techniques as a potential option for recording interviews on the move, but they concede that “when the interviewer is trying to film, walk and talk at the same time, this can both distract from the interview process and produce video which is unsteady and disorientating”.

In particular, technical instruments would have hindered my encounters with urban actors, who were approached for an interview spontaneously. In such situations, informants had to be carefully seduced into participating in a walking interview. Attaching a mobile-microphone and wiring them up would have been too difficult a step, which would have discouraged many potential interview partners from participating. “In the end, which strategy of recording go-alongs is most useful depends on the variable comfort level of informants as well as on the personal preferences of the researcher”, Kusenbach (2003:465) states, referring to Emerson et al. (2011/1995). In this research, it was decided to take extensive notes of the interviews and enrich them with details observed, thoughts evoked, or further paths outlined. As Kusenbach remarks (2003:465), “[w]hat is most important is to expand any records or mental notes into full sets of descriptive field notes as soon as possible after completing a go-along”. This has proved to be a valuable recommendation, as memories of the joint walks were still fresh and alive, and many details could be added, even when they were not pinned down by pencil during the walks.

In addition to textually capturing urban practices on the move, the go-along interviews were extensively photographed. This allowed me to trace back the path we had walked along and the exemplary situations the interviewee had been talking about. These pictures were taken in a regular and systematic way, in order to illustrate the go-along interview along the way. Between 40 and 60 pictures per interview were taken, most of them simply illustrating the routes completed. These pictures were integrated in the memory minutes (as shown in the Figure 9 below) and contributed to the storytelling in a style similar to a picture roman or a fotonovela.

Stadspaziergang mit Zhao Kui (männlich ca. 30 alt) sowie Cousine Jan Hui, Mutter Ba Zhen sowie deren Freundin Carry mit Tochter Phoebe
 Dienstag, 22.10.2019 von 14.00 bis ca. 14.30 Uhr Treffpunkt: Mühlenplatz, Wetter: Sonniges Herbstwetter, trocken und warm.

Hintergrund

Nach einem Mittagessen im Restaurant Mille Feuille mit einer Kollegin mache ich mich auf die Suche nach möglichen Interviewpartnern. Meine Kollegin bietet sich freundlicherweise an, mich zu begleiten und übernimmt den Part der Fotografin. Wir sprechen auf dem Mühleplatz verschiedene Reisende an. Mit einer Gruppe von Chinesen kommen wir ins Gespräch. Sie spazieren in Richtung Altstadt und wir beginnen sie während der Unterhaltung zu begleiten (Bild 1)



Protokoll

- welche sie ausgiebig fotografieren. Ich unterhalte mich in dieser Zeit weiter mit meinem Informanten Zhao Kui und notiere mir seine Eindrücke (Bild 3).
- Nun komme ich auch mit dem Rest der Gruppe besser ins Gespräch und wir stellen uns vor. Phoebe, ist die Tochter von Carry, welche wiederum befreundet mit der Mutter von Zhao ist. Die Gäste aus China haben nichts dagegen, wenn ich sie weiter begleite und erzähle mir gerne von ihren Aktivitäten in Luzern (Bild 4).
- Phoebe ist verantwortlich für die Restaurant-Suche. Die Gruppe hat Hunger und wünscht sich etwas Typisches (some local kitchen).
- Für die Restaurant-Suche wird auf Google gesetzt. Eine Empfehlung meinerseits wird nicht gefragt. Phoebe hat auf Google Maps auf das Restaurant Icon geklickt und sich dann die Bilder der Restaurants und vor allem der Speisen angeschaut. Die Wahl fiel dann auf das Restaurant Schiff, welches sich in direkter Umgebung befindet.
- Ausschlaggebend waren vor allem die Bilder der Speisen, nicht unbedingt die Ratings oder die Preise, wird mir erklärt (Bild 5).
- Die Küche in Europa schmeckt grundsätzlich sehr gut, nur das Gemüse ist in China besser.
- Die Nachfrage nach dem Weg zum Restaurant erübrigt sich. Google gibt hierfür klare Hinweise, welche einfach zu folgen sind (Bild 6).
- Wir machen noch ein Bild von Carry, Jan Hui und Zhao Kui (Bild 7). Danach geht es über den Kornmarkt in Richtung Rathaussteg (Bild 8), wo die Gruppe den recht abbiegt, der Reuss entlang und uns dann vor dem Restaurant Schiff (Bild 9) verabschiedet.



Bild 3: Unterhaltung mit Zhao auf dem Hirschenplatz



Bild 4: Nun komme ich auch mit Phoebe und Carry ins Gespräch.

- das selbe - und war eines der ersten Private-Public-Partnership in dieser Größenordnung.
- Die Holländer sind beeindruckt und wir fahren mit unserem Tuk-Tuk los vor KKL durch und am Bahnhof vorbei.
- Ich frage Arie, ob er das erste Mal in Luzern ist «Ja, das ist das erste Mal» und warum sie das Reiseziel ausgewählt haben: «Wir wollten auf unserer Reise auch in die Schweiz und es war eine der



- Ich frage, ob er noch Lust hat etwas zu trinken und kurz über die Fahrt bzw. den Tourismus in Luzern zu reden, was er gerne einwilligt. «Meine Frau und meine Kinder sind noch auf dem Inseli, wollen wir in die Buvette dort, dann kann ich ihnen noch kurz den Schlüssel geben» (Bild 39).
- Ich finde das eine tolle Idee und bestelle zwei Eistees. (Bild 40). Pascal erzählt:
- «Ich habe das Unternehmen vor etwas über einem Jahr gegründet, Ende Januar 2019. Früher war ich beim Controlling der Hirslanden Klinik und hatte 25 Leute unter mir. Das hat einfach nicht mehr Spass gemacht und so bin ich bei einer Reise nach Warschau, wo es auch so Tuk Tuks hat, auf die Idee gekommen und mach das jetzt».
- Wir sprechen über den Tourismus in Luzern «Er verteilt sich immer besser. Früher war es vor allem der Sommer der gut lief, heute ist es das ganze Jahr durch».
- «Begonnen hat es ja mit Hochzeiten für Japaner auf dem Meggenhorn, das war damals der Illy, der das gefördert hat»
- «Aber es ist nicht so wie in Barcelona oder Rom hier, Luzern ist viel kleiner und es konzentriert sich nur an gewissen Stellen, wie dem Schwanenplatz».
- «Ich wohne selbst in der Stadt, im Bramberg, das ist gleich hinter dem Nöli-Turm».
- «Ich habe den Tourismus nie als störend empfunden».
- «Aber es stimmt, man hört oft, dass die Chinesen stören».
- «Ich kann es auch ein Stück weit nachvollziehen, ich hatte auch schon so Erlebnisse, aber ich kann damit umgehen».
- «Als meine Kinder klein waren, zum Beispiel, da hatten sie noch richtig blonde Haare. Es gibt Chinesen, die fassen dann einfach ohne zu fragen die Kinder an und nehmen die Haare in die Hand»
- «Aber, wie gesagt, das sind Einzelfälle und wir konnten immer damit umgehen».
- Ob sich der Tourismus geändert hat in den letzten Jahren bzw. Jahrzehnten, frage ich?
- «Hmmm, schwer zu sagen. Asiaten und Amis hatten wir eigentlich immer. Vielleicht gibt es mehr Inder und Araber heute».
- «Ich glaube die meisten Luzerner stören sich an der Menge der Leute, nicht an den Menschen selbst».
- «Es stimmt schon, sie steigen manchmal hordenweise aus den Bussen aus, bewegen sich wie Herden durch die Stadt und schauen nicht links und nicht rechts».
- Ob er als Tuk-Tuk-Fahrer darauf Rücksicht nehmen muss, frage ich? «Ja, sicher, schon manchmal. Das Tuk Tuk fährt ja elektrisch und ist daher lautlos. Ich habe daher eine Fahrradklingel montiert, die Hupe war zu laut»
- Wie der Einfluss von Corona ist, frage ich?
- «Es hat schon weniger Touristen, das ist klar. Aber es hat mehr Einheimische und vor allem auch Welsche. Und halt weniger Gruppen, daher verteilt es sich besser».
- «Es hat auch auswärtige, also Gäste aus anderen Kantonen».



Bild 16: Dem Junge ist die Getränkeflasche runtergefallen, doch Pascal konnte sie retten.



Bild 17: Auf dem Schwanenplatz parken manchmal bis zu fünf Reisebusse, erklärt Pascal.

Figure 9: Example of an excerpt from an interview protocol (compiled by author)

The effectiveness of walking interviews has been further demonstrated in a pilot study by Evans and Jones (2011) which applied qualitative GIS techniques to compare walking interviews with common sedentary interviews. Their results indicate “that the data generated through walking interviews are profoundly informed by the landscapes in which they take place, emphasising the importance of

environmental features in shaping discussions” (ibid.:849). This is regarded as a substantial advantage, as mobile interviews produce richer place narratives in terms of both their quantity and the spatial specifics of the study area.

3.2.2 Dérive and flâneurie to gather data unobtrusively in the field

This section provides insights into the second approach, which has been applied to gather urban practices in the city of Lucerne. By strolling through the streets alone and passively observing, this method has been inspired by Debord’s concept of the *dérive* (Debord 1958) and Benjamin’s concept of the *flâneur* (Benjamin 1997/1973). The rich data gathered in the field has been memorized again in text and pictures.

Strolling alone and passively observing

The research is not only based on go-along interviews with interview partners, as described extensively above. As an additional approach to the field, I also spent a lot of time alone in the streets and alleyways, on public squares and the waterfront, in shops and cafés to make myself at ease with the tourism situation in the city. Through extensive walks enabling spontaneous encounters and informal chats with all kinds of urban actors, I familiarised myself with the city of Lucerne. Sometimes, these strolls were accompanied by a camera, and noticeable signs ‘of living with tourism’ were captured with photographs. These walks were neither structured, nor planned, but informed by the concept of the *dérive* (Debord 1958) or *flâneurie* (Benjamin 1997/1973).

The *dérive* was developed by French situationists in the mid-20th century and is defined as “a technique of rapid passage through varied ambiances” (Debord 1958:n.p.). It can be a valuable means of immersing oneself in the field of research and letting oneself be carried away by spontaneous impressions, wandering aimlessly through streets, places and boroughs and hence discovering the city intuitively. According to Debord (1958:n.p.), “[d]érives involve playful-constructive behaviour and awareness of psychogeographical effects, and are thus quite different from the classic notions of journey or stroll”. The *dérive* is distinguished from journeys or strolls by its lack of intentionality, which according to Diaconu (2010:101) implies a double movement: “the physical locomotion, sliding or floating”, and “the metaphorical drifting of an individual whose course of life has deviated from the ordinary track”. It is therefore both an embodied and a mental endeavour, which sometimes contrasts with the actual intention of the researcher, who normally aims to be aware of details, constantly ordering and structuring the world surrounding him or her and actively observing. This opposition between “getting deliberately lost, acting by doing nothing” and at the same time “reacting with a calculated spontaneity” is also described as an “almost paradoxical steering of casualness and affection” (ibid.). According to Debord (1958), *dérives* are ideally undertaken in small groups of three to four, and in exceptional cases of up to 10 to 12 people. In my research project, I preferred to *derive* alone so as not to be distracted by others. However, sometimes I was accompanied by friends or my partner, drifting together without a plan through Lucerne.

The *flâneur* is a further form of urban drifting, one who “meanders through the city in a state of ‘anamnestic ecstasy’ and takes it in possession by absorbing impressions and historic knowledge and by converting them into an ‘emotional knowledge’” (Diaconu 2010:102, quoting Benjamin 1989:529, 525). According to Jenks and Neves (2000) the *flâneur* provides a framework through which to reflect critically on the methodologies of urban ethnographic practice. The *flâneur* is defined as “one who walks without haste, at random, abandoning himself to the impressions and sights of the moment” (Jenks and Neves 2000, drawing on Maclean (1988) who quoted it out of Robert’s French

dictionary) and is thus able to gather fragmented experiences out of the urban landscape. Drawing on Walter Benjamin, this also means adopting the perspective of the co-habitants around you and stepping in their shoes, as “empathy is the nature of the intoxication to which the flâneur abandons himself in the crowd” (Benjamin 1997/1973:55), quoted in Adey (2010:66). Taking over another’s perspective enables the researcher to see, feel, hear, smell and experience bodily all the different aspects of tourism that are taking place within the city. Larsen (2001:87) thus speaks of a “contemporary practice of mediated gazing-in-walking”. By simply strolling through the streets, sitting on benches, observing the passers-by, listening to their random conversations, reading signboards and way markers, queuing up at supermarket check-outs, tasting food (like pork feet in Chinese herbal sauce) and sipping drinks (like homemade rose tea at the Yun Nan Tea House), one is able to delve into the position of another person, jointly inhabiting the urban space. Adey (ibid.) too acknowledges this research practice: “Flitting in and out of the subjects one is researching. By taking part in their activities and practices, one may build a personal perspective on the visual and sensorial consumption of the city, for example”. Adey further states, “moving with the crowd developed the flâneur’s powers of awareness, instinct and observation” (2010:65) by quoting Benjamin’s “He catches things in flight” (1973:41).

Field notes and photo diaries

There is no clean cut between researching as an ethnographic *flâneur* and mainly doing other mundane practices of everyday life just like a ‘private person’ in the field. One does not necessarily need to overcome this dilemma, as insights about social life, urban practices and different mobilities can also be gathered in everyday situations, where one is not actively in the role of a researcher. It is vital, though, that the many observations are systematically collected so as not to lose information along the way or get confused by the vast amount of data around you. In the process of gathering empirical material being described here, a personal diary was kept for field notes. This served as a constant companion and helped me collect ideas, observations and remarks. Müller (2012:179) describes the anthropological researcher as a kind of a sniffer dog, a covert detective, an inductive investigator who is constantly nosing around and tries to draw a bigger picture out of several small bits and pieces. This is very much in line with the research process described here, where artefacts, signposts, smearing and graffiti have been discovered during random walks through the urban landscape and collected in the researcher’s notebook. These hints or indicators of tourist-induced evidence have also been captured by photographs. As with the walking interviews, introduced above, the visualisation of the gathered data is of great value. This not only enables situations occurring in the field to be described, but it also provides additional information on context, feeling and atmosphere that can only be illustrated by the visual. It must be remarked, though, that not all tourism-related signs have been captured by the researcher himself. As many of my friends and colleagues were aware of my research topic, some pictures and hints have also been sent in by third persons. The names of these persons are stated in the list of figures for the respective pictures.

3.2.3 Active participation in the discourse

The new mobilities paradigm addresses not only the movements of people and objects, but also of images, information and ideas (Büscher and Urry 2009; Sheller and Urry 2006). This research has also been enriched by the participation and critical analysis of the discourse in local and national media, the following-up of political discussions and the ongoing public debate in general, as well as the collection of artefacts, discursive elements and material objects informing the debate. This third means of collecting empirical evidence might be characterised as less detached than the *flâneur* or

less interactive than the face-to-face walking interview. Nevertheless, it retrieved interesting elements, which have been included in this ethnographic research project.

Following the discourse in the media

The analysis of the discourse in the local media has been of great importance, as it covers many articles and additional controversial online comments. In the beginning, the routine consumption of newspapers and other local media helped me build up knowledge about the field and the ongoing debate over the controversial aspects of tourism. At a later stage, the discourse in the media helped me articulate questions during the walking interviews or served as a basis for informal chats while strolling through town. The same is true of articles in national or international newspapers or documentaries on TV.

Articles, broadcasts, editorials, interviews, and readers' letters in the local media mainly addressed concrete issues, such as traffic problems (i.e., car parking) or the subletting of apartments (i.e., on online platforms like Airbnb). Some other contributions were rather programmatic in tone and addressed general questions regarding the recent development of tourism. This coverage sometimes even compared Lucerne with other European cities suffering from *overtourism* (like Barcelona, Venice and Prague; see for example Aschwanden (2018)). In some of the articles, as well as in online features and radio interviews, I personally served as a source of knowledge, sharing my insights on overtourism with a media audience.

Because of the great amount of information and its great relevance in better understanding the tourism situation in Lucerne, the aspect of media coverage has also been investigated by a student "applied research project" led by the researcher. In this case, a group work of three students (Gerber et al. 2020) preparing their master's theses at the Institute of Tourism and Mobility of the Lucerne University of Applied Science and Arts systematically sourced local media for tourism-related articles. By analysing their content and their respective interactions on the online chat forums underneath the articles, it was possible to identify interesting clusters of problem areas. Some of these key findings have also been integrated into the thesis presented here.

Indulging in political discussion

During the three years of this research, the local and national parliaments, as well as local executives, have been up for election. Tourism has been an integral aspect of campaigns by Lucerne politicians and political parties, as reflected in billboard posters, election materials such as flyers and brochures, and round table discussions and election rallies. The researcher attended some of these events and regularly collected the available information material.

In addition, both Lucerne city council and the local tourism board hosted public events especially dedicated to tourism. In the wake of the initiative of the Young Social Democratic Party (JUSO) to ban tour coaches (Inseli-Initiative) and of the parliamentary motion of the Green Party (Grüne Fraktion) to launch Tourism Vision 2030 (see Ch. 1.4), several public gatherings were organised. Some of these were panel discussions, others had keynote speakers (among others with representatives of the Institute of Tourism and Mobility, sometimes including myself) and yet others served as so-called "Chropflehrerte", a Swiss expression for "blowing off steam". At these public events, different views on tourism were expressed, providing various nuances of how the public approaches the topic. This enhanced the differentiated perspective that this research is following. They served as a valuable source of controversial arguments, opposing viewpoints and ambiguous stances in handling this theme.

In the context of the political discussion, it became apparent that reliable data on tourism growth and its spatial and temporal spreading is lacking. Statistically the census only gives a fragmented view, which is limited to overnight stays (i.e., excludes day visitors) and the frequencies of single operators (which are not comparable to or able to combine with each other). Lucerne city council therefore tasked the Institute of Tourism and Mobility with establishing a monitoring system which extrapolates different data sources and combines them in an overall view. This is meant to steer the political discussion and to base arguments on solid facts, rather than on the selective emotions of particular interest groups. The investigation concept has been outlined in an official report to the city council and is currently under discussion by the public authority. I have also contributed to this task (see again Ch. 1.4 of this dissertation) in my professional role as Research Associate of the Institute of Tourism and Mobility.

Political discussion not only takes place in political environments but spreads to others spheres as well. This is illustrated by the opening speech at the Turner exhibition at the *Kunstmuseum Luzern* by the president of the city council, which was meant to praise the artist and his exhibition, but was seasoned with political comments, in particular on tourism. In addition, art itself possesses a political dimension, as several examples in the empirical findings will show. The thesis will show how a theatre play and a musical broach the topic of tourism, or how the 200-year jubilee of the Lion Monument is received by an exhibition in the local art gallery and covered by a series of interactive art performances. Furthermore, open academic events (such as Valentin Groebner’s lecture at the *Neubad* cultural centre) also contribute to the public discourse on tourism and will be reflected accordingly.

Collecting artefacts, discursive elements and material objects informing the debate

This vast discursive debate not only remains at the verbal level but is also articulated using distinctive artefacts and objects. Through these means, text becomes materialised and embodied in concrete tactile elements. Examples of this process include a voucher booklet which has been freely distributed to all Lucerne households by *IG Weltoffenes Luzern*. Other examples include artefacts, discursive elements and material objects which have been stumbled over, gathered, and collected during the process, such as billboard posters for advertising products, signposts, park benches, brochures, and others. Moreover, the *Lozärner Feedbike* (already introduced in Ch. 1.4), another initiative of *IG Weltoffenes Luzern*, serves as an illustrative example of a materialised discourse, as shown in the figure below.



Figure 10: Discursive elements: Voucher Booklet and Lozärner Feedbike (© Weltoffenes Luzern)

These artefacts, discursive elements and material objects are part and parcel of the debate and thus need to be integrated into the analysis of the situation. They are manifestations of discursive practices, generate background knowledge, and stimulate motifs and stances concerning tourism, so are not to be neglected as an aspect of the debate.

3.3 Evaluation of the data gathered by interviewing, observing, and participating

This section describes the process of evaluating the vast amount of empirical data gathered. By applying an inductive evaluation approach, in-depth knowledge, and deeper understanding of ‘living with tourism’ in Lucerne will be drawn out of the empiric material. These insights will then be analysed and interpreted by the means of the introduced theoretical framework elaborated in the second part of Chapter 2 (2.4). By contextualising the data gathered within the new mobilities paradigm (Sheller and Urry 2006) it will be shown how this theoretical concept can be supported and applied in a real word setting. Mobile methods and the analytical process informed by the mobilities turn have some shortcomings and limitations. These will also be reflected on in this section, and some ethical considerations will equally be discussed.

Applying a qualitative research approach

The applied mobile methods of this research, the go-alongs with a wider range of interview partners, the unobtrusive observations made while strolling and drifting through town and the extensive examination of the discursive debate have provided rich data, which need to be systematically analysed. All the gathered data were qualitative in nature, calling for a qualitative interpretation that aims at an “empathetic understanding”, and provides rich and in-depth knowledge sourced from multiple viewpoints focusing on the *how* and *why* of tourism-related phenomena and experiences (Jennings 2012:309). This stands in contrast to quantitative approaches, which try rather to provide causal or nomothetic (rule- or law-related) explanations (ibid.). The research addresses understandings of the phrase ‘living with tourism’. It therefore aims to gather in-depth insights into the mobile and fluid practices that are grounded in the multiple realities of the different actors that inhabit a tourist city. It asks for subjective views on lived experiences of the cityscape, questions the expectations of tourism held by hosts and guests alike, and juxtaposes the needs and wants of all the actors involved.

Interpreting a many-sided body of data

To start with, all sources used to gather data have been treated with the same degree of care and responsibility. Even though the walking interviews received the most attention in the collection process, the immersive *dérive*, the distantly observant *flâneurie* through town and active participation in the tourism discourse were not neglected, but equally integrated into the body of data. All hints, insights and information have been assembled into a big jigsaw puzzle, which was then structured according to various dimensions. These dimensions emerged out of a multi-layered process, several aspects of which were bundled into clusters, which again led to sub-categories or overarching issues and topics. This categorization enabled me to acquire an overview of the broad spectrum regarding how a tourist city is inhabited, constructed, and constantly dealt with.

Along with the structure of the theory chapter, the vast body of data has been organised in three ways. In a first coding run-through the three categories of people, practices and places were identified. In

a subsequent step the reasons for the descriptive findings were sought and placed in relation to each other.

In the category *people* all the different actors playing in the field are unveiled. This mainly means human beings, but also has the wider sense of a range of objects, artefacts, and discursive elements. By coding all these items that were present in the field, the wide array of actors that actively shape the place are discovered. In a subsequent step, these actors are juxtaposed to each other. Their roles, self-concepts, and their images of each other are analysed and how they interact with each other subjected to reflection.

Second, all the *practices* of the above identified actors are unveiled, covering all sorts of practices, from mundane everyday shopping to extraordinary sightseeing. Here dozens of practices can be distinguished, isolated, and listed. In the first run, only a descriptive analysis of practices and performances was made, later being contextualised, de-isolated, explained and structured further.

As a third category, distinct *places* are identified, where the practices of these people meet and accumulate. Such neuralgic spots condense the complexity of the phrase 'living with tourism' and show in exemplary fashion how many-sided inhabiting a city is. Here the contestation of space will be drawn out using concrete case studies, such as a sight, a supermarket, or an entire city borough.

The categories that structure the vast material gathered in the field were not stable but always evolving. They grew in parallel with the findings in situ, being regularly extended, skipped, and merged again. During the phase of analysing the empirical material, up to nine categories were elaborated and the findings structured along these lines. In the wake of preliminary presentations of the thesis, for example, at doctoral seminars and subsequent critical discussions, these categories were further refined, consolidated, and restructured. The balance between being selective and all-encompassing, concentrated, and diluted, pointed, and vague, was constantly negotiated and renegotiated. Therefore, different runs to order the data were attempted, and interviews were read and re-read and coded for different avenues and levels of interpretation. This process led to a thorough analysis of the data in which the text, images and observation were merged into one sole body of knowledge. By deriving interpretation out of such diverse data, reflecting the different layers of meaning and the many relations to each other, robust empirical findings finally emerged.

These empirical findings are in line with the new mobilities paradigm as put forward by Sheller and Urry (2006) and thus support this "broader theoretical project aimed at going beyond the imagery of 'terrains' as spatially fixed geographical containers for social processes" (ibid.:209). The paradigm "attempts to account for not only the quickening of liquidity within some realms but also the concomitant patterns of concentration that create zones of connectivity, centrality, and empowerment in some cases, and of disconnection, social exclusion, and inaudibility in other cases" as Sheller and Urry (ibid. 210) claim by relating to Graham and Marvin (2001).

The empirical findings are therefore juxtaposed and contextualised within a valuable framework that allows "tracking the power of discourses and practices of mobility in creating both movement and stasis" (ibid.) and which "delineates the context in which both sedentary and nomadic accounts of the social world operate". By analysing the empirical material in the light of the new mobilities paradigm, context itself is mobilised (or performed) through ongoing sociotechnical practices, of intermittently mobile material worlds, as Sheller and Urry further elaborate. It is by moving within this framework, by dwelling and relating to its features, notions, and characteristics that the content of this thesis emerged.

By applying this theoretical concept in an empirical ethnography, rooted in a real-world controversy about the current challenges of 'living with tourism in Lucerne', questions on how a place is inhabited are not only answered with findings derived out of own gathered data, but also by trickling down an established paradigm of social science established in the wake of the new mobilities turn.

This allows to both analyse the people, practices, and places of Lucerne from a bottom-up and simultaneously form a top-down perspective: While the own findings out of walking interviews, drifting observations and active participation unveiled findings from the ground, the mobilities paradigm served as an umbrella holding together these emerging insights and providing a conceptual framework from above. By so doing, an interplay of theory and the empirical is put forward, two worlds that must not be looked at as separate but as mutually enriching sources of for gaining knowledge, insights, and new discoveries.

The "clear distinction [that] is often drawn between places and those travelling to such places" (ibid.:214) has been overcome as "[t]he new mobility paradigm argues against this ontology of distinct 'places' and 'people'. Rather, there is a complex relationality of places and persons connected through performances [...] Thus activities are not separate from the places that happen contingently to be visited. Indeed, the places travelled to depend in part upon what is practised within them" as Sheller and Urry declared and thus providing us the tools, narratives, and understandings on how to deal with the issue at stake.

The dissertation does not intend to widen and enlarge this theoretical framework with novel theoretical contributions. It rather aims to observe, describe, and understand a current real-world problem by the means of the new mobilities paradigm and therefore supports, refines, and applies Sheller and Urry's conceptual framework. The gained insights though contribute to the strategic touristic development, as elements of the dissertation are being integrated in the elaboration of the future tourism concept of Lucerne. The dissertation adds therefore a fresh perspective to the ongoing debate and enriches the discourse with significant empirically gathered qualitative data.

Limitations

As we have seen extensively, mobile methods and their analysis and interpretation have their advantages. However, self-evidently, they also have boundaries and limitations. This section illuminates these latter aspects and considers how such disadvantages can be overcome. We start with the walking interviews, discuss the methods of the *dérive* and *flâneur* and participation in the tourism discourse before we look at the flipside of analysis and interpretation by grounded theory. We then close by considering some further limitations of this thesis more generally.

Walking interviews, as the name already suggests and as has been elaborated in detail above, involve a lot of walking. This poses some inherent challenges to some informants, as Evans and Jones (2011:849) state: "the act of walking will exclude certain types of participants and interviewing techniques", meaning that not everybody is able to take part in a city stroll, for example, for reasons of health or age. This technique is therefore limited to the mobile inhabitants of a city, those who feel at ease delving into urban space, encountering people, allowing spontaneous incidents and unplanned reactions. Kusenbach (2003:477) adds, "go-alongs are clearly unfit to explore the many sites and activities that do not accommodate conversation, such as physically exhausting activities or rituals that require silence. Further, the unique potential of the go-along method cannot be fully developed when applied to settings in which informants pursue stationary, internal activities that do not require engaging the environment".

In addition, the researcher also needs to be able to communicate with his or her interview partners while walking, which is sometimes hindered by language barriers, but also by cultural obstacles, as not everybody feels at ease talking to an unknown male researcher. On top of that, walking interviews require quite an amount of time, a prerequisite, group tourists on a short stopover in Lucerne are not necessarily equipped for. Overcoming these boundaries would require foreign language translators, additional female interviewers from specific cultural backgrounds and/or formal cooperation with the tour leaders of specific tourist groups. This research presented here has foregone these options for practical reasons but acknowledges these limitations in the further analysis and interpretation of the empirical material.

The process of strolling alone through the field, engaging spontaneously with people at random, observing from a distance and chatting with strangers certainly is an enriching and enlightening technique. It must be admitted, though, that the subjective preferences of the researchers very much privileged urban actors, who were easily accessible, friendly to talk with and mutually interested in a conversation. This might have stifled the views of individuals with other political, ethical, and social positions than the researcher. Being aware of this potential pitfall, I have tried to overcome this by approaching different kinds of urban actors, whether in age, sex, origin, style, mind-set, or behaviour. In addition, I have tried to avoid some potential bias by not doing fieldwork only in good weather, on certain days or at certain times of the day or within the same area of the city, but by constantly varying these attributes.

Following the discourse in the media can also be selective, but less so. Here, a systematic grid of analysis has been elaborated (Gerber et al. 2020) which balances articles from different sources. Using key words, objective dependencies and the weighting of indicators, potential tendencies can be countered. However, which voices are best heard in the public discussion, who sticks out of the crowd on a panel, which message remains after a political talk, all depend very much on personal preferences and specific situations that are actively sought. This can be tackled through increased awareness and by taking appropriate corrective measures.

Nevertheless, one must bear in mind that qualitative research does not apply the same principles to sampling as quantitative research does. While the latter champions probability sampling, ethnographic research prefers purposive sampling, as Jennings (2012:316) explains: “Qualitative research is not about a specific set of numbers, cases or participants. It is about targeted research, which includes participants and other empirical material, which have relevance to the research focus or foci”.

Ethnographic research therefore allows greater subjectivity, as Jenning states: “Qualitative research distinguish itself from quantitative research by nature of the former’s emic approach to research. Emic approaches acknowledge the subjectivity of the researcher within research processes as well as shape research to include the researcher as a subjectively embedded being in the research process” (2012:309). This was very much the case with this research project, as I have tried to assume the subjective position of an urban actor, whether local, familiar, foreign or from any other perspective.

Data-gathering lasted from January 2019 to September 2020 and included 38 interviews with more than 80 interview partners. Interviews were conducted, material collected, and observations recorded until saturation was reached. Here, I must admit that it would have been possible to collect even more empirical material, as the process constantly revealed some new and interesting aspects. In particular, this was because the framework conditions changed rapidly in the spring of 2020, when COVID-19 first hit the source market of China and then spread all over Europe and the entire world. This led to the entire tourism industry shutting down, with closed national borders, cancelled flights and many

hotels, restaurants, museums, and shops closed. The research conducted in summer 2020 after this severe lock-down revealed indications of a different take on tourism, when international travel came to a standstill. Approaching some of the interview partners with whom I had already conducted walks before the shutdown, new meetings were requested to arrange similar *parcours* through the city.

Self-reflection and ethical considerations

Despite all these limitations, this research achieved in-depth access to the field and unveiled many aspects of living with tourism. Reflecting on the study myself, however, I must admit that I have always taken an outsider's perspective. Even though having lived partially in the city for about three years, spending many leisure days full of activities in and around Lucerne and working half the week at the Institute of Tourism and Mobility of the Lucerne University of Applied Sciences and Arts, I am still considered new to the city. In my work at the Institute, I have contributed to distinct research and consulting projects, which covered similar issues as in the dissertation presented here. This made me familiar with the topic in various ways, but nonetheless I did not grow up in Lucerne, nor was socialised there. Besides, although I have a Lucerne partner, I am regularly commuting back and forth on the one-hour train ride between Basel and Lucerne.

As Kusenbach (2003:460) argues, “any outsider's view of a setting that lacks a local vantage point necessarily remains superficial, revealing more about the observer's own standpoint than anything else”. I agree with this comment but would reply that there are many means of overcoming this superficiality and especially restraining its own point of view. By taking over the perspective of the interview partner who inhabits the place, by observing the city through the senses of the urban actors and participating in the local discourse, one can delve into the specific setting of the city. Letting the interview partner do the walking and talking, for example, allows one to adopt their views and embody their experience of living in the city. Sure, being too close to the subject of scrutiny carries the danger of “going native”, as Müller (2012:180) puts it, whereas too great a distance endangers acceptance by the group and obstructs arriving at an adequate understanding of their social contexts.

In general, one must be aware that even many interviews, broad observation and intense participation only reveals a slice of the lives of the subjects under research. It is only “a very small fraction of each person's journey”, as Walker (2010:46) claims. The researcher gains access to certain aspects, but never to the entire “bundles of practices and arrangements”, as Schatzki (2019:80) calls it. The researcher puts the pieces together with his or her own background and finds the glue in his or her own conceptual thinking, mental imaginary, and social skills. This sometimes leads to a jigsaw puzzle informed by very personal interpretations, which do not necessarily parallel the findings of other researchers on similar subjects. Being aware of this, one is not able to generalize without caution from individual interviews, observations, and participation to the case study as such, nor from the single case study to the entire world.

Common to all interviews and spontaneous encounters was the fact that all the participants were asked to include the researcher in their mundane daily routines or the common tourism practices of holidaymaking. Nothing had to be done explicitly for the interview, no tasks were added, no activities left out. However, self-evidently, this was not always the case, as informants may change their behaviour when being questioned or supervised. Walker (2010:43) draws on Werner Heisenberg, who argued “that the very act of observation can change the thing being observed”, when emphasizing this immanent feature of qualitative research. I certainly noted this drawback as well in my own research, especially because everyone I questioned was aware of the phenomenon of *overtourism* and naturally objected to it. Not one informant claimed that he or she prefers mass

tourism, which harms social life at the destination, nor did tourists in Lucerne, nor did Lucerne people when talking about their own travel preferences. This is certainly not surprising, but it contrasts actual practices with conceptual thinking. One does not always walk the talk, as the saying has it. Particularly when questioned about one's own controversial behaviour, one is tempted to whitewash certain aspects.

This weakness could have been reduced by means of a covert investigation. By not declaring what the research is about, informants might have talked with less consideration about the topic. This has certainly been avoided, as ethically it would not have been proper. All participants have always been fully aware about the aim of the research and how their statements, insights and gathered practices will inform the dissertation. For reasons of anonymity, informants are only identified by their first names as sources in the text, even though not a single person explicitly asked for this. Exceptions have been made for interview partners in official roles, e.g., representing an institution or a company. In addition, all participants agreed to be photographed and gave consent that these pictures could be used in presentations of the research. Remuneration for partaking in the study was neither intense nor systematic. Some informants, in particular those who agreed in advance to a walking interview, were given a token of appreciation in the form of a piece of chocolate (Interview 1, 2, 5). Other informants were spontaneously invited for a coffee (Interview 2, 37) or even a small lunch (Interview 12, 18, 20). These different sorts of remuneration have all be declared in the minutes taken of the respective interviews. However, to the best of my belief, they have not influenced the results of the study in any way.

Focusing on the analogue

As mobilities studies investigate all sorts of networks, entanglements, relations, people, objects, and images in the social world, this must also include virtual worlds and digital engagements. Social actors constitute and produce not only urban space, but also virtual realms produced in blogs, digital chatrooms, and social media platforms. This research, though, deliberately neglects this immense field as extending beyond the scope of the study. The potential of the digital is certainly not denied, as much interesting research has proved itself to be productive and meaningful (Xiang 2018; Härting et al. 2017, among others). Nevertheless, the focus of this piece of research lies on the analogue, on embodied interactions in situ in urban space, and not on its impacts and consequences for the virtual and digital worlds. Despite this clear focus, one cannot separate the two worlds. For example, this was shown by the interview with two Thai tourists showed, who were using the city of Lucerne as a backdrop to their social media profiles (Interview 13). In addition, sometimes digital solutions to real-world problems are applied, as the case of the WeChat account of the Migros supermarket indicates (Interview 3). Therefore, even though virtual networks and entanglements are not actively searched for, they occur in the face-to-face interviews I conducted.

3.4 Conclusion of chapter

This chapter has shown how mobile practices in the city of Lucerne have been sought out, captured, assembled, structured, analysed, restructured, analysed again and finally interpreted. This process is interactive and marked by reciprocity. The researcher is involved in exchanges in a constant dialogue with the field, his interview partners, and various kinds of informants. By applying three specific mobile methods, a broad range of empirical material has been sourced. Using the technique of

walking interviews, derived *flâneur* observations and participating in the discourse, rich data has been gathered. This empirical material has been triangulated and crystallised by applying a grounded theory approach, which allowed a threefold set of categories to be established to structure and understand the whole tourist situation in Lucerne better. By looking at (one) the people, (two) their practices and (three) the place which unfolds thereof, the vast empirical material can be sensibly ordered and narrated in a dramaturgically meaningful way in the chapters that follow.

Mobile methods such as walking interviews have been proved to be worthwhile, as they enable a co-present immersion in which the “researcher moves within modes of movement and employs a range of observation and recording techniques” (Büscher et al. 2011:9). By jointly walking through the city, consideration can be given to how inhabiting the place is practiced, and how the practices of the different actors mingle together, intersect, conflict with, or enhance each other. As Ingold (1993:65) notes, “by watching, listening, perhaps even touching, we continually feel each other’s presence in the social environment, at every moment adjusting our movement in response to this ongoing perceptual monitoring”.

Observing the complex tourist situation of Lucerne from the perspective of a drifting *flâneur* also contributed some valuable indicators to the research question, initiated further paths to follow and completed the overall picture of the field under scrutiny. It has been crucial to step back sometimes and let the surroundings take over. By not actively seeking out hints and concrete evidence, the researcher gave way to multi-sensory impressions, enabling a deeper understanding of the often-mundane aspects of living in a tourist city.

The discourse in the media, academia, arts, politics, and the public space was an equally important source of information and inspiration. As a non-native co-habitant of Lucerne, it helped me understand the situation, to identify the most relevant actors and the key topics under discussion. In particular, through the media I acquired initial access to the arguments of the pro and contra camps in the ongoing tourism debate. Media coverage of political initiatives and public panels contributed significantly to following up the development.

The three methodical avenues I have outlined that describe, analyse, and understand the living situation in Lucerne should not be seen as opposing or competing, but rather as complementary and mutually enhancing. As Kusenbach points out (2003:465), “the strengths and advantages of participant observation, interviewing and go-alongs accumulate when they are pursued in combination”. A triangulation of the different sorts of access to the field therefore bear multiple fruits and valuable outcomes.

These outcomes have been assembled in a vast body of empirical material, which evolved through a multi-layered process that structured the data along the way. By applying a grounded theory approach, knowledge and in-depth understanding evolved out of the sources, which then allowed me to go back into the starting point and re-thinking some initial assumptions and established positions. Given this ethnographic access to the field, not only has a bulk of qualitative material been pulled together, but the general way of approaching the topic has also been substantially influenced. As Müller (2012:180) states, ethnography must not only be regarded as a kind of process or tool for gathering data but, with Wolcott (2008), as a “way of seeing”. Ethnography is considered a comprehensive process, which always needs to be tied back to theory and reflected in respect of its own processes of production. According to Müller (2012:180), for one thing this includes the particular responsibility of the researcher, as he or she delves into the mundane practices and everyday lives of the subjects under scrutiny. Second, status and interpretation of the empirical material must be constantly reflected on. The researcher needs to deal with new aspects emerging out of the ongoing

investigation and to integrate them throughout the process. This sometimes means that preliminary results must be revised, alternative paths be taken and newly appearing findings adopted. Third, the process of writing and the creation of the narrative are of central importance. This is regarded as a key element of accessing the subjective realities of social life in a detailed and at the same time fragmented manner.

The emphasis in the narrative also parallels Clifford Geertz's (1973) notion of “thick description”, a detailed and comprehensive way not only of describing social practices, cultural life, and discursive realms, but also of simultaneously adding meaning, explanation, and rationale to them. By inscribing potential significance to the gathered empirical material, one can bundle and contextualize it. It is through editing and processing a text that the full strength of qualitative data is revealed, adding significance to the world.

Drawing on its broad body of collected, analysed, and interpreted material, this thesis aims to draw a comprehensive picture of ‘living with tourism in Lucerne’. First-hand experiences, tacit knowledge, and in-depth understanding of the mobilities and practices of actors inhabiting the urban space will be brought together in the form of a thick description of the current situation in Lucerne. The next part of the dissertation will shed light on the empirical findings gathered in the field of research in three separate chapters respectively on *People*, *Practices* and *Places*.

Part II: *Inhabiting the city*

Chapter 04: People

4.1 Introduction: A wide array of different actors present in the field

As opposed to the beginning of tourism in the mid-19th century, when hosts and guests were obviously distinguishable in appearance, behaviour, and provenance (see, for example, Twain (1880) for some amusing examples), actors in today's field of tourism are becoming increasingly diverse, changeable, and many-sided. Tourist places now tend to be inhabited by different people sourced from varied backgrounds, mingling with all sorts of interests and agendas. Particularly in cities, opposing lifestyles, social and cultural backgrounds and ways of living are coalescing and melting together (see Simmel 1995/1903). Cities have long been "the initiating and controlling centre of economic, political, and cultural life that has drawn the most remote parts of the world into its orbit and woven diverse areas, peoples, and activities into a cosmos" (Wirth 1938:2). In an increasingly interconnected world, enhanced by the global exchanges of information, materialities and mobilities (see, for example, Urry 2007), this tendency becomes even more striking. I shall now delve into the city cosmos of Lucerne and look how different actors are constituting this place. I shall investigate commuters, multi-local residents, international students, migrants, natives, day visitors and overnight stayers, as well as the global workforce. By doing so, I aim to transcend the dichotomy between host and guest and open up a more fluid and lucid conceptualization of place. In looking at the place of origin of the travellers, it can be seen that they cannot be reduced to or stereotyped by their homelands or the colour of their skins. Likewise, looking at Lucerne residents permits the realization that they are far more versatile than a simple dual classification into proponents and detractors of the local tourism industry would suggest.

I shall start this chapter by looking closely at the most dominant actors in the discourse, the so-called *Chinese visitor*. At various places in the text below I shall show that they are the principal bone of contention. But who are these people? Is everybody who looks Asian actually a Chinese tourist? And how do these supposedly similar "bunch of tourists" differ in their use of space, their relations, and their respective identities? As will be shown, apparently Chinese-looking guests actually have very different backgrounds and senses of place, indicating that the stigmatization of them as *Chinese tourists* is not only misleading but rather abusive. In this section we will meet (1) Aree, a Thai woman working in Lucerne, (2) Evelyne, a Filipino mother of many, (3) two international students, Diana and James, (4) two Chinese visitors, Vincent and Amy with their 11-year-old son, and (5) Zhao, a data engineer from Luxembourg.

In the second part to this chapter, I shall look at a wide range of further actors mingling in the place. In this section we encounter people from culturally closer countries and will analyse how they are dealing with Lucerne. Are there any differences between traditional *European guests* and visitors from rather new source markets such as China, India, or the Arab World, as shown before? What humans do we meet when encountering visitors from Italy, Belgium, the Netherlands, Hungary, and Switzerland? Within a few paragraphs I shall portray (1) Flaminia and Alessandro from Milano, (2) the Surmont family from Antwerp, (3) Arie, a Dutch grandfather with his two grandchildren on a city tour with an e-tuk-tuk, (4) Vivienne and Peter, two Hungarians working in Lucerne, and (5) Martina and Stefan, two Swiss day tourists from Zurich, and will investigate by drawing their portraits to show how these different personalities are enacting the place.

Thereafter I turn my attention to the so-called *locals* and reveal their different handling of the situation. We will encounter (1) Claudio, a native of Lucerne who sells chestnuts in front of chapel

bridge, (2) Dominic, a commuter living in the canton of Aargau selling chocolate at Migros and having lived for over twenty years in China, (3) Monika, a Lucerne woman strongly critical of the current tourism development, (4) Marie-Therese and Heimo, two Swiss with their cheese-fondue-carriage, and finally (5) Urs Anton Krügel, a local district police officer.

By laying out the actors present in the field, I investigate their cultural backgrounds, mobilities and relations to each other. As each actor is individual, it is not possible (or meaningful) to stereotype them. In contrast, by sketching short intimate portraits the personality and subjectivity of each of these actors will be unveiled, without deriving unrealistic and often unnecessary generalizations from this. Their views of current tourism developments will be worked out as much as their relationship to place. How do they perceive themselves; how do they perceive the other; on what are their identities based and built? By drawing intimate sketches of five Asian, European, and Swiss personalities, fifteen exemplary actors will be outlined and discussed in detail. As these people will accompany us throughout the dissertation, the scene will initially be set, and the main protagonists introduced. In addition, the portraits will be embedded in the more encompassing visitor structure of Lucerne in order to provide the necessary context in which the actors are engaged.

4.2 Oversimplification of Asian tourists as all Chinese

In the dominant discourse, it is often the *Chinese tourist* who is blamed for causing all the trouble. Accused of being loud, egoistic, and polluting, the Chinese serve as a scapegoat for all issues related to *overtourism* (see Ch. 02). However, in reality, most actors in the field are unable to differentiate where Asian-looking tourists actually come from. Monika (Interview 2, Pos. 10) states that the Indians are the only ones she can really distinguish: “The other Asians look all more or less the same to me. OK, maybe their clothing style might vary, but I can’t tell them apart”. A similar quote comes from Nadine, a local salesperson (Interview 17, Pos. 40-41): “I am not quite sure; they all look the same. But Japanese are generally more modest, they are rather civilized. And Indians are also easy to distinguish, but we don’t have so many of them, maybe one or two a day”. Another interview partner (Interview 05, Pos. 60) was more confident in distinguishing Asian travellers: “It’s not complicated”, states Judith, a Lucerne woman; “the Koreans are always a bit cheeky. I have spent some time with them in a language school in the UK, and I know them from there. They are a bit “we are here” and like to drink booze and so on. But the Chinese have something of the gregarious animal about them [Herdentier]. They are unable to do anything for themselves, they are so not independent. They have something nervous about them. My kids are always parroting and copycatting them... they also say now another tin is getting opened when a bus load arrives [laughing].”

Aree, owner of her own souvenir shop

The same problem as in the first two quotes above occurred to me as well. I also had difficulties in distinguishing where the actors are coming from and often mistook them. In particular this happened with Aree, a Thai woman running her own souvenir store next to the Lion Monument. Even though I had met her earlier in her shop, I first confused her with a tourist when I bumped into her spontaneously in the city centre. She was taking pictures from the chapel bridge on a leisurely walk after the lock-down in May 2020 (see Figure 11). These pictures she later put on Facebook or used them to send personal greetings to friends and relatives, as well as her clients and business partners in Thailand (Interview 25, Pos. 8). She keeps strong ties with them, even though she has lived for many years in Lucerne and is married to a Swiss husband called Hugo.



Figure 11: Meeting Aree when she was taking touristy pictures with her mobile phone.

Aree explained to me that maintaining the connection is very important, especially in these turbulent times caused by the pandemic. But in regular times too, it is very important to stay in touch and maintain contact. Aree has established a network of valuable business partners over the years, first as a salesclerk in another souvenir store, then as the manager of her own business. “I know all the tour operators from Thailand personally”, she states, “if somebody passes away, for example, I send flowers”. Aree shows me two pictures with condolence cards, which she has recently sent (see Figure 12).



Figure 12: Virtual flowers of Aree Souvenirhouse to business partners in Thailand.

This is greatly appreciated by their entourage and surviving dependents, she further explained: “It is important to give heart at work. It’s like cooking – there you also have to give heart”. Aree lives near her souvenir shop in a small flat together with her husband Hugo and two dogs Nino and Sara. At busy times, she can always run over when a group of tourists arrives and open the store at their request. Otherwise, she would rather live somewhere outside the city, where it is less expensive and their dogs would have a real garden to roam around in, not only a small balcony”, she told me on a walking interview accompanied by her husband and their two barking Wieners.

Her shop resembles a Thai market more than a Swiss souvenir store, she felt. “We have plenty of reasonable products, we are not like Casagrande [the local souvenir market leader], we are like a Thai shop, a bazaar. A pencil costs 2 CHF, a souvenir 6 to 8 CHF”, she remarked. “Flock makes also muck”, her husband Hugo added, meaning that many pennies make a dollar (Interview 28, Pos. 74-75). But despite the small quantities, a tourist from a travel group can easily spend 300 to 400 CHF per person in her shop (ibid., 128).

The store is indeed full of articles, from cuckoo clocks to pocketknives, magnets, mugs, and souvenir snowballs. The Thai King is constantly overseeing her business from above, positioned on a wardrobe just next to a golden Buddha, both there to bring luck and fortune.



Figure 13: Aree selling souvenirs in her store, always observed by the Thai king and a golden Buddha

Even though Aree is roaming the city as an individual, photographing, and looking obviously Asian, she cannot be considered a tourist. This was lesson I learned myself when judging her too quickly at first sight solely on the basis of her appearance and behaviour. This is like the case of a Philippine woman whom I encountered spontaneously with two other allegedly Asian-looking tourists when photographing the so-called Herding Monument (Hirtendenkmal) in front of the Luzerner Theater.

Evelyne, a mother of many

Eveline is a Filipino woman who has lived in Lucerne for over 45 years. She is married to a Swiss and gave birth to four children, and in the meanwhile has had nine grandchildren, all born and raised in Switzerland. She is a religious, Catholic person and coordinates the Filipino parish in Lucerne (see also von Rotz, 2018). For many newcomers from her country of origin, she serves as a first point of contact and supports Filipino migrants in central Switzerland. “I have founded the Filipino Woman’s Club, where about a hundred women of the region meet. Mostly, though, only 30 to 60 attend. We regularly meet after church, which takes place every second Saturday at St. Karli and where a Filipino priest does the preaching. Sometimes also tourists join in, as some like to attend an English-speaking ceremony. Mostly Americans and Filipinos, of course” (Interview 14, Pos. 21). Evelyne explained to me with some pride: “Many Filipinos call me mother” (ibid., Pos. 14), a fact that was confirmed just minutes later by two spontaneous interactions during our walking interview.



Figure 14: Evelyne encounters a woman she has befriended and others, who all call her ‘mother’

I met Evelyne together with two other Filipino women when they were taking photographs of each other in front of a small statue and kindly asked them if they want me to take a group picture for them. They agreed, and in the later conversation, they explained that they are not tourists (as I mistook them for at first sight), that two of them have been living for years in Lucerne and that only one woman is actually visiting. Amelia lives in the USA but is currently on a trip through Europe, having left Paris just yesterday. She originally comes from the Philippines but insists immediately that I should not take her as a tourist: “I do not wear a camera around my neck, I am a seasoned traveller and not a group tourist who is for the first time in a foreign country” she emphasized (ibid., Pos. 40). In this statement she makes it clear that she distinguishes herself from other travellers. Because one could wrongly confuse her with other visitors from Asia, she underscored the differences. In her view, a seasoned traveller is more prestigious and more esteemed than first-time visitors who are less travel-wise. This seemed to be not merely a nuance but an important aspect of her self-conception. For the same reason, she stressed that she was visiting Lucerne to see friends, not for sightseeing and buying watches.

Later I learned that all three women have a mixed Chinese-Filipino background. But “Chinese do not get along with Filipinos very well”, they stated. “Chinese are mostly harder working and therefore wealthier than the Filipinos, who generally think that money is just lying on the streets and can be picked up effortlessly [...]. But Chinese people are often uneducated and travel in groups. They have got their holidays as a ‘free trip’ because they have worked so hard. [...]. The rich know how to conduct themselves, but the poor don’t, as they lack knowledge and awareness. There is a lack of cultural understanding. But the Chinese government is working on it and is training people travelling abroad on some sort of etiquette courses”, they added (ibid., Pos. 42). Again, by emphasizing that they are not Chinese, the women set themselves apart from the current notion of the Chinese traveller. This distinction is of great importance to them, as they consider it favourable in the current debate over *overtourism*. By emphasizing a difference, they express their sense of moral superiority, on which their identity is ultimately built.

While discussing intercultural issues, I asked them about any incidents they had experienced themselves. “You’d better ask Amelia”, Evelyne felt; “she had a terrible experience last night (ibid., Pos. 46). Amelia explained: “The telephone in the room did not work, so I went down to the reception to complain. But the receptionist was a grumpy Swiss guy, who just dialled my room number and said that the line is fine. If he can reach the room, the room also is able to dial out. But I insisted and explained that this is unfortunately not the case and asked for someone to please have a look in the room itself. Then the receptionist said that he is already long in business and that he knows what he is talking about, he’s a Swiss man” (ibid., Pos. 50). This was too much for Amelia, and she really got

furious: “What does this mean, I asked him? Am I an Asian woman? Do I therefore not understand how the telephone works? And besides, what does it mean to be a Swiss man? Are there any abilities related to that, which I do not have? This is pure racism!” she said, recounting the incident to me with an upset voice. “The next day I complained to the management and told them that I will inform the company’s headquarters. The manager excused himself by stating that he himself is only German and does not know what is meant by stating ‘I am Swiss man’”. Later she witnessed another complaint about this receptionist, who apparently also upset other hotel guests with his unprofessional conduct.

That such racist incidents are not isolated cases is shown by the next example of an international student who has been living in Lucerne for about a year now and whom I met for a walking interview with her classmate.

Diana and James, two temporal residents

Diana and James are two international students at B.H.M.S, a private hotel-management school in Lucerne. A friend of mine works for the company and recommended the two interview partners to me. Diana is from California, USA, and has spent a year studying for her master’s degree in Switzerland. She now works part-time as a receptionist at the school and will continue to an MBA program in fall. Diana is a native Korean. James is Asian too. He is originally from Hanoi, Vietnam, and has been Diana’s classmate for a year now. He will return back home in the week to come.

I met the two students in the lobby of their campus, and they showed me what happens in their mundane life. We went to the Aldi supermarket, a library, and an Asian grocery store. We lingered in a second-hand outlet, strolled through the streets in the old town and chatted in a coffee house to avoid the rain. These are their regular leisure activities, when they don’t have homework to complete or are not away for weekend breaks. Mostly they hang out in groups of three to four. They consider themselves to be the ‘left-overs’, as there used to be a group of six Chinese and six Thai students in their class. Diana and James, by contrast, stuck together with their classmates, who all come from different countries, such as Ukraine and Mauritius. They did not have the best interaction with the others in the class, as “Asians can be quite collective, and it is difficult for outsiders to enter their group” recounted James. “In addition, they are quite selfish. [...] If they eat together, everybody makes sure he or she gets plenty. So, they do not spend much time with others, but have found themselves to be a group”, James further elaborated (Interview 24, Pos. 48-52).

“Many international students have been forced by their parents to come here”, James told me, “maybe because they have failed a degree or to get admission in their own country. For many families this is bad for their prestige, and a private school in Switzerland is certainly a perfect work around” (ibid., Pos. 124). “But many expect a trip through Europe and are not really here to study” (ibid., Pos. 130), he told me while letting me know unmistakably that that is not true in his case. He has saved the money himself through hard work and therefore distinguishes himself from these over-pampered and, in his view, spoiled classmates.

James described the Chinese as self-centred (“they are egoistical at heart”), the Japanese as conservative (“they don’t want to bother and are generally kind”) and Koreans as cultivated (“they come from a developed country”). “Vietnamese in general don’t like the Chinese very much, actually they hate them”, James claimed; “we have four thousand years of war history with China. You must understand, if the USA declares war on Iraq, it is about money and oil. But China wants to make Vietnam their own little province, that’s even worse. And the Chinese think the Vietnamese are

resistant. Now the question remains, which perspective is true?” James answered his question himself: “sometimes there is not only one truth” (ibid., Pos. 197-203).

James then claims that he has nothing against the Chinese people, only against their government: “They just have to much control. China is a proud country: literally translated it means ‘land from sky to earth’. And this is also the aim of their power politics – they want to take possession from anything between the sky and the earth”. In addition, James recalled from his own experience in several hotel employments that the Chinese are very unfriendly to service staff: “This is a phenomenon you observe in many formerly poor countries. The new rich play rich. But when you have been rich for generations, you have another way of dealing with wealth” (ibid. Pos. 205-207). James based this not only on his experience working in the hospitality sector, but also by analysing his fellow students and visitors to Lucerne whom he encountered in his day-to-day life.

James and Diana had both travelled in Europe during the past year, Diana mostly when she had friends who were visiting: “Then we normally went abroad, mostly to Germany or Italy, as in Switzerland it is just too expensive” (ibid., Pos. 36). Diana usually hired a rental car, but also flew to Amsterdam or took a coach or train to Belgium and Germany. James always took the plane, as it is cheaper than the train. He always checks *skyscanner.com* first and then mainly flies by low-cost carrier from Basel. He has been to Spain, Germany, and the UK. International tourists have no difficulties whatsoever here, James explained to me: “The longer you’re here, the less tourist you are. But after six months, there is no more progress, it is like after the ‘honey-moon phase” (ibid., Pos. 149). Thus, James described his stagnating adaption process, but at the same time he admitted that he feels he has arrived and has completed his mission to explore the Western lifestyle.

Our stroll took place in February 2020, when the coronavirus just started to unfold in Europe. In a discount supermarket, James jokes about the similarly named Mexican beer, which is on sale at this time: “Hey look, they are selling the virus”, he laughs (ibid., Pos. 63). Diana becomes uncomfortable at this, as the joke has reminded her of an incident that just happened recently here around the block. “It was an elderly man in his seventies. He placed himself before me and started flailing his arms. Go away with your coronavirus, he yelled at me...” Diana recalled with a shaken voice that she was so astonished she couldn’t really react: “This was so racist, I could not say a word. This was very irritating, but in the meanwhile I’ve shaken it off”, she asserted (ibid., Pos. 65).



Figure 15: James jokes about Corona, which reminds Diana about a recent harassment against her.

This incident shows how hurtful oversimplification and stereotyping can be. It is not only wrong, as this case impressively shows, for a US citizen who has lived in Switzerland for over a year to be

accused of importing the virus from Wuhan, China. It constitutes harassment and abuse, as it is a racist attack that might be not be directly tied to the debate on tourism, but even so is related to it to some extent, as this resident might simultaneously have been expressing his discontent about the tourism situation in Lucerne.

Vincent, Amy, and son, travelling with a befriended couple and their son

Vincent and Amy are a couple from Shanghai on a journey from Italy (Rome, Florence, Milan) to Paris with a stopover in Lucerne. They have an 11-year-old boy and are traveling together with a couple they have befriended, who also have a son of about the same age. The group are traveling by public transport and have been to Pilatus Mountain today. I meet them in front of Migros Schweizerhof, where they have been buying some instant soup for their kids to boil themselves in their hotel room. “Travelling with friends is very convenient”, explains Amy, “as you can share the childcare service with each other. In Shanghai we don’t see each other that much, as we live 1.5 hours apart” (Interview 04, Pos. 34). Amy works for a US med-tech company, Vincent is an engineer, they both speak English very well and are easy to get along with (ibid., 35).

It is the evening before Chinese New Year 2019, and thick snowfall has draped Lucerne under a fascinating white blanket. I accompany the two couples with their sons to the Lion Monument, for which we must cross a quite busy street. The group does not bother with the pedestrian crossing and chooses to hop over just anywhere, which resulted in some of the passing cars sounding their horns. “We have just been to Italy, there everybody crosses the street as they want”, Vincent tells me, when I draw his attention to that issue (ibid., Pos. 19). After the Lion Monument, we use google maps to navigate our way to the Lucerne city wall (Musegg Mauer). The boys were greatly attracted by the snow, throwing snowballs at each other, and shaking the snow off the bushes and trees at the roadside. Both parents were intensively photographing the nice scenery with their handy cams and were actively participating in the family snow amusement.



Figure 16: Chinese family throwing snowballs and bobsleighting on snowy hills

Once we reached to city wall, the group discovered a little hill where about two dozen other kids were bobsleighting. Some had plastic bobs, other classic wooden sledges. The Chinese tourists managed somehow to organize plastic plates, which they used as sledges. It was the first time the boys had ever used such a thing, and consequently they were euphoric. We all took pictures, including myself in the role of a visual anthropologist. But not all those around us were happy about it, as I realized from some of their reactions. I chose to become more unobtrusive and rather to observe from behind. Vincent asked a local resident in the meanwhile if his son could borrow the

wooden sledge, which was just lying around, and an instant later the Chinese family went up and down on an original *Davos-sledge*. After a few runs, the son continued by himself and discovered a small jumping hill the other kids had shovelled in the snow. He went at it at speed and jumped over it, once, twice, several times. But this jump was not meant for wooden sledges, as their metal skids were driving into the snow and destroying it. Other people nearby were complaining about the Chinese, who were destroying their jump, not openly to them, but rather among themselves (so I could hear). Nobody explained to the little boy that he has the wrong equipment and should rather have a plastic bob if he was to do this. When I confronted a Swiss mother involved in the discussion a little while later, she said, “No, no this was not a problem, the hill and the snow are here for everyone. We just have to rebuild the jump tomorrow” (ibid., Pos. 52). I am still not quite sure if she also meant what she said, but in any case, the Chinese visitors did not notice anything about this obvious cultural misunderstanding and went home a little while later full of great memories. But to the critical observer, it was clear that the relations between the different actors were not without problems. Whereas those established for a long time took territorial possession of the sledge run, the newcomers lag behind because of their lack of knowledge and lack of full understanding of local contexts. It was certainly not ignorance that could be blamed for riding over the jump with the false sledge, but simply a lack of experience and comprehension.

Zhao and his patchwork family on a trip through Europe

I met Zhao on a warm sunny autumn day in the old town, when he and his travel companions were searching for a restaurant for lunch. Zhao is from Xiangzhou in southern China, but currently lives in Luxembourg. He works as a data engineer, having earlier studied in Stockholm and Grenoble. The group has just arrived by rental car from Munich with a short stop in Zurich. Lucerne pleases them very much: “it is calm, clean and beautiful” (Interview 15, Pos. 12), says Zhao, praising it.

Zhao is accompanied by his mother Ba Zhen and her friend Carry (both about the same age). In addition, Phoebe, Carry’s daughter, and Jan Hui, Zhao’s female cousin, are also travelling in the group. Zhao’s mother has already been to Europe to visit her son during his studies in France. They travel very independently, and during our short joint walk through the city, they never asked me for an opinion about any restaurant. In contrast, Phoebe was navigating the group using google maps, and they searched online for “some local kitchen” (ibid., Pos.17).



Figure 17: Zhao and I spearheading the group, while Phoebe navigates for lunch with google maps.

By clicking on the restaurant icon on google maps, Phoebe looked at the pictures of the restaurant. “Most important were the pictures of the meals, not so much the rating or the prices”, Phoebe

explained. The decision fell on the restaurant “Schiff”, located nearby. No need for me to give directions – they just follow the GPS and reach their destination in no time. By doing so, the visitors could claim local knowledge by using technical devices, and not by personal interaction – even though my presence would have easily offered them this option too. But the group seemed to be accustomed to orienting themselves using digital maps and seemed to have a certain group dynamic regarding who chooses and leads the others to places. On the way to the restaurant, we had a conversation about food, which they very much like in Europe. “Only the vegetables are better in China” (ibid., Pos. 20), they told me before saying goodbye.

These five illustrative examples out of my corpus of interviews demonstrates the diversity of Asian visitors. To overgeneralize from them or even to reduce them wrongly to a single country of origin is clearly wrong and leads the debate in false directions. Asian actors in the Lucerne tourism field come from many backgrounds, not only with regard of their different home countries, but also in terms of their social and cultural knowledge, their relationship to the place and their consequent perspectives on it. Asians in Lucerne can be part of the local trade and entrepreneurship (Aree), or of international streams of migration (Evelyne) and knowledge transfer (Diana and James). They could be visitors on a drive from Milan to Paris (Vincent and Amy) or long-term, Europe-based excursionists on a mobile family reunion (Zhao). By enacting Lucerne in different mobilities, from walking Wiener dogs to no-frills city-hopping, bob-sleighting or riding around in buses, trains and rental cars, a wide array of space opens up for use. All the observed actors maintain strong personal networks, either virtually or personally with their home country or as a lived community in situ, while roaming the place with family, friends, and relatives. Ultimately not all Asian actors consider themselves tourists, even when they are tourists like Amelia. However, they should certainly not be mistaken for tourists when they live here for a year or even most of their lives. The identities of these actors are far more complex than being capable of being branded as Chinese tourists. Nevertheless, many voices in Lucerne’s debate on *overtourism* do brand them in this way by wrongly lumping them together, as Dominic from the chocolate booth remarked, for example (Interview 19, Pos. 25).

All Chinese eat cats and dogs

To understand the Chinese better, a local guide launched a tour on the Chinese designed for local Lucerne residents (see article in *Luzerner Zeitung* by Ehrenzweig 2018). On their website (Stadtführungen Luzern n.d.) the tour organizer claims that “we are not only separated by 10,000 km from the ‘Middle Kingdom’, but by a world full of myths, half-truths, transfiguration and demonization over China”. The goal of the city tour is to clarify the many accusations made against them and is therefore ironically but inaccurately called “All Chinese eat cats and dogs”. What it is offering seems to reveal the existence of a real knowledge gap, as many excerpts from my own interviews show. Many interview partners revealed a lack of understanding of Chinese people and culture and stigmatized the Chinese as superficial (“they eat in 20 minutes, it is more about the photo than the food”, Interview 22, Pos. 144), reckless (“they don’t give way, it’s their culture”, Interview 10, Pos. 24), stressed (“they are not on this side of the river, they have no time to come over”, Interview 34, Pos. 34), or only shopping-minded (“they spend a lot at Bucherer, but nothing more”, Interview 35, Pos. 29).

Other interview partners may have a more differentiated view when describing their relations with Chinese visitors. Miriam, a local resident recalls: “Sometimes I sit on the bench close to the chapel bridge and just watch the tourists, it’s super amusing. Just to observe what they do, how they take pictures of each other and so forth. And it attracted my attention that they are always in such a good mood, in particular Chinese women. And this despite their dense crowded travel itinerary” (Interview

01, Pos. 3). In this statement, an interaction from afar shines through, remarked on with both curiosity and respect. The interview partner is a regular Asian traveller herself, who generally appreciates different cultures and ways of living. However, she complained: “The problem is that the Chinese jostle. I know that from my own experience, as I have already been to China. It bothered me there too, but I adapted during the holidays. But here it bothers me a lot because that’s not how we treat each other” (ibid., Pos. 21). Miriam therefore clearly draws a line when judging the practices of the Chinese. As jostling might belong to their culture, she accepts this form of social intercourse in their country (even though not liking it), but at the same time opposes it on her own home turf. In Switzerland there is another sense of social distancing, where certain limits must not be ignored. Miriam calls for respect for these cultural informed settings and puts forward her own example when stating that she adapts her behaviour when visiting foreign countries. This means, in return, that a similar effort is demanded from the visitors to her own place.

Another interview partner stated that she works in a watch and jewellery store, and that she therefore knows a lot about the Chinese: “Generally it works pretty well with them, they never complain”, she said adding, “and also my Chinese co-workers are very diligent” (Interview 22, Pos. 97). Even though this comment shows a rather positive attitude toward the Chinese, it reveals the existence of a certain power relation. Chinese visitors and co-workers are meant to consume, to render or to deliver, but are not regarded as equal, nor are they invited to participate actively in urban life. This is something they hardly do anyway, as they prefer to remain passive and don’t mingle with others, as “[they] also eat their lunch with their headphones on” (ibid., Pos.145), the same woman recalled providing us with insights into her worldview. While she would expect more appreciation and more interest in her own culture, language and customs from foreigners, the Chinese seem to be ignorant of this and prefer to stay by themselves. This lack of interaction is consequently blamed on their behaviour, headphones serving as an unmistakable sign of privacy and of a disinterest in communication.

The same woman also explained how her clientele has changed over time. “We used to almost have only Americans in our store. Now we almost have only Chinese, but around 10 times as many sales. That also has to do with the currency. In 1987 the dollar was 1.80, today it is below a franc, 0.97 or so. That makes a huge difference. And the Chinese economy is booming, the American economy in contrast is not exactly so”. Furthermore, she added: “In the past, the Chinese weren’t even allowed to go abroad. No wonder they all pour out now” (ibid., Pos. 118-121), and she concluded: “But without guests we would have no job and no wages. It all has its downside” (ibid., Pos. 100), she continued, playing on the dilemma of economic constraints and social burdens.

On a more general level, when speaking about Asian tourists, some further interesting aspects turned up in the interviews. People sometimes look at each other with great ambivalence. Even though it seems that people have firm positions, this can suddenly change. This became apparent during an interview with Monika, in which she complained without a pause about the Asians (and the Chinese in particular). While we were crossing the bridge over the River Reuss, two young and good-looking female Asian tourists walked by. Monika examined them briefly and confessed, “But they are well-dressed. Asians often have a super fashion style. I don’t know if they are Japanese, Korean, or Chinese, but there are dressed flashily but in good way. And I really like well-dressed people. Also, sometimes the rather flamboyant” (Interview 2, Pos. 28). This is in line with what Miriam said (Interview 01, Pos. 3), namely “the fashion they wear is also striking. It’s much wilder than here. Completely different patterns, not like our fashion. Sometimes that’s a real bright spot; here I really like to look”.

But why this ambiguity? Why is the relationship with the Chinese tourists so complicated? Another interview partner, the manager of a local supermarket, tried to find an explanation: “Many Lucerne residents are simply not used to such a lot of people” (Interview 3, Pos. 68). He recently experienced a situation where an Asian tourist was literally excoriated because he wanted to take a photo: “We’re somehow doing small-scale global politics”, he said, meaning that the source of the restraint is linked to a greater context. Tourism seems to be just one aspect of the far more encompassing nexus of a new social, cultural, political, and economic world order. A quote from another interview partner goes in the same direction, namely that “many Swiss are more likely to feel disturbed by the appearance of the Asians than by their actual behaviour” (Interview 35, Pos. 80), an indication of collective condemnation or even racist generalization. This met with the approval of another Swiss interview partner who had lived for more than 20 years in China: “Wilfully jostling tourists just doesn’t help. That is disrespectful, and the word gets around that the Swiss are so unfriendly towards tourists. It would be different with the Americans, but with the Chinese we are afraid of the *yellow peril*” (Interview 19, Pos. 14). He used this expression to refer to the fear that the Chinese will take over global dominance. By investing in international companies, developing market leading technologies and creating new dependencies (e.g., the new Silk Road and 5G, among others), this anxiety might not be unsubstantiated. However, the same interview partner was sure that “the Chinese think exactly the same way as we do, they are not really different”, and he referred to a Chinese saying, which literally means “we all have a heart of flesh”. This expression signifies that we are all humans and basically resemble each other. Cultural misunderstandings go both ways, he elaborates further: “when a normal Swiss citizen goes to China, he doesn’t do everything perfectly neither. Maybe he’ll blow his nose or something”, referring to practices which are common and uncontested in the Western world but frowned upon in China. He closes by stating “that we should just be a bit more tolerant of foreign cultures. In the end, they are leaving anyway soon” (ibid., Pos. 18), meaning that they are only here for a short amount of time.

Uncle Sam still is dominant, but nobody knows

Even though the public discussion about tourism in Lucerne hangs on the Chinese, they are far from being the only visitors. The following statements will show a further large array of guests flocking in from everywhere. The statistics from LUSTAT (2020) show that the Chinese were only responsible for 15.9% of foreign overnight stays in 2019 in the whole canton of Lucerne. However, it must be noted that day visitors are not counted in the overnight statistics. American visitors, by contrast, are responsible for a far greater hotel occupancy rate, with 19.6 % in the same period. But remarks about American tourists have been scarce during the almost two years of data collection. Some interview partners stereotyped them too as overweight and always dressed in “sneakers, white socks and baseball caps” (Interview 2, Pos. 7). Another interview partner referred to the Americans when excusing the bad conduct of Asian visitors “The Americans are not exactly known as considerate either”, noted Andreas of his own travel experience in a Muslim country, where he was wearing long trousers while his American travel companion was walking around in tattered short trousers. “He had an I-don’t-care-attitude which was extremely disrespectful” (Interview 31, Pos. 54). He continues, “The Swiss would sometimes be well advised to think twice before lumping everything together” (ibid., Pos. 53) and explains that the Chinese also make a great effort to work on their image for the outside world. “As part of the Olympic Games, for example, there was a campaign that banned spitting in public spaces and prohibited wearing pyjamas in public”, Andreas told me. Anyhow, American tourists still have a more positive image and are often adduced as a comparison, not to say a benchmark, for the Chinese tourists, just as Monika did when complaining again about the Chinese: “It’s the lack of reference to people – that’s it. With the Americans, at least

you had the feeling that you could talk to them, even if you didn't do it often. They're just more open, more related". According to her it is not only about language skills, but also about personal accessibility, mutual cultural understanding, and in particular sincere appreciation. The latter is a topic that came up repeatedly and that referred to the short time visitors generally spend in the destination and the consequent lack of interaction. Generally, appreciation seems to be shown more by guests of similar cultural backgrounds and a greater possibility of shared interests.

Visitors from all over the world

Lucerne is popular in many countries from very diverse cultural backgrounds. Interview partners told me about incidents with Russians ("there are always more of them!" (Interview 1, Pos. 12), in particular rich ones. A local salesperson recalls a group of Russians shopping in her tea specialty store: "Once there were Russians too, that was a very crass situation. I even had to ask my boss for help. They were so demanding and arrogant. They bought articles for more than a thousand francs. Just everything here and here and here.... They didn't even ask what it all costs. Just pointed with their fingers to it and wanted it all. Also, such a nice tea box for around CHF 600. And in the end, they wanted me to wrap up everything nicely as gifts. I got really stressed then, as there were other people in the shop too, but they didn't care. So, I called my boss and told her to talk to them, as it just doesn't work that way. My boss then clarified the situation factually and agreed with the two customers that they could pick up the items nicely wrapped as gifts the next day. I really got to my limit then. Not just with the language, just with everything. It was really exhausting, they had money like hey, but no decency. Only demanding" (Interview 5, Pos. 67). In a similar vein is the estimate of a local district policemen, who found his experiences with Russians equally challenging: "So the Russians were the worst, they had absolutely no decency. They didn't obey any rules. But they are no longer coming, they have moved further on in the meantime. I don't know where they went, but you can't see them big time in Lucerne anymore" (Interview 10, Pos. 29).

Indians can be quite demanding too, which can be traced back to their caste system, according to one local salesperson in a casual conversation with me. But astonishingly, they are not mentioned negatively very much in interviews. Even though according to LUSTAT (2020) Indians account for 5.6% overnight stays, more than Korea (3.1%) or the UK (4.4%), there is rarely a focus on Indians in the current *overtourism* debate. This is even more surprising given that Indian tourists flock to Engelberg, the closest mountain resort to Lucerne, only a 40 minutes' drive away (see for example Gyimóthy 2018 or Frank 2016). For Indian package tourists, there is a dedicated 'Indian dinner cruise ship' on Lake Lucerne, where an Indian buffet is served and Bollywood music is played, as one interviewee recounted (Interview 22, Pos. 50). I secured a place with the cruise ship company to accompany a tour in spring 2020, but due to COVID-19 all excursions have been cancelled, so I had to forego this opportunity to research Indian visitors better. The fact is that Indians are generally better perceived as guests, also the local policeman confirmed: "The Indians, on the other hand, are pleasant to me. There are more of them again, they all come in waves" (Interview 10, Pos. 35). This corresponds with a statement from another local, who said "The Indians have now learned how to behave properly. But the Chinese are not there yet". When I asked this informant to what extent they have learned to behave, she stated: "Earlier, for example, they picked flowers from private gardens. They don't do that anymore" (Interview 22, Pos. 46). Nonetheless the Indians also caused some irritation, especially when unveiling their extemporaneous approach and unconventional behaviour. Another interview partner, for example, was quite annoyed about their unpreparedness when visiting Mount Titlis: "There are Indians who go up the mountain in flip-flops, and then they wonder at how

cold it is. Or they just pull a Chüddersack (a plastic garbage bag) over their sandals” (Interview 22, Pos. 141), which this interview partner was not able to comprehend and actually made her angry.

Overnight guests from the Gulf states account for 3.1% of international visitors to Lucerne (LUSTAT 2020). They tend to be quite specifically differentiated by the people I was interviewing. Some blamed them for their treatment of women, who must wear burkas and cannot say anything: “With these women you are not even allowed to talk”, the police officer, for example, stated; “they not even order for themselves at the restaurant, everything is done by the male”, adding that “we have no understanding for anything like this here”. James, the international student we have already met, had a similar experience. He worked at the Marriott Hotel in Zurich for a while, where they call the period from May to August the ‘Arab Season’: “This was good for business, but not necessarily good for the service employees” (Interview 24, Pos. 209), as the new rich treat staff by looking down on them. “They are very demanding and powerful”, James explained, and elaborated further: “In different cultures there are different ‘power distances’ between the staff and the clients. Sometimes you are more a slave than a server” (ibid., Pos. 210). This was also found by Chris, who rents out pedalos and who calls the Arabs ‘Jahlass’, because they always say Jahlah jahlah, which means “speed up, speed up” (Interview 35, Pos. 17-21).

A totally different view of Arab visitors was held by Marie-Therese, a coachwoman working with horses. We will meet her and her partner Heimo in detail in the last section of this chapter when introducing the Swiss actors who are present in the field. Here I shall just mention that she really gets along with people from Arab countries very well. This has much to do with their horses, which Arabs seem to have great respect and estimation for: “[they] really appreciate it when you talk to them. They want to go to your home best. They are very interested in horses and how we keep them and so on” (Interview 22, Pos. 62). And later she said: “And sometimes we have a carriage with only Arab women in it. The men then do something different. Then they have a lot of joy when they look at the Swiss men. Then they giggle and laugh, it’s fun to watch”. She thus gives us a totally different image of Arab women that is common in Switzerland. She further added explicitly that there are no cultural difficulties whatsoever: “They are respectful and mostly have a good command of English. Above all, the women speak surprisingly well” (ibid., Pos. 42). Some of them are regular guests who have been coming for years: “they don’t care about the money, we could ask any price we wanted, but of course we don’t” (ibid., Pos. 40).

4.3 Some exemplary guests from Europe

Europeans account with about a third of all international visitors, still being an important tourist segment. According to LUSTAT (2020), Germany is the main European country of origin for tourists, with 11.9% of overnights per annum, followed by France and Italy (4.7%) and the UK (4.4%). These figures did not play any role in selecting my interview partners. Rather, I spontaneously approached individuals looking like tourists on the streets and tried to involve them in a conversation at random. The following five portraits should provide exemplary impressions about their manifold backgrounds, their travel motives and the mobilities involved in practicing the place.

Flaminia and Alessandro, a twosome from Milan

I start this section with Flaminia and Alessandro, a young couple from Milan. They were both in Lucerne for the first time, and I met them in front of their Airbnb flat at the Löwenplatz. They were

travelling in their private car from Italy to France to do some wine-tasting in Alsace. They were on a one-night stop-over in Lucerne. As they had arrived late the previous night, they just wanted to browse the city during the day before leaving again for Colmar in the evening. They were both happy to join me in a walking interview, but first they had to return the key from their apartment to the receptionist at Hotel Luzernerhof. I was quite astonished to find that a hotel was renting out flats on Airbnb. However, for our guests from Milan this had been a major advantage, as it had made it possible for them to pick up the keys late at night. In addition, they assumed that parking their car was included in the room rate, as stated in the Airbnb advertisement. The receptionist explained to them, however, that this was unfortunately not true and that they had to buy a day pass for 65 CHF to keep their car parked. “This is not double, but triple what it costs back home”, Alessandro complained (Interview 18, Pos. 20), adding: “I thought we lived in an expensive city. You must know, Milan is the most expensive city in Italy, but to park for one day for such an amount of money! I’m a bit shocked, I must say! (ibid., Pos. 21). “We’re really angry”, Flaminia continued, “we are definitely going to complain. Usually, we don’t write negative reviews or comments, but in this case we will. We feel betrayed because the advertisement mentioned that the parking was included. That is why we chose this flat on Airbnb, amongst other things” (Interview 18, Pos. 17).

After placing the luggage in the car, we started our city tour, or “il giro” as the two Italians called it. We stuck to the recommended route marked in red on the map they received from their Airbnb. The most important sites are located on this tour, so that nothing will be missed. It is about lunchtime now, and we are pausing at Schwanenplatz, the most neuralgic spot in the *overtourism* debate (see Ch. 01).



Figure 18: Pausing on Schwanenplatz on a city tour following the route of the tourist map.

Approached on the subject, Flaminia and Alessandro cannot understand why people in Lucerne talk about *overtourism*: “The square is totally empty ... there would be many more people in Milan at this time of day!” (Interview 18, Pos. 28). “We didn’t really notice Chinese either”, they said in reply to my question about them: “in general, we don’t find the city to be crowded or packed, but rather as very quiet and pleasant. Although it is lunchtime now, there are almost no people in town” (ibid., Pos. 44-45). This is quite a fresh perspective of the topic, which neglects its urgency and even questions its ramifications. Certainly, it is only a snapshot in time, and a tourist wave could have arrived just an instant later. But still, it questions the standard discussion and balances the usual perception with a more international, metropolitan view: “There are always many people in Milan, all day, every day. Above all, there are many Asians too, because they have got the money. The shop windows are increasingly adapting to the tastes of these customers”, says Flaminia, an observation

which Alessandro cannot understand or confirm. “Italians want to buy that too”, he countered. But Flaminia insisted: “No, it’s increasingly kitsch and bling bling, it has nothing to do with honest and pure Italian design. But you can’t understand that”, she told him. “The Chinese want different colours and different materials. You can see that in sneakers, for example. Or even in Valentinos, there is more and more plastic stuff”. Thus, Flaminia describes how what is on offer is changing due to adaption to the needs and wants of Asian customers (ibid., Pos. 62-63). For her, it is therefore not only a question of the number of people who flock to Milan and crowd the streets, but of the qualitative change that happens within. Whereas Alessandro thinks this is just the normal evolution of time, as things are constantly changing, with or without the influence the Asians, Flaminia sees traditional values and customs threatened. She said, “Of course you have to move with the times. But you must also know what defines you. Italian fashion is strongly characterized by high-quality materials and elegant aesthetics. If you are the market leader, you don’t have to adapt to trends, you must stay true to yourself” (ibid., Pos. 65). An interesting discussion on national and cultural identity emerged with reference to fashion, which, however, could easily be adapted to the subject of tourism. Similar forces are dominating both fields with shared overarching questions. Are our traditional models being overhauled and threatened by external influences? Do our concepts of identity and self-understanding stumble and fall? And what comes next? If adaption to these concepts and values is an inevitable aspect of the passage of time, as Alessandro says, or in contrast seeks to be a stronghold of cultural poise, as Flaminia argues, remains open for debate. In many senses, however, the crux of the matter exactly concerns these questions, whether concerning fashion, tourism development, or something else.

I was wondering what kind of expectations they had of Lucerne. “I didn’t really have any specific expectations”, said Alessandro, “I also didn’t specifically prepare for this visit. Lucerne is simply well located on the way to Strasbourg, and I wanted to see the city once”. Flaminia added: “Elderly people know the city and think it’s cool. But our immediate peers have never been here and don’t know the place. So, we didn’t have too high expectations or concrete ideas. Lucerne, however, meets the Swiss cliché: the lake, the houses with peaked roofs [the gables], that it is not noisy, that everything is nice and clean, the chocolate and all that water”. Here Flaminia listed the well-known stereotypes (ibid., Pos. 29-31). “We perceive Lucerne as a niche destination, so not as an actual destination in itself, but a destination that can be visited in combination with other destinations”, Alessandro further clarified (ibid., Pos. 53). He thereby brought up a painful subject for many Lucerne residents, as they don’t want the city to be just a stopgap, a space filler, but a destination in its own right, a place of longing, just like in the good old times, as one informant in a mutual conversation remarked.

We toured the entire route as proposed by Lucerne Tourism. We walked along both sides of the River Reuss and visited the main sights along the way. In particular, we visited all three Catholic churches on the recommended itinerary. As we will see at a later stage of this project, our guests from Italy were very much accustomed to visiting these sacred monuments from what they had learned back home and practiced the rituals involved, such as making the holy sign of the cross, self-evidentially and naturally. I shall dwell in more detail on this aspect in next chapter, which is dedicated to the distinct practices that are performed and captured in the tourist place.

Family Surmont, some happy campers from Antwerp

I met Anton (37) and Carlin (36) with their daughter Mina (9) and their son Fred (6) on a hot July summer day in the shaded park of the Lion Monument. Anton was sitting on a park bench waiting for his wife and son to come back from the public toilet, which is located there just upon the hill. The

family comes from Antwerp and was previously in Disentis on a week's hiking holiday. Now they are in Horw, just outside Lucerne, for three days at the campsite and are visiting the city during the day. Then they will drive back to Belgium by car the next day.

Yesterday they were swimming in the lake all day; today they want to explore the city. They got a city map and a free pass for public transport at the campsite. So, they took the bus to the city centre and left their car at the campsite for that day. I asked them whether they like it here and what they have noticed about tourism in Lucerne: "We like it a lot, but the many Asian tourists are clearly noticeable" (Interview 11, Pos. 11), Carlin said, and Anton added: "I don't know what Lucerne is like in the evening, as we have only just arrived, but the impression is that it is very touristy" (ibid., Pos. 13). Carlin recently read a book about tourism in Venice called *Grand Hotel Europa*, written by Ilja Leonard Pfeijffer: "It's about how European cities are increasingly turning into museums. One has the feeling Europe is living in the past; the future belongs to the Asians" (ibid., Pos. 12) she said.

But there is nothing you can do against too much tourism, Anton explained: "We live in a capitalist system where everyone is free to do what they want. But there are some excesses. I recently read a story in the newspaper where two Dutch tourists made coffee with a gas cooker on the Rialto Bridge in Venice. They received a fine of 1,000 Euros and were chased out of the city with the words 'Such tourists we don't want here'... I mean, that is very bizarre" Anton said (ibid., Pos. 14-15).

We chatted a while longer in front of the Lion Monument, and I asked them whether I could accompany them while exploring the city. They both agreed and explained in Flemish to their children that I would be joining them for a walk. We left the park and headed in the direction of the old town. Just after Löwenplatz, the boy had to use the toilet again. I told them that there is a public one on the first floor of the Coop supermarket, which contrary to my information, however, was not free. Once at the supermarket, Carlin realized that lunch time was approaching, and they decided to go and get something for a picnic. Afterwards, they asked me for a nice spot to sit down and eat, and I suggested the lake side or the city wall to them. They opted for the city wall, so we walked uphill, the little ones complaining. "Not hiking again", they moaned. Probably in Disentis they went a bit too far.



Figure 19: Heading for a city walk, but soon resting on a kid's playground for lunch break.

Before arriving at the city wall, Anton spotted a children's playground with a picnic table. We entered the gate, and the family unwrapped their food from the supermarket. I left them there, as the kids were missing the attention of their parents, and I did not want to interfere with their family holiday any further. However, I realized during this interview that they have used similar infrastructure to

what the local Lucerne people normally do. The family took public transport from Horw to Lucerne, shopped at the Coop, spent some time at the children's playground, and used the public toilets, very like a Lucerne family. Due to their physical appearance and their bodily enactment with the city, they were probably not identified as tourists at first glance, perhaps only when one heard their foreign voices. However, the family seemed to accept its role as tourists and made no attempt to distinguish themselves as a group travellers or over-assimilate as fake locals. The family was just visiting the city for a day and was satisfied with the role that goes with that.

Arie and his two grandchildren from the Netherlands

Arie is visiting Lucerne with his two grandchildren. He is a retired boss of his own successful family business in the Netherlands, which sells home textiles such as curtains and carpets. In the meantime, he has come to own quite a lot of other properties in addition. This has allowed him to be driven to Switzerland by his private chauffeur. In their minibus they have been to Metz, now two nights in Lucerne and then they are heading for another night to Heidelberg and a further one to Konstanz. "I got the car from the company, it usually drives me to work, now it also drives us on vacation. That's great, so we can have board games in the back of the van", Arie recounted (Interview 37, Pos. 20). Mostly they took B-roads, so as to have a better look at the countryside. They were only taking the motorway for about 200 kilometres. Arie and his grandchildren were in Lucerne for the first time: "We wanted to go to Switzerland on our trip, and it was one of the northernmost cities on the border with France and Germany. But of course, also because Lucerne is famous", he added hastily, not that I had the feeling that the city is only conveniently located (*ibid.*, Pos. 31-32). In reality, he said, he would rather be in Mexico now, where his trip was actually scheduled. Or in Canada, where he should be next month. But due to coronavirus, he must stretch his legs in Europe now. "But one has to arrange yourself", he said, "I recently even took a 3-day holiday in Holland" (*ibid.*, Pos. 17) he added. It seemed as if you cannot keep this restless man calm despite the pandemic crisis.



Figure 20: Touring the city by Pascal's e-tuk-tuk with Arie and his grandchildren

I joined Arie with his family on a city tour of Lucerne by e-tuk-tuk. This innovative way to explore the city is enabled by Pascal, a local man from Lucerne with a four-seater electric motorbike. He recalled: "I founded the company a little over a year ago, at the end of January 2019. I used to work as a financial accountant at the Hirslanden Clinic and have managed about 25 collaborators. It just wasn't fun anymore, and so I got the idea on a trip to Warsaw, where I saw such tuk-tuks for tourists, and I just thought, why you don't do this in Lucerne yourself?" (*ibid.*, Pos. 86).

Arie found his offer on the internet, or rather his wife did. She planned their entire itinerary and did all the bookings. I met the group in front of the KKL, where the tour started. I had made an appointment with Pascal beforehand, and he was open to asking the group spontaneously if they minded doing an interview with me. The group agreed and welcomed me to join their private tour. This took us about an hour with five to six stops along the way, first the KKL, where we started, then, after passing the railway station, to St. Leodegar Church and the Lion Monument. After a short stop at Schwanenplatz (where we were given some free chocolate) we went up the Grendel to Mühlenplatz and over the Reussbrücke back to the Luzerner Theater next to the chapel bridge, where the tour stopped. Pascal was very entertaining along the way, providing a good mixture of anecdotes and hard historical facts about the city. The guests from the Netherlands greatly appreciated the tour, though the two boys were not very talkative. This was in great contrast to their granddad, who commented on everything and wanted to know all the details. He really seemed to have enjoyed the tour, and also the interview. At the end he gave the driver a tip of 20 Euros, and to me as researcher a bill of 10 Euros. Certainly, at first, I did not accept, as I thought it might not be appropriate ethically. But when he said I should invite Pascal for a drink, I warmly agreed to do so. This was not only a nice way of thanking Pascal for helping me arrange the interview and driving me around, but also a worthwhile opportunity to continue our conversation about tourism in Lucerne in a calmer and more relaxed setting than during the hopping off and on with the city tour.

Vivienne and Peter, tourism workers from Hungary

I was lingering around Schwanenplatz when I spotted a young couple glancing through the shop window of a *Davidoff of Geneva* Cigar Store. They were pointing to some of the items with their fingers and were discussing the display. When I approached them, I heard them speaking what, at least to me, was an unfamiliar language, so I asked them if they are tourists, which they denied. They had come from Hungary but were both working in the Lucerne tourism industry. Her name is Vivienne, and she works as a waitress in one of the restaurants of the Grand Casino. His name is Peter, and he is a chef at the Grand Hotel National. Both are therefore working in two adjacent historic buildings from the Belle Époque on the lakefront, which are very conveniently located for them. Today is their day off, so they have decided to stroll through town and do some window shopping. Peter's 30th birthday is approaching soon, and he must still make up his mind about some presents. A cigar from Davidoff would definitely be on his wish list.

It was end of May 2020, and life was slowly rebounding after the lockdown. Vivienne and Peter have both been put on reduced working hours [Kurzarbeit]. This is an initiative backed by government funds to absorb the crisis, as there are many industries facing economic challenges because of the pandemic. "There are currently more Swiss than American tourists", said Vivienne; "you can tell that the Americans are no longer here". And these missing overseas guests are reducing their workload. "One person on the terrace is more than sufficient. Otherwise, there are three people each, plus the staff at the buffet", explains Vivienne, clarifying: "But the weekend is going well, people from all over Switzerland are coming. From Berne, Ticino, from everywhere. Most of them stay in Lucerne for three days and come either for lunch or dinner. A few are staying with us in the hotel, but most of them elsewhere. Some guests I have spoken to had a hotel room on Kasernenplatz. So, a little cheaper, rather outside" (Interview 29, Pos. 14-18). Peter assumed that "the situation will stay that way until the end of the year" (ibid., Pos. 13), but he will be on normal shifts from next month onwards.



Figure 21: Meeting Vivienne and Peter while window shopping.

Peter has lived in Switzerland for a total of seven years now, the first five in Berne and then two in Lucerne. Vivienne has also been in Lucerne for two years so far. After our initial chat, we started our joint walk through the old town. I asked them if the city had been changing because of the crisis? If they remember that before coronavirus many people spoke of *overtourism* and were upset with the coaches and group tourists? “Yes, of course, we know that”, Peter told me; “now it’s much nicer, more pleasant, and quieter than before” (ibid., Pos. 35-36). “It’s better the way it is now”, affirmed Vivienne, “but of course there are two sides to it, we get tipped a lot less now. But we get more space in the city for this. I also want to walk around in the centre, but that was almost impossible in the past”. Vivienne made signs with both elbows, indicating the crowd. Peter confirms that the buses have been difficult and claimed, “the numbers got higher and higher every year. The season was very stressful, the city was always full” (ibid., Pos. 43). These statements revealed the criticisms both had of tourism: even though they are both economically dependent on international visitors, they expressed contrary thoughts about them. But it was not only the number of visitors they questioned, but also the behaviour of some of the guests, as Vivienne declared: “It’s also difficult to understand how such people travel. Five people together buy a scoop of ice cream to save some money, but at the same time they buy a watch for CHF 40,000” (ibid., Pos. 41). This seemed out of balance to her and indeed indicated some contradictions. And in addition, this example impressively shows that, when speaking of economic benefits, simply average values are not meaningful, as spending patterns vary to a great extent according to the products people purchase.

I asked whether the Grand Hotel National was not also a residential building where guests are staying long term in hotel-equipped apartments? As I learned in a public lecture by Valentin Groebner, Professor of History at the University of Lucerne, the facade of the Grand Hotel National is only a nice reminder of the past. Inside the building of the Belle Époque, a language school has taken over some floors, and another part of the hotel has been turned into a private residence: “Yes, this is very true”, Peter confirmed, “we also have accommodation in the National. People have lived there for several months, one person even for 30 years. They come from France, Switzerland, and everywhere. One also lived here with his family, but in the meantime, they have all gone again. He was a businessman; they were with us for six months. Now I think they have bought a villa and are living there permanently”, recalled Peter. “Others stay short term on a regular basis and go back and forth; it’s very different”. I wanted to know more about the person who has lived in the Grand Hotel National for 30 years. “He’s a Frenchman”, told me Peter; “he had a perfume shop, but he sold it or, I don’t know, his sons keep it going. He just lives there, it’s much better than in the old people’s home. Much more luxurious” (ibid., Pos. 21-26). I went at the Residence National in the following

days and met the elderly French man briefly in the hotel lobby, but unfortunately he was not open for an interview on tourism.

Vivienne and Peter continued their walk. We passed many stores with closed shop windows and rather deserted streets, formerly swamped by tourists. I asked them if it wouldn't make sense to open these stores? "No, I don't think so. The Swiss don't go there. When a Swiss person buys a watch, he is more likely to go to Zurich, as there is more choice, and it is not that expensive. Here it's for the tourists" (ibid., Pos. 103), explained Vivienne, drawing a distinction between what in her opinion was the artificial touristic place of Lucerne and the more real city of Zurich. And, as she considers herself as assimilated, she would act like a Swiss and not like a tourist, explaining further: "When we buy souvenirs for our friends and relatives in Hungary, we don't buy them here either. Much too expensive. A souvenir magnet costs one Swiss Franc at Migros, at Casagrande you must pay four francs. And the chocolate is much more expensive too" (ibid., Pos. 104). This is another interesting distinction they draw, one between tourist and non-tourist places, Migros being considered a supermarket for local use. We will dwell on the different notions of Migros supermarkets at a later stage, but already here we see how the identity process of 'going native' is built on such economic practices. It depends where one shops and at what price, something that is learned and incorporated over time. I finally asked them what they take home to their friends and families when they visit Hungary? "Chocolate by the kilo" says Vivienne. "And magnets too", added Peter, "although not as often as at the beginning" (ibid., Pos. 106).

Martina and Stefan, day excursionists from Zurich.*

I met Martina and Stefan (*two made-up names, as I didn't ask theirs during the interview) on a round tour with a city train. This is a motor-powered locomotive with two carriages that takes tourists on a one-hour tour through Lucerne. It is mid-June 2020, and the borders are still closed to international tourists, but the city train still started its service two days ago. So, it is mostly Swiss tourists who take up this offer, such as Martina and Stefan from Zurich.



Figure 22: A Zurich couple buying tickets for a city train tour and cruising through town

I was sitting in front of them during the city tour and lured them into a conversation. "We were earlier at the Glasi in Hergiswil [a handmade glass manufacturer]. Now we want to look at the city and go shopping, so we bumped into the train here. That's a funny thing, we thought, and decided spontaneously to buy the tickets", Stefan told me (Interview 33, Pos. 23).

The couple tour Switzerland quite often, not only when the national borders are closed: “We come to Lucerne once or twice a year, we like going on excursions in Switzerland very much. Just like at the weekends, to see something different. We have already been to Schaffhausen and had a look at the town and the Rhine Falls. Or in Berne with the Federal Palace. We have also been to Basel” (ibid., Pos. 24).

In Lucerne they particularly like the lake and the mountains. “And we also like the historic buildings”, Stefan explained. “In addition, there are still many small shops here that no longer exist in Zurich”, added Martina “it’s nice to buy something here when you browse around. [In addition,] I searched Google for a couple of stores that I want to see now. Most of them are open until 5 p.m., so we’ll go there after the tour. And maybe we’ll have a drink before we go back”. Martina is particularly looking for a store called Orsay, which no longer exists in Zurich, but can still be found in smaller cities such as Winterthur or Schaffhausen. “In Zurich there is always only the same shops, a total consistency”, she further remarked (ibid., Pos. 33-36).

The couple have been on such tourist trains before, “never in Lucerne, but in other cities”, they said (ibid., Pos. 37). They would also get on such a train if it were full of Asians: “Sure, that wouldn’t be a reason for us not to do that. But now it has no guests from Asia anyway”. During our conversation, a woman in front of us was listening to us with one ear and joined in the conversation: “Many people here live from tourism. And not just at Schwanenplatz, but throughout the city”, she stated, clarifying further: “it is not only Chinese who are here, but also Indians and others. Americans too” (ibid., Pos. 69-70). She did not want our conversation to drift in a direction that was critical of tourism, so chimed in. Discussing tourism issues in Lucerne often evokes interest and controversial opinions, as it did this time when another passenger intervened.

The woman in front of us was here with her daughter. She used to work in Lucerne in her younger days and was now on a day trip to show her daughter around. She was constantly explaining to her daughter where a person lived, where somebody she knew worked or where she had spent some time. Now she has attracted some interest in the couple from Zurich has and started to give them some additional information on the electronic guide they are listening to through the earphones. When the train passed the Lion Monument it only halted for a few seconds. No time to leave the carriage, and no possibility to get a real sight of the monument, as it is hidden by a little wall and some dense trees. The couple from Zurich confessed that they had never been to the Lion Monument before, despite their regular visits to Lucerne. The woman in front of us was quite astonished and explained to the couple that this is really a worthwhile sight, which every child in a Swiss school class should have visited. Not having seen the Lion Monument, one can hardly call oneself knowledgeable of Lucerne, and even the couple stressing that they had been in Lucerne several times made no difference. The immediate reaction of the woman in front of us showed how vital this aspect is. One does not have to visit the Lion Monument each time one is in Lucerne – indeed, it is something even a tourist should not do – but you should have seen it before to consider yourself a non-tourist visitor to the place. Such at least was her reaction, reading between the lines.

It’s not about the single tourist, it’s the group traveller who matters

As we saw above, many people just visit for a day or two. Many of them are Europeans, and a lot of them are Swiss too. These travellers are mostly perceived quite positively by the other actors present in the field. “I think most Lucerne people are bothered by the crowd, not by the people themselves”, one informant said (Interview 37, Pos. 98). Another interviewee even stated “that the country of origin does not matter at all. It could be Asians, or Russian or Italian or something else. It is not the

individual tourist that disturbs one, but the larger groups. They act like a herd of cattle and don't think for themselves. One person is talking, they others are all simply listening. Or they stand in the way and have no feeling for what is around" (Interview 01, Pos. 11). This was confirmed by a local police officer, who stated that "groups are particularly inconsiderate; they are in their own flow and do not even notice what is going on around them". Also, another informant, a local saleswoman, distinguished between group and individual travellers in saying: "There are self-evidently a lot of individual travellers, they are not that bad. They also come into the store and buy something. But the groups, they don't. Individual tourists can be quite interesting, they are more interested in things" (Interview 5, Pos. 13), she said. This was in line with the thoughts of another interview partner, who represents local commerce. He suggests one speak rather of "overgroup-tourism" than "overtourism" (Interview 6, Pos. 21) and proposed a de-marketing approach: "If tourism is going to grow by 30%, as forecast in the coming years [this interview happened before the pandemic crisis], we could simply do without the group travellers. It would be far better to focus on visitors who stay longer in Lucerne" He then added, "with group travellers you are often dependent on what happens in other countries, as these guests don't just come to Switzerland, but usually combine them with France (Paris) and Italy (Rome, Milan, Florence, Venice)" (Interview 6, Pos. 11-12). By proposing such an approach, this interviewee wanted to see growth that was qualitative and not quantitative. This recalls the "premium strategy 2017 - 2020" of the Lucerne Tourism Board (2016), which targets the more lucrative segments and not additional group travellers.

However, not all group travellers are equally problematic. One interviewee first stated that groups "stand in the way, they don't look. It is above all the large groups that disturb [people]", and added, "I'm not someone who likes to adjust to their pace" (Interview 2, Pos. 22), then clarifying: "Groups at Lulu (a light festival, see Ch. 5.2) do not bother us at all, and other groups organized by Lucerne Tourism are not a problem for us either. Groups from the Czech Republic, Poland, England, and Spain, with 10 to 20 people, that is completely OK. That you look at our city doesn't bother us", the woman stated, drawing a clear line between two sorts of group tourists, those who know how to behave and are of a considerable size, and those that are not compatible with the existing flows through the city and that disturb the lives of the other actors in the city. The city's dependence on group tourism was highlighted in many interviews. One local restaurateur complained about the last-minute changes made by a group that was scheduled to have lunch at a quiet timeslot in the afternoon, before the regular guests come for dinner. But the tour guided called to say that they were running late because of traffic jam: "The tour guides play with you. We agree, they come at 4 p.m. when we have no other guests. Then they call, we are still in Gotthard, stuck in a traffic jam, it will be later. Then I get into problems because I have given out the tables again in the evening [...] But I saw him at Bucherer. They just wanted more time for shopping. They weren't stuck in traffic at the Gotthard. They just lied", the owner told me. Moreover, one doesn't make any profit with groups anyways: "They have almost no time and practically do not want to spend any money on food. 10 CHF for a menu, preferably with a salad and dessert, you don't earn anything from it. And then they wrap the dessert to take away because there is not sufficient time to eat it. The tour guide wants everything to be served at the same time. If they are still on the main course, you have to bring the dessert, it lacks style", he claimed (Interview 28, Pos. 142-146).

However, it should be remembered that many group tourists are visiting Lucerne for the first time and may come back as individual travellers with more time in the years to come. As another informant told me, "But that doesn't mean that we are against group tourism. Many guests come for the first time in a group and the next time as individual travellers. That is quite normal – it is also like that with us when you look at us" (Interview 22, Pos. 39), a local Lucerne woman told me.

This is exactly what I shall do now, that is, shift the focus to local Lucerne people. In the next section I shall introduce five individuals who have lived all their lives in Lucerne, or otherwise consider the place their home. One is merely a commuter using Lucerne as a place to work, while the others have rather long-term roots, having been related to the place for generations.

4.4 A look at Lucerne's local life

Recalling the statement in the case of Evelyne, the Filipino women living in Switzerland, where a receptionist claimed to be “a Swiss man” (Interview 14, Pos. 46-50), the question now arises what precisely is a Swiss man? Is there something like a Swiss stereotype? Is there a single specific sort of Swiss or even Lucerne person? As the following five portraits will show, Swiss actors can also be many-sided. By introducing five exemplary subjects from Lucerne and its surroundings, I shall show that it is not possible to stigmatize ‘hosts’ in the same way as ‘guests’. I shall start this section with (1) Claudio, a tourism backer, (2) Dominic W., a Chinese understander (3) Monika, a harsh critic of tourism (4) Marie-Therese and Heimo, two tourism service providers, and (5) Urs Anton Krügel, a local police officer.

Claudio, a local hot-chestnut salesman

Claudio has been running a hot chestnut stand on the Seebrücke in Lucerne city centre for around six years, the third generation to do so. I met him briefly once before the actual interview, as he had liaised with a colleague of mine. Because he is in regular contact with a wide array of urban actors, I approached him for a meeting. We arranged to meet at noon at his chestnut stand to go for lunch followed by a walking interview. His shift didn't start until 4 p.m., so we had enough time for our stroll. “Our first chestnut booth we had at Mühlenplatz, but the one here also for about 40 or 50 years. My aunt ran it before me. But when her partner wanted to get out and my aunt got sick, I took it over when I was a student”, Claudio recalled of his start in the business. “My aunt asked if I could help out, and the next day I stood here. That was about six years ago. I haven't changed much since. Last year I extended the stand because we used to have the chestnut pan outside. The city no longer allowed this; however, we were able extend it about a meter to the side. We also deliberately built in windowpanes here so that the customer can see how the chestnuts are being prepared”. Most of his customers are local Lucerne people, but “many of the customers are tourists. From all possible countries”, he told me (Interview 20, Pos. 9-12).

When Claudio started his business, he studied chestnuts intensively. He was quite astonished when he learned that China is responsible for 95% of world chestnut production: “Most of it is consumed in China itself, but a small part is also exported”, he told me, and he explained that the Chinese eat the chestnuts a little differently than we do: “They have smaller chestnuts, and they fry them on hot stones. The skin is not cut, but the fruit is sucked out and the skin is spat out. And since we have a lot of Chinese guests in Lucerne, it was clear to me that we must publish our offer in Chinese”, he explained the international signboards to me. “In addition to Chinese, all products are also written in Korean”. He did the translations himself or by Google but showed it to someone who knows the language to check it: “I don't want any spelling mistakes or, worse, any insults or misunderstandings”, Claudio wanted to make sure (ibid., Pos. 13-20).



Figure 23: The chestnut stand with its price list in several languages, with the 100 g listed last

As the city government does not allow water or other products not related to chestnuts to be sold, Claudio has extended the range of products as far as he could with all sorts of edibles such as *Nidletäfel*, roasted almonds, gastric bread, chestnut ice cream, chestnut flour or figs and dates. In addition to the food, there is also a paper version of the Lucerne City Guide on display: “We go and get it from Lucerne Tourism and put it here” (ibid., Pos. 24), Claudio explained to me. One can see that Claudio has an educational background in economics from how he runs his business. In particular, when considering his trick of listing 150 gram as the first item and the 100-gram option as the last, they are not in chronological order: “This is because of the tourists, who always point at the top. This way we sell a little more” (ibid., Pos. 121-126), Claudio explained how he outfoxes his customers with a twinkle in his eye. This piece of legerdemain could be easily seen as a tactic in De Certeau’s sense, where the lack of institutional power is balanced by small-scale trickery and wit.

We left the stand and went to a restaurant around the corner. “Well, I think the city government is far too negative about tourism”, Claudio began, when we had sat down and had started talking about the current tourism situation in Lucerne. “And in my opinion, the media also treat the topic far too critically. For example, I often listen to Radio 3Fach [a local radio station], and it’s often about the ‘bad tourist’. We should be happy that we have so many tourists, I think that’s positive. Well, I can understand if some people feel a little cramped. I agree with the critics that sometimes there are rather too many tourists, for example, on the Quai or on Schwanenplatz. But that’s particularly in summer” (Interview 20, Pos. 40-43). For him it is just a seasonal problem, limited to a distinct place in the city centre and to a certain time of year. And, he added, “My advantage is that I am here mainly in winter, when there are not so many tourists” (ibid., Pos. 44), intimating that he personally does not like the situation that much either. Provided he is not involved too directly, it does not bother him too much.

But “from an economic perspective, it’s good for Lucerne that the tourists are coming”. As already noted, he is convinced that Lucerne is doing well mainly because of tourism: “I mean, Bucherer is a globally successful watch company with its headquarters in Lucerne and pays millions in taxes here, you have to see that positively” (ibid., Pos. 90). At the same time, Claudio also shows some understanding of those, mostly on the political left, who oppose tourism: “But you also have to agree with the leftists, we don’t want excesses like in Venice or Cinque Terre”, he clarified (ibid., Pos. 91), and he illustrated this point with an example from his own travel experience: “This summer I was with my girlfriend in Hong Kong and Seoul. I have to say that we are a lot more privileged here when it comes to the stress of crowding, we are still decades away from these conditions that they have there” (ibid., Pos. 92). Claudio reveals a certain ambivalence in stressing the differences between Asian and European cities, and in saying where his preferences are. But for him it’s a trade-off between economic benefit and the related cost that comes with it.

In addition, Claudio nuances the ongoing *overtourism* debate by embedding it in its historical context: “Lucerne has always benefited from tourism. When my grandfather still had the chestnut stand, it was the Americans who came on buses. Back then, people complained about this too. Today it’s the Chinese. Most of the complaints are made about the coaches, but many tourists travel individually or in small groups. Especially Koreans”, he said. “The Chinese tend to be in large groups. Most of them have bad knowledge of English. But there are also more and more individual travellers among the Chinese”, Claudio said (ibid., Pos. 46-53), hoping that the so-called problem will therefore be resolved by itself in the future.

In his opinion, some tourists really do not know how to behave. For example, the Indians: “they just can’t stand in line, they always push their way. But that’s not a problem, I can sort it out myself. Then I sometimes must tell them off and say that it’s one after the other” (ibid., Pos. 81). And there are situations when you must work around the tourists. Claudio explained: “if someone needs a long consultation or is trying things out, and there are regular customers queuing up at the back, I serve them briefly in between”, revealed Claudio, taking a pragmatic view of things. “Some people have to get on the bus or train and are in a hurry. So, if it goes on for too long, they will walk off without purchasing” (ibid., Pos. 82-83). To the end of our conversation, Claudio recalled a small anecdote about Indians, something that happened to him again and again: “They sometimes ask where the chapel bridge is, but actually we’re standing right up front. And when I explain it to them and show them that it is right here, they ask back: And where is the entrance?” (ibid., Pos. 130), he told me scornfully laughing. The lack of spatial competence by foreign tourists amused Claudio.

Dominic, a bridge builder to China

Dominic W. works at the Chocolat Frey stand in Migros Schweizerhof on Hertensteinstrasse. He spent around 21 years of his life in China and is therefore fluent in Mandarin. Now he lives about half an hour outside the town and regularly commutes to work. I got to know him over a year ago and have spoken to him several times about tourism in Lucerne. An ‘official’ interview has never been done because he was unsure whether he could do something like that in his role. I had better turn to Mr. Sinanovic, the manager of the Migros (see Interview 3). Since then, however, he has shown an interest in an interview of his own, and I met him, as agreed, shortly before his 5 p.m. break at his chocolate booth. “I am happy to provide information” he told me in the beginning, “but I just don’t want to be interviewed as an employee of Chocolat Frey, but as a private person” (Interview 19, Pos. 4). I assured him that I was very much interested in his personal view of things and not only in his role in selling chocolate and that I would note that accordingly in my thesis.

Dominic first sought to make his position clear: “I don’t understand all the displeasure against tourism. Over 20% of the GDP in Lucerne comes from tourism. It is therefore the most important source of income”, he said, but also noted that he is not one hundred percent sure about the numbers: “You can’t refer to them, that’s what my Chinese colleague told me” (ibid., Pos. 11). This was indeed a wise recommendation, as the figure Dominic gave me, according to a recent study, is rather an overstatement. In a report of BAK Economics, tourism in 2019 (prior to coronavirus) only generated a rate of 3.4% of the cantonal GDP, or 7.1% of the municipal GDP within the city of Lucerne (BAK Economic 2021:23). However, Dominic thinks that most Swiss underestimate the value of tourism: “The Swiss are just doing too well. They should be happy that you make good money from tourism. But most of them just don’t understand that”, he said (ibid., Pos. 12).



Figure 24: Dominic W. serving Flaminia and Alessandro from Milan at his chocolate booth.

We were then interrupted by a local Migros customer. She asked about a specific chocolate and wanted to try a few types at the stand. But she didn't want to buy, as became clear quite quickly, only to treat herself to a 'tasting'. "The Chinese are much more reserved", said Dominic when the customer had departed. "The Swiss often deny themselves the right to try some chocolate and then move on. A Chinese would never think of that. I recently had a customer who bought a lot of different varieties. I really had to persuade him to try something too. But they don't like to do that, they have the feeling that it doesn't belong". Dominic described the two mentalities thus and highlighted that the Chinese are very often misjudged as rude or selfish. This, in his opinion, is simply not true: "We Swiss make the mistake and lump everyone together. That is not correct" (ibid., Pos. 22-25), he stated. In contrast, Chinese people can be very generous and also generally have a very good impression about the Swiss: "We Swiss have a great image in China, a very good reputation. In the 20 years I lived there, I never experienced anything negative" (ibid., Pos. 26), he assured me.

What could be the reason for this negative attitude among the Swiss, I asked him? "The Chinese are used to living in large numbers. Bumping into each other is simply part of it", he tried to explain, "and as you know, the Swiss are not that tolerant", he remarked. "But the Chinese bring money; I cannot understand this attitude" (ibid., Pos. 46-49). Dominic W. provided a further example of intolerance against the Chinese when talking about a parking fine being given to a Chinese tourist. "He overran the parking timeslot for 10 minutes, and a policeman came and gave him a fine of 60 CHF. Because of 10 minutes! He could have made an exception, couldn't he?" Dominic asked rhetorically (ibid., Pos. 50). The Chinese was completely distraught, he was afraid that he would be blacklisted. "But such a blacklist does not even exist here, they only have such a system in China, but not here, I was able to reassure him", Dominic W. recalled the incident: "but as far as I know, behaviour abroad is also listed in the social credit points ... I'm not sure, but I know that the government attaches great importance to good behaviour abroad, as tourists shape the country's image" (ibid., Pos. 52). Certainly, this is a small incident, but it can have a big impact on the Chinese, as they are very sensitive human beings [Dominic used a Chinese expression for this, which is not literally translatable, but means roughly "humanness"]. "We Swiss are often like rasps, but saving one's face, that's the one and only thing for the Chinese", Dominic said. "If you make a Chinese person lose face, you will never see him again. Then he's gone, he won't forget that for a lifetime" (ibid., Pos. 57-58).

Dominic W. added another example of Swiss intolerance: "My son is a Chinese-Swiss dual citizen. He is now 18 years old. We live in the canton of Aargau. At school, the teacher wanted him to set the language on the computer to English, not Chinese. I can't understand that it's none of his business! So, I told him, just leave it, and tell your teacher if he has a problem, he should contact

me!” Dominic quite furiously told me, “these examples show how the Swiss are thinking. That is why we are such bad hosts. And we just don’t understand how important China is. That would be a huge opportunity. But if we carry on like this, we will slide into a recession, that’s for sure” (ibid., Pos. 80-82).

“Above all, we have such a derogatory way of thinking. Like we whites stand above the blacks or the yellows” (ibid., Pos. 101), Dominic concluded, adding that there was no reason for that. China has a rich and long-lasting culture, but we are simply not aware of that: “And they have no idea about China either. That is not even covered as a topic in school. It is a 5000-year-old high culture, or in any case it has been handed down in writing for 3000 years”, Dominic explained, adding: “I mean the Romans, Greeks and Egyptians are all dealt with, but not the Chinese”. He concluded that we would have a little more respect for China and would not be so disrespectful to them if we knew more.

Monika, a critical native Lucerne woman

Monika S. is the aunt of one of my colleagues at work. Because of her critical attitude towards tourism, she was recommended to me as an interview partner, and she immediately accepted my request. Monika works at central location on Hirschengraben but lives a little outside Lucerne. We met at the bus stop on Schwanenplatz, which she regularly uses for her everyday commute. “The tourists are a nuisance to me. Every year they are more and more. Soon it will no longer be bearable”, Monika S. started our conversation by immediately getting to the point (Interview 2, Pos. 6). “The problem is, they don’t notice us. That is the main problem”, she continued, providing an example of what she had said: “There was an incident last year, right here at Schwanenplatz. An ambulance came from above and used its horn. All the Swiss moved to the side, except the tourists. Do you understand? All the cars left a sort of safety channel that the ambulance could go through. Only the Indians got in the way. Even a Securitas person [a parking lot attendant who normally directs the coaches at Schwanenplatz] had to intervene. That’s how ignorant they are” (ibid., Pos. 9). Besides her criticism of the excessive numbers of tourists in Lucerne, her remark addresses a further point of criticism, which is more profound and personally related. It is about the tourists’ lack of appreciation for the locals, their lack of interest, their ignorance. This affects her personally in respect of her self-esteem, as she feels she is not wanted, not integrated. And further, this ignorance also causes stress when places are practiced differently and problems occur, just as happened in the earlier example of crossing the road inappropriately.

Monika thinks Lucerne is the most beautiful city in Switzerland, a little like a type-case town: small, compact, and cosy. She likes it very much and is proud of it. Further she claimed that “we try not to be racist” (ibid., Pos. 13), which I thought was a crucial statement, as Monika considers herself politically quite left-wing. In general, criticisms of tourism tend to come from the left, I argued, which contradicts the otherwise tolerant attitude one finds, for example, in the debate over migration. “That might be true of party politics, of the official stance of the bourgeois parties. But individual politicians are also critical of tourism, including those from industry and the FDP [a traditionalist bourgeois party]” (Interview 2, Pos. 14). Monika countered by explaining that the debate over tourism does not halt at the boundaries of the political parties.

We have started our walk from the bus station to her office. She normally walks this way at 6.15 a.m., when there are barely any tourists. Nevertheless, she never crosses the Reuss by the chapel bridge, but by the Rathaussteg next to it: “Actually, I never take [the chapel bridge], not because of the tourists, there are none that early in the morning. But it is a bit too narrow and gloomy for me, I

prefer to walk along the Reuss by the water and then take the next, more open crossing” (ibid., Pos. 16). As we walked along the riverbanks, Monika complained about the restaurants bordering the quay: “There is one restaurant after another here. But I never eat here, this is only for tourists! Although it would be very nice to sit out here in summer” (Interview 2, Pos. 17). By not taking part in tourist practices, such as lingering in restaurants along the river, Monika S. distinguishes herself from the tourists. While she basically likes these locations and perhaps even looks with some envy at those enjoying their life there, it would never enter her mind to join them. This would not be compatible with her self-identity as a native Lucerne woman who exudes style, local knowledge, and sophisticated behaviour. These touristic places are too low-life, too simplistic, and they undermine her esteem for the city of Lucerne.

We continued our stroll and passed the weekly market: “You can’t go there at around 9:30 a.m. in summer, then it’s too full. I don’t know how you have it in other cities, but here the market is just beautiful”, Monika smiled and stated: “Just because it is not touristy, it is touristy” (ibid., Pos. 23). This gives the market the aura of a hidden gem, which is not discovered by everyone, but only by the curious, the well-bred, those who are aware of what really counts in life.

Monika S. admitted that, even though she detests mass tourism, she has also had some nice experiences with some individual tourists: “A few got lost and couldn’t find the hotel and asked me for directions. So, I went with them and showed it to them. That was a nice spontaneous encounter. But they were from New Zealand or something. Not Asians, they don’t ever ask ...” she said. Along the way, Monika greeted many passers-by, leading one to feel that she is at home here. Is this threatened by tourism, I asked, that is, the small-scale, personal relations in town? “No, I don’t think so” replied Monika, “we all avoid the tourist zones, then we just run into each other somewhere else. It will stay that way, I assume” (ibid., Pos. 38).



Figure 25: Feeding the seagulls is no problem for Monika S., but selling-out the city’s soul is.

On the Reuss Bridge we encountered a foreign-looking tourist feeding the pigeons, and I asked her if this annoys her, as it is actually forbidden. “No, I don’t care. They can do that” (ibid., Pos. 35) Monika said to my astonishment, as I was expecting a tirade on the many tourists feeding the birds. Later, we sat in a café to continue our talk in the warmth inside. Coincidentally the same tourists came in, and we nodded to each other, as they recognized us from before. “I think that’s nice; I like these kind of tourists” (ibid., Pos. 40) Monika commented this spontaneous interaction and revealed that it would not take much for enhanced living together to happen. Monika appreciates just this small personal interaction, which had great relevance to her.

While we were drinking our coffees, Monika told me a story about her previous vacation in Jordan, which she spent in a remote desert camp: “Well, that was really at the end of the world, totally isolated. And there we were sitting on such a table on these pillows in a tent and then suddenly Chinese came in. I could hardly believe it! You travel to the end of the world and even there you encounter these Chinese.... [pause]. But actually, they were very pleasant. They then sat at the table next to us. We couldn’t talk to each other, but they behaved quite decently, and there was something like quiet communication between all of us” (ibid., Pos. 44). I considered this an exciting example and asked her whether she attributed this to the fact that she was also a tourist in Jordan. In Lucerne it is like she is defending her own territory, while in Jordan she is in principle in the same situation as the Chinese. She would never have thought about that before, she replied, but maybe that was the case. Travelling could therefore open up horizons by encouraging one to reflect on one own’s position. Being mobile herself, Monika must also allow others a certain right to mobility. And it might happen that these mobilities meet in a remote dessert tent somewhere in the Middle East. On such neutral ground, new avenues of equitable encounters can be experienced, tested, and learned for later in life.

We left the café, as Monika had to go back to work. But this was not the last time we met. I approached her again eighteen months later for another walking interview. In the meanwhile, tourism in Lucerne has come to a standstill, as the pandemic crisis has made it impossible to travel. I wanted to know how she likes the city now, without all the tourists. “It’s dreamlike, really pleasant”, she smiled, “for once again there is plenty of space in the city”, she said (Interview 30, Pos. 19-22). “I even took photos on Holy Thursday in the streets, they were so beautifully empty. That was really fantastic”. But Monika wanted to make it clear that she is not against all forms of tourism: “As I said back then, not all tourists are annoying. Individual travellers are okay, only mass tourists are not. As soon as there is a reference, I think it’s totally okay” (ibid., Pos. 9). By reference Monika means relatedness, the connection one has with a place and its inhabitants. And this reference is missing from many tourists, in particular when they are travelling in groups.

We walked through the tourist-empty streets and contemplated the restaurants. Some of them were quite busy with guests, others not at all: “You can just see which restaurant is popular with the locals and which is popular with tourists” (ibid., Pos. 28), commented Monika on this obvious divide, and showed no pity with those who had neglected their home base for so long.

We walked further along the streets, where most of the souvenir stores were closed or had sales billboards out. Monika pauses at a watch and gold discounter: “I’ve never seen anything so terrible!” she said annoyed, staring at the store display. “Such cheap shop windows are a disgrace to our city. This has nothing to do with coronavirus, this has always been so screaming and loud. That should really be banned”, Monika claimed (ibid., Pos. 101-102) and again showed how annoyed she gets when her city is undervalued and sold short. As she identifies so closely with Lucerne, it seems that she feels personally affronted by such unsophisticated offers. Monika is definitely a woman of gravitas and dignity and wants nothing more than to see her city treated like that too.

Marie-Therese and Heimo on their horse carriage

In the run-up to Christmas, I noticed a festively decorated horse-drawn-carriage in front of the Pfistern restaurant, which conducts tours through Lucerne every evening. This carriage can be booked for a one-hour round trip, where hot cheese fondue is served. This innovative offer can either be booked by groups (up to 13 people) or individuals. The carriages and its horses attract the attention of many passers-by and provide a popular photo opportunity. I arranged an appointment

(with the consent of the marketing department of Remimag Gastronomie AG, to which the Pfistern restaurant belongs) with the two carriage drivers, Marie-Therese and Heimo. As agreed, I met them that same evening at 5 p.m. where Marie-Therese harnesses the horses at her private residence in uphill Lucerne, where the carriage and two stables are also located. Marie-Therese welcomed me warmly by my first name and was already wrapped up warmly for the evening trip. “We drive practically every evening in December and January” she explained; “actually we were always fully booked this year. The guests come from all over Switzerland, from Zurich, the Aargau and the Entlebuch. There are also some foreign guests, but rarely. We used to have Norwegians, Spaniards - or were they Portuguese? - and Australians” (Interview 22, Pos. 9), Marie-Therese listed her guests. But in fact, the two carriage drivers don’t really know where their guests come from, as the booking is made by Remimag. “We only know how many people are registered per evening”, Marie-Therese explained. “We hardly ever have any Chinese. They don’t care about that. Not even in summer. They don’t care about horse-drawn carriages. The Arabs, on the other hand, do. They love horses and usually have a lot of knowledge about animals. But they only come in summer. There are always waves. Perhaps it has to do with their vacations or public holidays”, Marie-Therese supposed (*ibid.*, Pos. 12).

Marie-Therese and Heimo have been conducting these horse-drawn fondue tours with the Pfistern restaurant for three to four years. “At the beginning there were also a few empty trips, but they were charged as advertising”, Marie-Therese recalled (*ibid.*, Pos. 13). Now Marie-Therese’s husband joins us. Heimo is now also retired and supports Marie-Therese and the horses. They hitch up the horses on the carriage, and all three of us sit on the coachman’s seat. Marie-Therese held the reins, while Heimo, myself and even their dog Bernie sat by. We were heading to the Pfistern restaurant, where the guests were waiting. Normally the group that booked the tour had already done a meet and great at the restaurant, which is then followed by the one-hour fondue roundtrip before finishing the evening with a dessert again in the restaurant.

While we were sitting on the carriage box, I asked them how tourism in Lucerne has developed from their perspective. “In the last five to six years it has literally exploded”, they told me; “especially, group tourism has increased greatly. In the past there was only Inseli parking for coaches, but today that is no longer enough. And above all, the tourists now come all year round. They used to be only there in the summer, now it’s continuous. But that will be ebbing again. Tourism always comes in waves. It used to be the Americans, then the Koreans and Japanese, now the Chinese. Tourism is very volatile”, they said, without knowing that these words would become so much more true just a year later, when COVID-19 disrupted the tourism flows. “It can become problematic when everything is blocked”, said Heimo, referring to “overtourism” here, “but the measures always come too late. That’s the problem. We had a lot of demand from the Americans, and hotels were built. Then the war came, and everything collapsed. The hotels stood empty or were used for military purposes” he recalled. “The same could now happen with group tourism from China. By the time we have adjusted to it, it will be over again”, he predicted, a not unrealistic future scenario. “Tourism is just not permanent. Well, the steamers on Lake Lucerne are still pulling after one hundred years. This is a godsend, but also an exception. One cannot expect that for all tourist providers” (*ibid.*, Pos. 29-37). Heimo spoke wisely in giving his pragmatic view of the tourism debate. Even though he is personally involved as a service provider, he is not in charge of resolving the problem. Rather, he analyses it from a meta-perspective and sees things how they are, without whitewashing or accusing tourism in the city excessively.

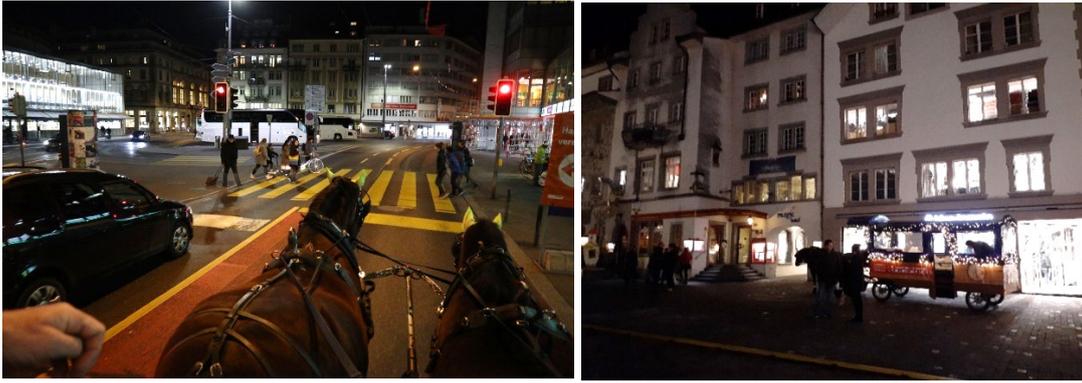


Figure 26: Riding on a carriage to the Pfistern restaurant and waiting for guests for a fondue tour

We continued our riding in the direction of the Kornmarkt in the old town, where the Pfistern restaurant is located. There we waited for the guests to come out of the restaurant. While waiting, we had an opportunity to continue our conversation, so I asked them about the Lilo festival. This is a light festival that illuminates the facades of some of the more impressive buildings in the old town, preparations for which were currently being made. The festival was initiated by the tourism board and the hotel association to try and increase the low turnover in January. However, many locals also enjoy the illuminated city, and the events are also very popular with Lucerne people. “Basically, we think it’s a great idea”, Heimo and Marie-Therese said in unison; “it was developed to fill the January gap” (ibid., Pos. 69-70). But isn’t the low in January needed to ease the stress of summer, I asked. In the past it was only summer that brought a lot of people, today it is all year round. As Heimo had said earlier: “Yes, but there are a lot of people who make their living from tourism, so for them it is good that something is always going on”. Heimo clarified further, “But on the other hand, I can understand it when people urge a bit of rest; you have to weigh that up” (ibid., Pos. 71-72). Here Heimo revealed his ambivalence and emphasized that there is no black or white solution in this debate.

Now a couple of Chinese travellers come by and pose for a few pictures in front of the carriage. This doesn’t seem to bother the horses; they are probably used to it. Marie-Therese has no problem with it either: “That’s perfectly fine with me”, she said, “I’ve been on the move myself all my life. I emigrated in my youth, have lived in California, worked on a horse ranch, and later on a fishing boat near San Francisco. I fished salmon in spring, black ground rays in summer and tuna in autumn, and then I went to Australia on a sailboat”. Given this adventurous and cosmopolitan background, I understand why she is that open to foreign cultures, but she remarked: “You just have to be able to speak English well in order to communicate. But the Chinese can’t necessarily do that” (ibid., Pos. 77). This statement also exposed Marie-Therese’s ambivalence. On the one hand there is her tolerance and understanding in engaging with unfamiliar cultures, informed by her own personal mobility and curiosity. On the other hand, she considers a common mastery of language skills as a basic prerequisite for mutual understanding, which for her would be the world language English. But this prerequisite seems indispensable for mutual understanding, which in her view is the essence of travelling: “It’s all about personal exchange. Some guests tell us that it was the highlight of their trip, how we do the tours with the personal exchange and so on. Once we had a group of Indians, they even came home to us the next day, they wanted to see how we live”. Marie-Therese explained how this interchange can develop and where they could lead. “When I came back from the USA, I also had a bed and breakfast at home. There were two Australians who originally wanted to stay two days,

but ended up staying two months, they liked that much it. We also went on real trips around Switzerland with them, to Interlaken and the Jungfrauoch and so on” (ibid., Pos. 81-84), she said.

Urs Anton Krügel, the district police officer

Urs Anton Krügel has been with the Lucerne police for over 25 years and has been responsible for the city centre area (old town, Kleinstadt, Bruchstrasse) as a district policeman for several years. A district policeman sees himself as a link between the population and the state and therefore has an extended function. In the *Luzerner Zeitung* of 6 June 2008, there is the following self-description by a colleague: “We are also pastors, social workers, life coaches or just listeners. This is very much appreciated in the neighbourhoods” (Imbach 2008). I met Mr. Krügel, who in addition to his position as a district policeman is also a passionate beer-brewer and crime-writer (see article on *Zentralplus* by Bucher 2017), in his office at the police headquarters before we went on a tour of the city together.

Mr. Krügel has a good sense for what is going on in Lucerne. “As a district policeman, I go to all general meetings of the district associations *ex officio*”, he recalled (Interview 10, Pos. 10). But he also noted that “the same people always have their say there. In my work, I also want to give other people a hearing. You can also set up worry mailboxes, but only the loudest or the latently dissatisfied will be heard. My job is about building long-term trust and understanding. And that’s for everyone. We want to be the point of contact for the entire population”. Thus Mr. Krügel described his understanding of his role and position (ibid., Pos. 9).

“Basically, I am proud that Lucerne is such a popular city”, Mr. Krügel proclaimed, “but there is a growing lack of understanding about tourism among the population. For example, at the Hotel Drei Könige, there is a resident who complains again and again about incorrectly parked tour coaches, or chauffeurs who drive incorrectly and disregard the one-way street”, he said, putting forward these examples. “But in my opinion, this is not about road safety. It’s more about envy”. To what extent he attributes the complaints to envy, I wanted to know? “Maybe envy is the wrong word. But these people who complain act like a sort of secret local police officer who whine at a very high level” (ibid., Pos. 14-19). Mr. Krügel revealed that many obvious practices are fed by underlying motives. In the examples given above, it is not about traffic rules, but about intolerance, about other people who are using one’s own proper space. The city is regarded as the own private realm of local inhabitants, which they only unwillingly share with others. And if foreigners also use urban space, it must be done by the rules and regulations of the long-term residents, otherwise this will be used as an occasion to express discontent and overall frustration.

However, Mr. Krügel thinks that Lucerne people sometimes make excessive demands: “Sometimes the complaints are a bit naive, as when a cyclist complains that he cannot ride at full speed across the Schwanenplatz and is bothered by the crowds of Chinese tourists. You just have to get off your bike briefly or ride through slowly”. He wondered about the mindset of some of the other inhabitants of the city. “Older people in particular complain about tourism. I can understand that the change is sometimes scary, with all these foreign cultures, many are just not used to that” (ibid, Pos. 22-23), he conceded, granting some understanding to their resentment. “The Chinese in particular are inconsiderate. For example, when I determinedly walk across a square as a policeman, people avoid me or at least don’t cut me off. But not so the Chinese, they don’t care, they never stop. That’s just their culture” (ibid., Pos. 24), he said, referring to the lack of respect for some of the tourists. The situation may get worse, especially in the rush hour, when people are coming back from the Rigi or Pilatus in the late afternoon. “Then it gets really tight sometimes”, Mr. Krügel confessed (ibid., Pos. 26). “But the problem is mainly concentrated on Schwanenplatz. A couple of American tourists once

asked me whether there was something free at Bucherer because there were so many people. No, no, I just said with a laugh, it was always like that!” (ibid., Pos. 21), he recalled.



Figure 27: Visitors on the Schwanenplatz thinking that you can get something there for free

In our walking interview, we also passed the Pfistergasse, where some watch and souvenir stores are located. Here, coaches are permitted to drop off their guests briefly and then to pick them up again an hour or two later. They have only five minutes to get them in or out. “But of course, that never works in five minutes! Maybe when unloading, but when loading it’s impossible. A good bus driver must be there five minutes before the agreed time, as a safety reserve in the event of a traffic jam. And then not all guests are ready on time anyway. Maybe the Germans would be, but with the Chinese you can forget that. There is always someone in the toilet or still taking a photo, then it sometimes takes up to 20 minutes...” (ibid., Pos. 38). Urs Anton Krügel recalled his experiences making a clear distinction between traditional guests, such as the Germans, and the unaccustomed and maladjusted Chinese.

In addition, he thinks that the quality of the bus drivers is declining: “They always find someone who can do it more cheaply. In the past it was sometimes still Swiss, you could still talk to them, but today they come from somewhere else. They are totally dependent on the tour guides; they always have to do what they say. And if they complain, they are out of business. It’s as simple as that”. So Urs Anton Krügel explained and recalled a situation in which a chauffeur had even asked for his help to jump on a tour guide: “There was also a chauffeur who asked me to explain to the tour guide that he was not allowed to stop here. Because he didn’t care and practically forced him to disregard the traffic regulations. The chauffeurs can hardly defend themselves” (ibid. Pos. 40-42).

We walked further down the streets of the old town. Urs Anton Krügel was approached several times, either by locals, whom he sometimes even knew by their names, or by tourists asking for information. Urs Anton Krügel always had a minute for everyone, would have a chat here and there, and was always very keen to help.



Figure 28: The district police officer showing tourists the way to the left and to the right

We ended our walk at Schwanenplatz, as Mr. Krügel had to take over a shift for the Blue Balls Festival. As a last word, he again gave me his view on tourism: “Often people complain about tourism, but I think it’s great when the city is alive. Or do you want to have it all for yourself, I sometimes ask myself?” Nevertheless, warning signs must be taken seriously and must not be ignored, he said: “It is like with painkillers when you have a physical condition. This reduces the symptoms, but it does not fight the causes” (ibid., Pos. 81-82).

Conclusion of the locals

We have met just a few examples of the people of Lucerne, and we already see that they couldn’t be more different from each other. We have met various people endorsing or opposing tourism in Lucerne, but for many different reasons, and under various preconditions and with limitations. Some actors support tourism because it is to their own personal economic advantage, others because they are open-minded and because of their willingness or even wish to share their beloved city with others. We have also met a specific actor with a very personal relationship with China, who in particular considered the reasons for the lack of interaction and understanding of the Chinese tourists. Another person who struggled to live with Asian tourists in Lucerne has even, to her astonishment, met some Chinese travellers in a solitary desert camp at what seemed like the end of the world. We have seen how complex the relation between these actors is, and that ‘living with tourism’ is not limited just to Lucerne but involves other remote spaces, such as a wasteland camp in Jordan. Also, it has become clear how ambiguous the individual actors are, how their attitude towards tourism may vary and depend on many different circumstances. One example is a local policeman who regularly enters into exchanges with all sorts of actors mingling in Lucerne, who complain to him about improperly parked tourist coaches and the inappropriate behaviour of travellers, but who is equally is a rewarding first point of contact for many people who are foreign to the place, as he provides useful information and guidance to them. His testimony stands for many local voices captured in the field when he says: “I am proud that Lucerne is so popular and is frequented by visitors from all around the world, but everything has a flipside or two...” (Interview 10, Pos. 56), thus indicating the inner strife and ambivalence people can feel.

We have met Lucerne people who have lived around the world and brought with them various competences in approaching and understanding different cultures. Their experiences help us to understand better the tensions in Lucerne that arise from *overtourism*, discussed in the introductory chapters. The reasons for criticizing tourism are as manifold as the tourists. Most tensions are fed by cultural misunderstandings, different modes of using space and a blocked or non-existent interaction

between people, often blamed on insufficient language skills. The people of Lucerne condemn the lack of appreciation and lack of recognition of their guests. Or, as the manager of the Migros supermarket put it: “Lucerne residents do not always show understanding for the Asian guests, as they often have the feeling that they have put a lot of energy into tourism but are getting nothing back” (Interview 3, Pos. 3). Other interview partners saw the roots of the problem rather in the mentality of the local residents, as in the following quote: “Lucerne people often wear a mask. In individual cases there are certainly open and enable positive encounters, but in principle it is rather difficult” (Interview 21, Pos. 75). Certainly, there are many potential reasons for living separately and not sharing a common lifeworld. But that this is not only a dual problem between the Swiss host and the foreign guests was shown by another interview, this time with a Thai tourist, who claimed that the different sorts of tourists live in their respective bubbles, remaining “very much apart from each other. We didn’t get in touch with any Chinese tourists at all” (Interview 16, Pos. 24). Separate realms for inhabiting space therefore exist in many different forms for all kinds of people, including among the tourists themselves.

4.5 Conclusion of chapter

By looking at these various *people* inhabiting the city of Lucerne, it becomes apparent that a pure focus on the locals on the one hand and the guests on the other is insufficient and must be revised. The many actors introduced in the present chapter all relate to each other on different levels with varying degrees of intensity. These actors all refer to the place individually, either with longstanding roots or rather shorter and shallower connections, being more closely or more loosely attached. This connectivity is not only traceable back to the duration of the stay or the length of residence. On the contrary, relation to place is fed by different sources, including emotional attachment, personal involvement, and previous experiences in other places. Often, the relation to place serves as a basis for self-conceptualisation as an important root of identity. We have met people who distinguish themselves from others by highlighting their knowledge, understanding, and dealing with the place, as in the case of an international student who sets himself apart from being a tourist by using different access routes into the city, or an international guest who explicitly points out that she doesn’t have a camera around her neck, as she is visiting a friend and is thus not a plain tourist but a seasoned traveller.

Relation to place and attitudes to tourism are neither solely dependent on economic factors, as many discursive traits suggest, such as the campaign “tourism creates employment” of the Tourism Forum Luzern (2016), as shown in Chapter 1.4. Even though many people highlight tourism’s economic importance to Lucerne in their interviews, its contribution in tax revenues and the many jobs it creates, some surprising contradictions have been found. In Vivienne and Peter, we encountered two tourism employees who are very critical of current developments, even though they are economically highly depend on them. In addition, we have seen many others blame the economic aspect of tourism, which creates perceptions of unfairness, uneven distribution of wealth and inadequate participation in its external costs.

There is thus a complex amalgam of people living together in this very place, bringing with them various kinds of objects, images, and materialities. We have bumped into beer bottles in a discount supermarket, its name recalling the global pandemic, and evoking a racist incident by the informant involved. We have seen how mobile phones are used for orientation purposes, guiding actors through town, and navigating them where they want to go. We have also observed how images are captured by such phones and are sent to other actors related to the tourism field, including actors that are

distant and physically disconnected during the ongoing crisis. By sending photos to business partners abroad, one can maintain connections and share emotional appreciation with each other. We have encountered the King of Thailand being equally present in the field and watching over his subjects' luck and happiness. We have seen cultural differences in eating chestnuts, as well as uncovering a tricky signpost in selling them, offering larger quantities to unknowledgeable guests.

We have also realized that not only do actors differ by cultural background, knowledge of the place, and levels of involvement, but also by their mobilities. We strolled through Lucerne with people of both closer origins and further away, and have used horse-drawn carriages, public transport, and tourist trains. We have roamed the place with an e-tuk-tuk, been given local insights by a private chauffeur and mingled with other actors tobogganing on a snowy hill in uptown Lucerne. We have hung around cafés and libraries, visited churches, and gone to supermarkets and second-hand stores, thus having thus experienced the place on the move.

We have met and discussed all sorts of engaged people who have an opinion and a position on tourism. But not everyone is similarly involved. There are also some who are not connected to the topic at all, but remain apart. These people could not have been won for interviews, let alone walking interviews, but they have been observed and encountered when rejecting an approach asking them to be interviewed. By doing so, they expressed their lack of interest to the topic, and demonstrated their reserve and detachment, or in Simmel (1995/1903) words, adopted a *blasé attitude*. They might have been protecting themselves from the overwhelming stimuli caused by visitors from all ends of the world, by their pace and intensity, by their confusion of languages and voices. Or they may simply have shown their disinterest in partaking in another research project involving speaking to a stranger and investing their time.

Certainly, I have influenced many of the statements of my interview partners, eliciting comments from them on individual encounters and personal feelings. Even though I have tried to stay neutral and not to prejudice them with my own comments on things, this could not always be avoided. Discussing tourism issues with all the different actors very often led to a reciprocal exchange of views. As Geiselhart (2019) has noted (see Ch. 02) a dialogue does not consist of finished entities which are interchanged without dynamics. In contrast, while transacting in thought one enters a relationship in which the parties mutually influence and stimulate each other. This was an enriching experience, certainly for me as a researcher, but hopefully also for the other parties involved.

This process reveals that it is not only important who one is asking for an opinion, but also when and where. Investigating *overtourism* in a deserted square in the centre of the city certainly produces different comments than in the middle of parked tour coaches. Actors have a different perspective on issues depending on the circumstances, locations, and surroundings. People very often demonstrated their highly ambiguous roles, constantly balancing their views, and reflecting on the pros and cons of tourism as affecting different spheres of their life. It is therefore often not easy to arrive at a single view of tourism, as many actors have inner conflicts in their attitudes towards it. People came up with differentiated and nuanced views expressing elaborate interests, thoughts, and agendas. The duality of yes and no, pro or contra tourism, should therefore be transcended quite as much as the dichotomy between host and guest. Reality is far more multi-layered, subtle, and complex, as people are interacting, relating, and dealing with each other in different forms and intensities. Or as Hugo has put it: "With tourism it is just like with the weather: sometimes it's too hot and sometimes it's too cold. But at the end, we need the tourists here in Lucerne" (Interview 28, Pos. 57).

However, to close this chapter, I provide an overview of the actors introduced within it. All fifteen personalities sketched in the short portraits above will be allocated a space on a four-field matrix, indicating their relation to the place and their respective views on tourism (see Figure 28). Certainly, this graphic must not be taken as a fixed allocation of opinions, attitudes, and views on tourism. As we have learned, these can be full of ambiguities and uncertainties, which can hardly be measured on a scale of 1 to 10 on a y-axis. In addition, stances towards tourism and relations to place are constantly evolving, are constantly on the move, one might say. And they are highly relational, depending on circumstances, situations and not at least interview partners, how someone expresses his or her position or stance on tourism. Nevertheless, this graphic should be read as an attempt to provide an overview that better structures the people interviewed.

The proposed theoretical framework not only stresses the broad spectrum of views, but also the range of origins of those involved in this study. Some were born and bred in Lucerne, working in generation-old family businesses. Others are rather new residents, staying for a definite period of time or just commuting in and out. We have looked at different forms of tourist visiting for various purposes and therefore with different relations to place. Some come with more engagement, others with more distance. This should equally be reflected on the gradual spread of an x-axis. However, the values of the two axes do not correspond to each other, as there is no direct link between relation to place and particular attitudes to tourism.

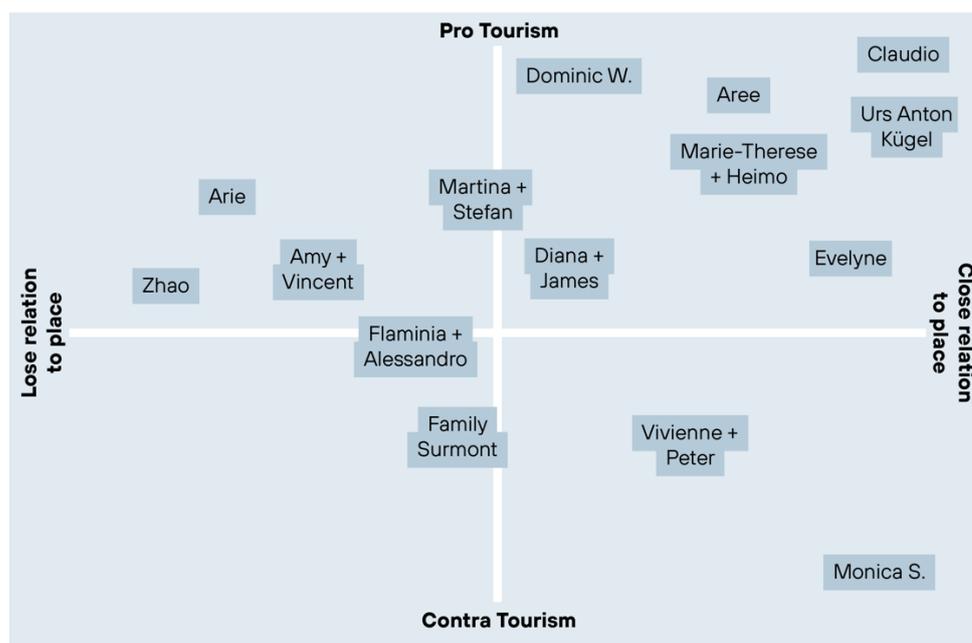


Figure 29: Overview of attitudes to tourism and relations to place (compiled by author)

It must be noted, however, that in total about 80 persons were interviewed in 38 interview sessions. Therefore, not all the opinions recorded for this dissertation are included in the above graphic. However, by choosing the fifteen most trenchant interview partners, some interesting protagonists have been introduced who will also appear prominently in the remaining chapters. A more complete overview of all the walking interviews I conducted can be found in Annex I. In a compilation of all interviews, an overview of the interview partner's relation to place and their respective attitude towards tourism is provided.

Having set the scene, I now turn to the practices of these actors and at how they interact with each other. I shall investigate how the practices gathered in the field co-construct and shape the place and attitudes to tourism. This is revealed in embodied action in mundane and extraordinary practices, including business activities and critical thinking, and in expressing outrage and rebellion.

Chapter 05: Practices

5.1 Introduction: Manifold practices that relate to each other

As outlined in the theory chapter (Ch. 02) we understand practices, with Reckwitz (2002:249), as a “routinized type of behaviour which consists of several elements, interconnected to one another: forms of bodily activities, forms of mental activities, ‘things’ and their use, background knowledge in the form of understanding, know-how, states of emotion and motivational knowledge”. Drawing on Schatzki (2019:80), we see that these practices are all interwoven and related to each other in bundles and arrangements. “[They] connect to form broader constellations, and the broader constellations themselves connect and make up one overall complex: the practice plenum. This plenum is a plenitude: a sum of particular things that, as such a sum, amounts, not to a bigger thing, but simply to a multiplicity”. I shall now delve into the corpus of practices gathered in the city of Lucerne. How do these practices resonate in space? How do they co-construct the social fabric, the urban arrangements, and the lived space of Lucerne? In particular, I shall investigate how the different practices performed by its various actors mingle together. Do they relate to each other, do they conflict, or are they rather mutually enhancing? Which reactions are caused by these practices? Which emotions are evoked, what kind of cultural background knowledge is needed to enact and decode these practices, and which are essential to understand better how people live together with tourism?

This chapter is structured into five parts, which all emerged out of the qualitative interpretation of the empirical data through grounded theory (see Ch. 3.3). The chapter first looks at mundane or everyday practices rooted in the daily grind, the ordinary, the unspectacular. Then I turn to more extraordinary practices, which are not always that distinct from mundane practices but emphasise their uniqueness, particularity, or peculiarity. Third, I investigate economic practices, providing insights into the business models that lie behind some of the practices and shedding light on what this means for those actors who do not directly benefit from them. The fourth section dwells on the practices of critical reflection through which media, artists, and the public think about tourism. The chapter will then close by carving out the practices of protests and resistance and show how manifold a meaningful dealing can be.

5.2 Mundane practices

Mundane practices are routinised types of behaviour which could happen every day. In this dissertation I distinguish such everyday practices from other, more extraordinary practices, which deal rather with singular, out-of-the-ordinary, and thus more rememberable tourism encounters. Certainly, this highly contested distinction between the mundane and the extraordinary has been widely debated in tourism studies, as many forms of tourism are rooted in daily practice and, vice versa, extraordinary things happen in the everyday. Duncan, for example, states that tourism is increasingly seen as constitutive of everyday life and that it relies on the new mobilities paradigm to overcome “this [former] distinction of travel and tourism as the antithesis of the everyday” (2012:113). Larsen even speaks of de-exoticizing travel and argues that the above separation is flawed, as “tourism and everyday life intersect in complex ways” (2006:21). The distinction between the mundane and the extraordinary in this dissertation must therefore not be misinterpreted as a mutually exclusive dichotomy between two opposed poles. In contrast, much that is extraordinary is

acknowledged in ordinary practices, for example, by drawing on De Certeau's (2005:219) idea of tactics, which attributes subversive power and creative forms of resistance to the everyday. Also, the thesis shows that there several extraordinary practices, like sleeping in a hotel, for example, that integrate well with local life. Nevertheless, the aim of this thesis is to show that practices differ in rhythm, meaning, and purpose according to the familiarity of the setting. It makes a difference if practices are performed once in a lifetime in an unfamiliar and exciting surrounding or in an everyday context. Shopping in a supermarket, for example, as will be later shown, can on the one hand be part of the daily grind, or on the other a rather extraordinary experience. Therefore, this thesis will place the emphasis on this distinction and discuss the different dealings, meanings, and significance of similar activities rooted in different realms while at the same time showing how these different practices are intertwined and entangled with each other, making them hard to isolate and detect.

During my research I have accompanied many different actors in their extraordinary experiences of being in Lucerne for the first time. Similarly, I have joined many people in their daily routines. I have walked with them on their way to work, on leisurely strolls through town, using public transport or running errands. Let us now start with Miriam, a young Lucerne mother whom I accompanied with her six-month-old baby boy in his buggy on the banks of the river Reuss, in order to delve into her regular activity of walking in the city.

Walking in the city

Miriam and I met in front of the Lucerne Theatre, just opposite where she lives. She regularly walks along the riverbanks to catch some air with her new-born son. We decided to cross over the river, but Miriam did not want to take the chapel bridge, even though it was the closest crossing: "Because it is not suitable for baby buggies, but also because there are too many tourists in summer. The crossing over the Seebrücke is much more convenient and much faster", Miriam explained (Interview 01, Pos. 9). We therefore ambled along the Reuss in the direction of the railway station, taking the nicer side of the road next to the water, not the opposite side facing the buildings. But walking on this side is not always possible, Miriam said: "This is not possible in summer because there are too many tourists. Then you must move to the other side of the street. This is less beautiful, but it's easier to walk" (ibid., Pos. 13). However, there are bicycles parked on the riverside, which stand in the way "They don't bother me, because I'll pass through anyway", Miriam said (ibid., Pos. 14), indicating that not all obstacles are of the same significance. While tourists obstruct her way, bicycles seem easier to circumvent.

Another walk with James, the international student originally from Vietnam we met in the chapter before, showed a further motive for not crossing the River Reuss by its medieval wooden bridges: "We used to go over the Spreuer Bridge or the chapel bridge when we wanted to go to the old town. Today we also take other crossings, because there are often too many tourists on the historic wooden bridges. And we're no longer tourists", explained James (Interview 24, Pos. 80), thus giving evidence of social distinction by embodying local knowledge and adapting his personal practices accordingly (see also Freytag 2010:49ff). The fact that local residents do not like to cross the medieval bridges either has already been indicated by Monika in her account in Ch. 04, when said that the chapel bridge is too narrow and gloomy for her, and she therefore prefers to take a more open crossing on her early morning commute (Interview 2, Pos. 16).



Figure 30: Flaminia and Alessandro walking on a tourist-crowded street in the city centre

Walking paths are sometimes even physically inscribed in space. In an interview with the head of a local borough association, I learned that the pavement in Zürichstrasse next to Löwenplatz had to be widened because of the increasing pedestrian flows. “Since the city government introduced the new car regime, buses are only allowed to unload guests at Schwanenplatz after 4 p.m. Charging is now happening here at Löwenplatz. That suddenly increased the number of pedestrians coming up Hertensteinstrasse or from the lake. This, of course, led to problems, so the sidewalk had to be widened”, explained Marc-André Roth (Interview 7, Pos. 29), indicating the 1.5-meter widening of the pavement in order to create more space for the pedestrians (see Figure 30). Embodied visitor flows therefore result in alterations to the physical environment, changing the fabric of the urban landscape and leaving obvious traces in brick and mortar, as the pictures beneath show. This can result in “an objective spatial configuration”, to borrow Schatzki’s (2015) term, where practices of bodily movement together with material entities form an arrangement bundled out of these practices (see also Stock 2015:3).



Figure 31: Widening of the sidewalk from below and above.

Interacting with strangers and those one knows

While walking around, for many actors there is the potential for meeting and interacting. A local Lucerne woman recalled, when we were taking the steps up to the chapel bridge, “There is usually no clear path here. There they stand to the left and right. Japanese and Chinese. And I ask them, ‘Excuse me’, in English! You see, I’m already adapting. I say this in English, that’s how it is!” (Interview 5, Pos. 22) she moaned, expressing her discomfort at having to adjust to external influences, such as international tourists. This causes a certain uneasiness to her, not being possible

not interact in her own language, as this reflects a constitutive element of her own identity. It can be argued that this adaption goes along with a loss of self-determination, of giving up local competences which usually give one a kind of home-field advantage. In adapting to a foreign, internationally dominated language in loosely interacting in her 'own' town influences her sense of place and threatens her favoured understanding of Lucerne.

During the many walking interviews, I was astonished by the multitude of Lucerne people who know each other. A lot of actors greet passers-by or are greeted by them from close or afar. An interview partner from Basel who is currently working in Lucerne made a similar observation: "You get the feeling that most of Lucerne's people know each other from school, scouting or carnival" (Interview 21, Pos. 65), she said, referring to the small-scale town-like environment. And the people do not simply rush by each other: by contrast, they always have a moment to pause and interact, as "they also take time to chat, which is actually very nice" (ibid., Pos. 63), the observer further remarked.

This familiarity with the place provides comfort and certitude, as many interview partners remarked on various occasions. Lucerne is often described as a city that is perfect in size, easily overseen, but not too small either. Monika, for example, explained: "So when I come back from New York or somewhere, I just think how great we have it here! Sure, Zurich is beautiful too, but here I know everything. It's small and compact. And it is close to the mountains and the water too" (Interview 2, Pos. 30). A lot of Lucerne people feel at home in their cosy city. They love to bump into familiar faces, exchange a quick chat or just a mutual appreciative smile. Many residents enjoy its small scale. Also, Miriam likes to encounter familiar people and have a spontaneous word or two with them: "Yes, Lucerne is a small city. I am just a mega fan of it! In summer one often meets at the lake or somewhere else. Also in the old town, even if it is becoming more and more touristy, you always run into a familiar face here" (Interview 1, Pos. 35).

In the interview with Christoph, the theatre-maker, I asked whether the aversion to tourism might be rooted in an anxiety about losing this close relatedness, this comfortable overview, the intimate small-scale character of town? Do tourists prevent such spontaneous encounters with familiar faces and are thus fostering the anonymisation of the local community? "No, I don't think so", Christoph replies; "after all, tourism doesn't really affect our coexistence. It takes place more in isolated zones. I meet my people in Neustadt or in the places where I spend my time, not on Löwenplatz or Schwanenplatz" (Interview 32, Pos. 82-83). However, although this might be true for Christoph, many other Lucerne people I have accompanied, observed, and talked with go regularly to the old town, whether for random shopping, to visit the market or just to have a coffee or two. But the fact that Christoph's words have an element of truth in respect of a more general urban development will be shown later in Chapter 06, when I focus on specific places such as the borough of Hirschmatt-Neustadt.

Either way, it is not all actors who participate in this regular interaction, this weaving of relationships, whether rather loose or rather personal. Some actors, despite the length of their stay, are not included in the local social fabric. James, our international student from Vietnam, ascribed this tendency to remain outside to language, not specifically language skills, but the very use of language itself. "In Vietnam, for example, the word 'Hello' does not even exist, it is always associated with the relation to the person, for example 'Hello father' or 'Hello uncle'. This indicates the hierarchy of the people who speak to one another", he explained. This provided a rationale for why some Asians do not find it easy to interact with unfamiliar people: "If you don't know who is up or down in the hierarchy, in Vietnam you often simply don't say anything in order not to make a mistake. That is why we have trouble greeting strangers. But there are also other cultural differences or misunderstandings which

we are learning to deal with better while we are here” (Interview 24, Pos. 138-140). Explaining this, he gave an indication that having a scholarly education was not his only reason for choosing a Swiss private school for his studies. “I come from a (formerly) communist country, and here I see how it could be different. The stay was an eye-opener in different ways” (ibid., Pos. 129).

Crossing the street

Another issue when strolling around is jaywalking across the street when there is traffic. Even though this is often attributed to foreign visitors, that is, that they do not just cross the street when the light is green, this is also done by some local interview partners (i.e., Interview 20 and 23). Despite this fact, jaywalkers are regarded as an indication of there being too much tourism. “This is exactly what can be seen as a sign of *overtourism*. Many tourists cross the street when it is red, so the cars have to honk their horns so that nobody is run over” (Interview 07, Pos. 9), said an interviewee when we heard a horn sounding from a car passing nearby. This is not an isolated statement but one in the same vein as other remarks: “The whole city of Lucerne lives from tourism, that’s a fact”, said another informant, “but sometimes tourists really misbehave, for example, jumping in front of the cars on the Seebrücke. They don’t even notice their surroundings; they are totally focused on themselves”, complained this man, who lived in the outskirts of Lucerne and used his car on a regular basis in town (Interview 22, Pos. 103). It is therefore the different mastery of space that causes the problems. Whereas the knowledgeable stick to their own rules and expect this from all the other inhabitants, not everyone obeys these demands. What might be regarded as a sign of a lack of respect, though, is often just other cultural approach to bending rules and interpreting them in a more tolerant way. Moreover, there are also quite pragmatic reasons sometimes. Moving in large groups in urban spaces often causes problems when traversing the streets as such a group. When the traffic light shows green, the front of the group starts moving, but often the group’s tail only manages to come up when the light changes to orange or even red. However, adapting the green phasing of important crossings in the city centre, such as those at Schwanen- or Löwenplatz, would, I think, be regarded as a step too far by many critical residents. Alternatively, the city officials responsible for traffic light control are simply not aware of such small obstacles obstructing the ability to living more harmoniously with tourism in Lucerne.

Getting lost and finding one’s way

Finding one’s way and orienting oneself is sometimes not that easy, as several city-strolls I accompanied indicate. Mostly, the mobile phone assists unfamiliar visitors in finding their destinations (see, for example, Interview 15), while others help themselves with a printed map (see, for example, Interview 18). Sometimes wayfinding becomes a critical issue, as in Interview 4, where a group of six temporally split into two, as they could not decide which way to go.



Figure 32: A Thai couple taking a detour to catch public transport to the railway station

Another example of complicated wayfinding was experienced by a Thai couple, walking from their short-term apartment at Löwenplatz to the bus station at Löwenplatz to catch public transport to the railway station (see Figure 32). The direct way, according to google maps, ran for 80 meters, but the two walked all around the square, covering about triple the distance. Once at the bus station, several bus lines would have led to the railway station, but the first option was wrongly left out. These two incidents revealed a certain lack of spatial competence on the part of the couple. By falsely orientating themselves and not mastering public transport timetables, the two exposed their lack of knowledge. This is not related to cultural codes or the misinterpretation of rules, but simply to insufficient experience in dwelling in the place. Despite these shortcomings, they arrived just in time on the platform, where the rest of their travel group was already awaiting them. I was quite astonished that they were traveling in group, as they first appeared to be solo travellers to me. “We always travel together. We are a group of friends, we arrange a travel every year”, the couple told me, having boarded the train (Interview 16, Pos. 44). They had separate apartments, did separate excursions during the day, but always had dinner together, and were now travelling together by train to their next stop in Paris.



Figure 33: A Thai couple on the way to the railway station to catch the train to Paris.

Using public transport

Many visitors travel by train, which is not without its conflicts, as an article in the *Luzerner Zeitung* (Glaus 2019) shows. The report concerns the train link between Interlaken and Lucerne, which is very popular among international guests, who compete for the free seats with the regular users. This article was also read by a local interview partner, who fully understands “that commuters can get

upset about the many tourists” (Interview 22, Pos. 142). Also, Monika, whom we already know from Ch. 04, would hate sharing her train compartment with a tourist: “I really feel sorry for the people who have to get on such a crowded train every day. So, mixing in public transport is not possible in my opinion. I know of an incident where Indians did not give up their seats, even though they were reserved. So, I’m glad it’s not mixed up. I don’t want any contact with them. They are not interested in me; I’m not interested in them. Sorry, I’m just getting a little aggressive now” (Interview 2, Pos. 43), she said, making her temper clear. This is what Lussault (2009) describes as a “lutte des places”, that is, locational struggles about who manages and controls space. According to Lussault, in the end this is a political question about distances, limits, and positions. As the above example makes it clear, these political questions must be fought out in concrete micro-geographies such as a train compartment. Monika, the actor quoted above, claims her space and asks that her personal distance be respected. But by occupying seats, foreign visitors take over control by virtue of their sheer presence. They define the train’s main use, changing it from a former commuting facilitator into a tourist product. This transformation alienates Monika and causes her to get angry, as expressed in her statement above. As the guests make no attempt at interaction, but simply stage a hostile takeover, this apparently leaves Monika with no other option than to accept the struggle over the meaning, dominant definition, and principal use of this means of transport.

In the case described above of the two Thai tourists heading to the railway station by public bus and joining their fellow travellers on the train to Paris, a more nuanced touristic use of public transport has been observed. The group of eight travelling together was split into several subgroups to gather later in the train compartment. For the unknowing observer this made them tourists travelling in couples, so they were not stigmatized as group tourists. This is a crucial differentiation, following Löfgren (1999), who ascribed negative classical stereotypes to the “package tour group” and positioned them (in particular when travelling in tour coaches) as the “lowest rungs of tourist hierarchies, a meek flock of sheep never allowed out on their own, sheltered from any contact with reality behind their tinted windows” (ibid.:171). Travelling in smaller groups and only partially gathering in larger groups not only enables a more individualist style of travel but also fosters different perceptions by those who surround one. However, this does not prevent a large and loud hello when regrouping in the 1st class train compartment, in particular when some of the group only arrived at the last moment (see Figure 34).



Figure 34: Arriving on the platform just in time and meeting one’s fellow travellers in the train.

Waiting for the bus (lack of infrastructure)

Sometimes it is the lack of infrastructure that must be blamed for the different interest groups not getting along with each other or even clashing. This could be insufficient rolling stock at the railway companies (as claimed in the newspaper article by Glauss 2019; see above) or simply by not thinking through the needs of the actors involved. Sometimes not much would be needed for different interest groups to get along with each other on better terms. For example, the bus stop at Löwenplatz, where our two Thai tourists caught their bus to the railway station, has no shelter against the rain. This lack of infrastructure not only has negative consequences for the bus tourists, who must wait for their bus driver in the rain, it has equally negative impacts on the locals, who do their shopping in the Coop supermarket nearby and are troubled by the tourists standing in their way (see Figure 35). The head of the local borough association explained: “When it rains, all the tourists stand in front of the Coop under the canopy. This of course annoys the residents who are doing their daily shopping (Interview 7, Pos. 31). It is therefore a question of organization, of remarking on the small details that can make a difference, when living with tourism is arranged and put in place. Or, as the district police officer Urs Anton Krügel put it: “I ask myself whether we really have too much tourism or just too little infrastructure. I mean, on the one hand you want to earn money from tourism, but on the other hand you are not ready to provide the necessary infrastructure” (Interview 10, Pos. 13), he claimed. But the question remains, what is the right infrastructure and for whom? As we can see, practices differ and so do the needs for transport, sanitary facilities and paths for the actors involved. And what kind of infrastructure is suitable in the long term is again another question, as it is not only the needs of the guests that are constantly changing, but also the guests themselves.



Figure 35: People waiting underneath the Coop canopy

Encountering birds and other animals

While walking around the town with interview partners, an interaction with animals was often observed. Asian tourists in particular like the white swans on the lake and the River Reuss. Or as Judith, a saleswoman in a local store remarked in a joint interview: “Here they stand in their droves at the railing and take pictures of swans and birds and almost freak out. Don’t they have any animals with them at home?”, she asked me rhetorically, adding that she thinks it is “kind of weird” (Interview 5, Pos. 34). Some tourists have quite a special relationship with animals, as shown by a video which went viral on social media (Mme 2018). On this video a group of Chinese tourists were feeding a swan by the side of a lake (see Figure 36). The swan was lured with an item (a banknote or something similar?) by a visitor, and when the swan snatched it, another Chinese tourist rushed to help and grabbed the swan by the throat to make it release its prey. An American tourist was filming the scene

and commented that feeding the birds is actually forbidden. He showed the sign stating this with his camera (see picture right) but showed no understanding of the behaviour of the Chinese tourists: “What the fuck”, he said, literally expressing his disapproval. This video went viral and was also commented on in China, where fellow citizens felt ashamed and made excuses for the incident, as another article on 20Minuten reported (gwa 2018). This example illustrates a twofold problem. First is the problem of different ways of handling animals, which are cultural informed and reveal the different backgrounds of the respective actors. Here, it is apparently not merely a cultural differentiation between East and West or Asia and Europe that is involved, but rather a distinction between rural and urban, as the second dimension of the problem indicates. Chinese commentators expressed their disapproval of these scenes, branding the video as dealing in generalizations or even as xenophobic, as it implicitly blames all Chinese for such bad behaviour. But according to many commentators, the opposite is true. Also, urban Chinese citizens do not treat animals so cruelly but have more sophisticated ways of dealing with living species. However, such actions lead to their “losing face” and make them feel embarrassed for their fellow citizens. They don’t want to be identified with the backward and reactionary thinking of a peasant population, but rather want to embody a future-oriented and modern way of life. The clash revealed in this example therefore shows a difference in opposing approaches within China itself, constituted by their respective practices and anchored in a broader concept of identity.



Figure 36: Tourist grabbing swan by the throat, where feeding animals is prohibited.

The fact that feeding the animals is prohibited is not in everybody’s interest is illustrated by the example of Miriam. As she is now the mother of a little boy, she thinks that there is nothing more normal than going to the lake and feeding the birds. This is something she has been doing with her parents she was a child herself. “This is something normal”, she declared, “but feeding the swans is now prohibited because of the tourists. If I would get a fine now because it is forbidden, I would become very upset”, she stated. In this example one can see the double standard involved in applying moral rules. What is good for the locals is not necessarily good for everyone. Certainly, the sheer number of tourists does not make it any easier to treat all actors the same but applying different laws to different people is self-evidently not an option for the city government either. For Miriam, however, not being able to perform a deeply rooted cultural practice, an activity her parents – or even her grand-parents – have already done with her, means a big loss. She is not ready to adapt to these rules, as she does not see herself responsible for their emergence. According to her, it is forbidden to feed the birds because of the tourists, not because of the local Lucerne people. For this reason, morally these rules do not apply to her. That there might be other reasons, such as the health of the birds or the ecosystem, is not reflected in her stance of blaming the tourists.

In addition, feeding birds and animals is not a local phenomenon, but exists in all sorts of places. Flaminia and Alessandro recall that in their Italian hometown, Milan, even grain is sold to the tourists to feed to the pigeons: “This is a popular photo subject in front of the cathedral, for example”, Flaminia told me. This was new information for me, as I was unaware of this business model in Lucerne. But even after being aware of it, I could not uncover any such an economic practice within my proper field of research.



Figure 37: People feeding animals, captured by photographs

Sometimes interactions with animals are not reduced to feeding them and taking pictures of them. In a spontaneous encounter with two female Thai tourists with a cute dog, a heartfelt meeting occurred. During the conversation with Sukanya and Phunnawydee (Interview 13), a dog-owner strolled by and caught the attention of the two young tourists, who were photographing each other on the Seebrücke (see Figure 38). The cute dog seemed to be gentle, and after I asked the dog owner if he agreed, the two tourists started spontaneously cuddling and caressing it. “It’s a tame dog, a Tibetan mastiff, which always attracts attention”, the dog-owner explained, adding that this was no incident on its own, but something that happens on a regular basis. “Everywhere, not just in Lucerne. I was recently in Bulgaria, where the dog was also a big attraction”. This was indeed true in this very case as well, as in addition to the two Thai tourists, a group of Indians seized the opportunity to take pictures of the spontaneous encounter.



Figure 38: Posing for a picture with a dog, while attracting the attention of other tourists.

This last example shows how mundane practices, such as walking a dog, can lead to extraordinary encounters involving all sort of actors from near or afar. Such encounters might stimulate further exchanges and make bridges between cultures. As we have learned, treating animals differs essentially from country to country, and even from place to place within a country, depending on the roles animals play in the respective society. This could lead to cultural misunderstandings (as in the example of strangled swan) or enriching encounters (as in the example of the Tibetan mastiff).

Driving around

Mundane practices also involve driving bikes, cars, or coaches in traffic. Lucerne is infamous for its congested roads. Monika explains: “Lucerne has a real problem with the car. They can just drive into the middle of the city – I don’t think that’s good at all. Sure, the tour coaches aren’t to blame for everything. Lucerne has a major traffic problem anyway, there is just too much going on. But of course, tourism also plays its part” (Interview 2, Pos. 41). Especially as a cyclist, one feels stressed by the bad traffic management in Lucerne, said Christoph, a local resident. But the absence of tourists during the corona crisis showed impressively that the traffic problem is not merely a tourism issue. Even though the number of visitors declined heavily from March 2020 onwards, the traffic on the roads remained almost the same: “The missing tour coaches do not make a noticeable difference to me”, said Christoph, for example (Interview 32, Pos. 77). Another interviewee made similar observations when we were discussing the effect of COVID-19 on the local traffic: “Yes, it’s completely normal again. Almost like before corona. The tourists don’t actually come that much by car; rather by tour coach or by train. Tourism in general has a small impact on the road”, thought Hugo, another local resident (Interview 28, Pos. 84-87). But already before the crisis, one interview partner renting out short-term accommodation told me that most tourists do not travel by private car. “At my Airbnb”, she said, “there are only a very few guests who arrive by car, only about 10 percent” (Interview 8, Pos. 59).

The crucial problem in traffic, though, is the misbehaviour of the coach drivers. “They do whatever they want; they are a real problem. They drive over safety lines and do not obey the traffic rules. That is why there is a traffic service on Schwanenplatz, otherwise chaos would break out there”, according to another informant (Interview 22, Pos. 56). This is very true, as hiring private security personnel is a reaction to a fatal incident in 2012, when a tour coach ran over a pedestrian, as Swissinfo (2013) reported: “Extra security personnel, paid for by local jewellers and souvenir shop-owners, has been helping keep traffic under control since summer last year – a reaction after the death of an elderly man who was hit by a tourist bus”. But tour coaches are not the only vehicles that break the traffic rules, so do minibuses. The district police officer has some stories to tell about such traffic violations. He recounts anecdotes of minibuses driven by tourists from the Far East: “One of them drove the car up to the chapel bridge, and another even went down the steps at the Rathaussteg. They have no idea how the traffic works here with us”, he stated (Interview 10, Pos. 30).

Some people also think tourists are wrongly privileged in traffic, as another example from the police officer shows: “Once there was a scene in front of the Bucherer on Schwanenplatz. They parked three or four limousines or luxury cars like Ferraris or Maseratis or something. The private security guard wanted to send them away, but of course they didn’t obey. When the police came and the cars finally drove away, the Lucerne residents clapped their hands at the roadside” (Interview 10, Pos. 32). Spontaneous applause for a police officer who is just doing his duty is quite rare. However, this reaction shows the frustration of some of the residents, who denounce the idea that the tourists can do whatever they want, while they must obey the rules and live with restrictions. This recalls the comment of another interview partner, who told me what her husband thinks about tourism: “He has

to wait in the traffic jam and the [private security personal at Schwanenplatz] waves the buses in and gives them right of way. But he must wait. And they, they are let in. That's not fair", she said, and added, "Well, we are always tolerant, but at some point, it has its limits" (Interview 5, Pos. 38).

Running errands

Shopping is a further crucial aspect of mundane life, as the empirical findings of many interviews show. I talked with several salespersons (Interview 3, 5, 17, 19, 20, 25), and also bought things in supermarkets and other stores with a wide array of interview partners (Interview 1, 4, 11, 14, 18, 24, 30). The observations gathered through this process show how contested the practices of shopping are. Supermarkets are not only places of daily purchases and friendly encounters, but for many protagonists also a real field of conflict.

Even though one salesperson stated that in general "one can say that the locals tend to be in town in the morning and do their shopping and the tourists usually come in the afternoon" (Interview 17, Pos. 52), the different actors do not get along without colliding with one another. In contrast, many interviewees complained how tourists taking over local space, as Monika explained: "They take possession of the city, they jostle and are ruthless. For example, I recently went to Coop City [a large supermarket in the old town], on the lower floor. A tourist from one corner was yelling to another in the other corner in a loud voice. Across all the shelves. Across all the other customers. I mean, that's very irritating. I talked to a saleswoman, and she just said that's completely normal here ... But we, the Swiss, we're just not like that" (Interview 2, Pos. 27). This recalls another interview partner saying "Or at Migros or Coop when they stand in front of the shelves and block everything, that's annoying. But you can see what Migros is doing. Everything is now written in Chinese (Interview 22, Pos. 104). I shall deal in more detail with the actions of Migros in the forthcoming chapter when looking at particular places, but it is already interesting to see how practices can collide during mundane activities such as running errands. A saleswoman in an Alnatura store recounted her experience to illustrate this with a further example: "The Chinese just can't stand in line. They stand around customers who might just want to enter their PIN code at the cashier. There is absolutely no decency. Chinese customers really hem in other customers, and sometimes they are also very loud" (Interview 17, Pos. 33-35). The saleswoman explained further how other customers reacted to such behaviour: "Once a local customer really freaked out and smashed her basket on the floor. So, the Lucerne customers don't really enjoy the Chinese", she said, wrapping it in rather nice words, and added "But you can't explain it to them either, they hardly speak any English" (*ibid.*, Pos. 38).

Other interviewees experienced shopping as less problematic. For example, I went to Aldi with the two international students Diana and James, as they often do their errands there. Neither had an issue in going to supermarkets. They explained: "No, I think people are used to the fact that there are many international students here. At B.H.M.S we are several hundred students, mostly from Asia, but also from all over the world. And the people at the cash register speak English well, or at least understand it. There are no language barriers. Otherwise, it is also written down how much it costs, it's not that complicated. Basically, the people here are very nice and helpful" (Interview 24, Pos. 24-27). I asked them whether they pay with foreign credit cards or via WeChat or UnionPay, as this is now possible in various supermarkets in Lucerne. "No, we all have an account with UBS", Diana and James replied in unison; "the school organized that for us. We can pay for everything with our Swiss bank card" (Interview 24, Pos. 29), they explained, not without pride, as this clearly distinguished them from regular tourists. "But at the bakery Bachmann's at the train station they don't understand English" remarked James. "But on Schwanenplatz they do", Diana joined in, a little disparagingly: "But this is rather China-Town anyways" (*ibid.*, Pos. 31-32).



Figure 39: Entering the supermarket while getting some free Lindt chocolate.

Also, for our Belgium family, shopping in a Swiss supermarket was no problem at all. I accompanied them buying their lunch, and they got around quite well and found all the articles they needed. The kids even received some free Lindt chocolate from a promotion campaign, which made them quite happy (see Figure 39). At the cashier's desk, they were talked to in Swiss German by the saleswoman, but this did not matter at all, as Anton just paid the amount indicated on the display by his credit card and nodded gently to her. Being aware, knowledgeable, and capable of the spatial techniques one needs to shop in a supermarket certainly eases the potential tensions and allows friendly and relaxed encounters. The fact that in contrast the lack of such competences and techniques may be the source of many disputes will be shown in the next chapter on *places*, where a particular supermarket will be submitted to close scrutiny.

Visiting the market

The public fresh market takes place in Lucerne every Tuesday and Saturday, stretching along both sides of the River Reuss. All kinds of people love this public market, but local residents the most. Monika answered my question about whether tourists also visit the market as follows: “No, not necessarily tourists. They’re are mostly locals, but of course tourists too. The market is one of the most beautiful things there is, these products, these colours...”, Monika raves; “simply a great location and a great offer. People like to meet each other here”. But the market can get quite busy, therefore one must come early in the morning, she advised. Judith too, another interview partner, claimed that the market is rather for local people: “There are no tourists here at the market. It has a lot of people, but hardly any tourists. Maybe a few, but the masses don’t come. That’s a good thing. The individual ones don’t disturb anyone, but the groups would do so” (Interview 5, Pos. 19). Judith loves the market as it is, so she definitely doesn’t want more tourists there. “But they are not buying things here anyway, these are not the articles they want”. I understand, as I wouldn’t want to buy a lettuce on vacation either. But what if the offer on the market changed a bit, maybe more in the direction of take-aways, for example, a hot dog or something, I asked her? “I wouldn’t mind that, but I haven’t seen the offer adapting so far”, Judith responded, “but in principle that would not be a problem, it is actually only the masses that disturb people” (Interview 5, Pos. 25-27).



Figure 40: Getting the weekly ration of vegetables at the market

This is in line with the stance of Miriam, with whom I also strolled through the market as she was buying her weekly ration of vegetables. At the same time, an Asian family with two children were also shopping in the market. “That doesn’t bother me at all, on the contrary. We also like to do that abroad, to shop in the market”, Miriam said (Interview 1, Pos. 41), and she expressed sympathy with the different protagonists exploiting this offer. But this is not something to be taken for granted, as the police officer’s testimony shows: “Well, there is also an example from the Saturday market, which is one of the most beautiful there is. A woman told me that she had a lettuce in her hands and a Chinese tourist came along and wanted to take a photo of it and grabbed the lettuce over her shoulders. Such things happen again and again...” he said, and even claimed: “One of the market sellers told me that he will soon have to put up signs with *Please do not touch*, preferably in all possible languages”. Going to the market is therefore not without the possibility of conflict, even though it seems not to be a tourist activity, but rather a mundane local activity. Even though some protagonists showed tolerance, sympathy and understanding, others accused tourists of misbehaving and disturbing their weekly routine. As practices of going to the market differ, conflicts arise. One wants to speak to familiar co-residents and exchange gossip and small talk, while others want to touch and photograph things, without being able to express themselves or even buy fresh produce at the end. How such tensions also potentially mount up is illustrated by the example of the *Mercado del Poblenou* in Barcelona, an often-cited example in the *overtourism* debate (Simas et al. 2021:126), where a former traditional market increasingly turned in a tourist attraction.

Going to church

Lucerne is a Catholic city with many beautiful churches, four of them in central locations (Church of St. Leodegar [Hofkirche], Jesuit Church [Jesuitenkirche], St. Peter’s Chapel [Peterskapelle] and Franciscan Church [Franziskanerkirche]), so they also attract the attention of many tourists for sightseeing. These churches hold regular services of worship, but they are also sought after for other reasons, as the interview with Judith shows. She sometimes withdraws from the daily stress and visits a church during her lunchbreak, even though she does not consider herself to be religious. But she does not go to the Jesuit Church, even though it was the closest to her place of work: “When I need rest or reflection or something, I prefer to go to the Franciscan Church, which is more tranquil. Not necessarily because of the tourists, but simply because it is a little quieter and more intimate. You can withdraw a little better if you feel like it”, Judith explained (Interview 5, Pos. 52).

But churches are also used for other reasons, in particular during the Lucerne light festival, called Lilu. This newly founded public event takes place in January, to revive the low season in the beginning of the year. The festival illumines the facades of various buildings in Lucerne, such as the water tower of the chapel bridge, the townhall, historic hotels and churches. Within the Church of St. Leodegar, a concert is given by the church organist, accompanied by a dedicated light show. The Lilu is very popular among local residents, as we shall see in the following section on sightseeing. But not everybody approves of repurposing this holy church into an event venue, as a record in the St. Peter's Chapel guest book illustrates:

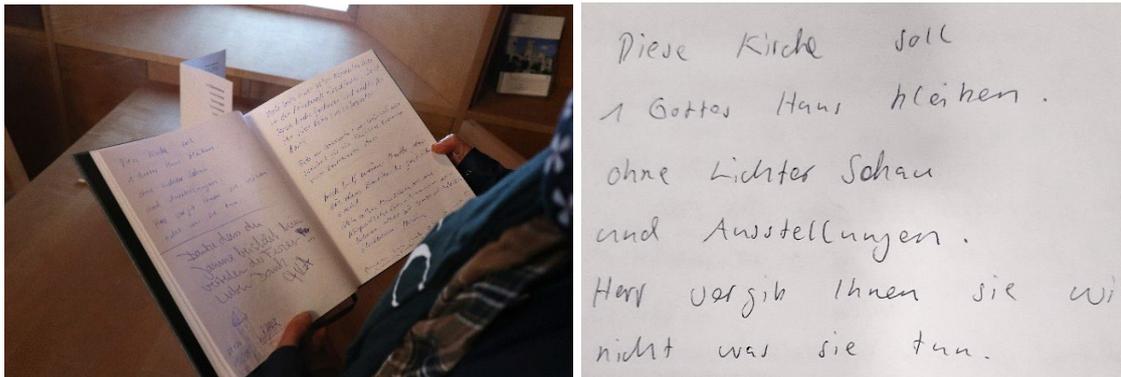


Figure 41: Record in the church guest book, opposing the light festival called Lilu

A visitor has jotted down in pencil: “This church is to remain 1 God’s house, without light shows and exhibitions. Lord forgive them, as they know not what they do” (see Figure 41). As the entry is dated January, it is unmistakably a criticism of the Lilu. Neither Monika nor Judith supports this complaint: “That is probably aimed at Lilu”, Monika says, when I show her the entry. “Hmmm, the handwriting does not even seem that old. But I don’t share it at all, I think the Lilu is a great thing, and I don’t mind if such events take place in churches. I was in the Church of St. Leodegar myself too, and I thought it was great. But in the end, that’s just his own opinion”, Monika reflected, and went on: “I like the Lilu. It takes place in the off-season and attracts other kind of tourists. Those from the other [Swiss] cantons [...] [and] a lot of Lucerne people go there too. I think that’s really nice. It’s a type of art that appeals to the masses, not something elitist”, she declared, and continued: “Lucerne people are incredibly fond of their city and the Lilu upgrades the city, but the Chinese downgrade our city” (Interview 30, Pos. 113-120). Also, Judith does not understand criticism of the festival and stated: “Well, I think this is about something else, something deeper. I feel frustration from the subconscious” (Interview 27, Pos. 154-164), a remarkable statement from someone who seems to be very frustrated with tourism herself.



Figure 42: Alessandro standing reverently in front of a church, which is also used by children.

I witnessed a very interesting approach to churches when touring the city with Flaminia and Alessandro, the two day-visitors from Milan on their stopover to Strasbourg. As already noted in their portrait in Ch. 04, we visited all the churches in the proposed tourist walking itinerary of Lucerne Tourism. Before entering every church, the two always made the sign of the cross and dropped a curtsey. In addition, Alessandro always took his hat off in a dignified manner. Do they, as devout Catholics, feel disturbed by the presence of tourists in the church, I wanted to know: “No, not at all. But of course, there are limits. If someone wants to go into a church half-naked or is noisy, then of course that’s irritating. But basically, everyone can enter a church; after all, it’s the House of God. As long as you show due respect and follow the rules, that is not a problem”, Flaminia stated, explaining that also she respects the rules whenever she visits a church for sightseeing purposes: “For example, I never go to a church as a tourist during the rituals, unless of course I attended it from beginning to end”, she said. “In Rome there are always incidents with tourists not knowing how to behave. For example, guests must sometimes hire a suitable item of clothing for 50 cents in order to enter a church as one should” (Interview 18, Pos. 118-119), they said, recalled an anecdote from their home country. Above all, Flaminia noticed that the Lucerne churches are very open to children. She pointed to a table set aside for children to paint and the children’s drawings on the wall: “This is not common in Italy. But I think it’s nice that the children are integrated into the church in this way. This seems to be a very lively church”, she said in praise and explained that “the Franciscans in particular were always very close to people, so this focus on families and children makes total sense to me” (Interview 18, Pos. 83-84). Churches are therefore places with practices that are very different according to the respective actors. Some need it for somewhere to withdraw to in silence, meditation, and as a retreat. Others use it for prayer and religious services, including with their children. Again, for others the mediaeval churches are rather tourist sights, which can be visited, photographed, and even illuminated and put in scene. But not all people agree with that, as interests collide and some practices mutually exclude each other, as the example of the Lilu shows.

Eating and dining out

Tourism and gastronomy are in a constant interplay with one another, as some restaurants adapt to their international guests, writing their menus in several languages, or even using photographs to illustrate their offers. Others also adapt their prices, as they figure tourists may not be that sensitive or, conversely, do not expect the same level of quality. This may result in so-called ‘tourist traps’ such as the Rigi Fondue House in the old town, where prices for the traditional Swiss dishes are high and the quality is low: “A terrible place, no local person would go there. It’s only for tourists, pure

folklore”, said Mr. Krügel, the district policeman; “it has the worst ratings in the city on TripAdvisor” (Interview 10, Pos. 75), he further stated. “Or the Chinese restaurant on St. Karli Street, Chang Cheng, or something like that, just before the school building. Sometimes the place feeds entire busloads of Chinese. In no time. They are fully prepared for it. No Swiss feels welcome there anymore, as everything is done on a lump sum basis – like the one in Ebikon [a suburb of Lucerne], of which you could already read in the newspapers from”, the policeman continued (ibid., Pos. 37), describing the unwanted development of gastronomy offers in Lucerne and its surroundings due to tourism.

In contrast, some other local people appreciate the particular touristic offers in Lucerne restaurants, as the experience of Miriam shows: “Once my husband and I went to an Indian restaurant in Lucerne to dine out, and we were the only two Swiss. That was really funny! It was a bit like vacation, just without flying” (Interview 1, Pos. 38). But this doesn’t mean that Miriam is not critical of tourist restaurants. As we walked down the pier and looked at the other bank of the Reuss, we saw many restaurants there, just setting up their tables in the welcoming sun: “But you can’t eat there as a local resident because they are mostly full. And the staff are rather unfriendly. And because these restaurants are large and full, it is kind of stressful”, she said, explaining why she rarely goes there, despite its wonderful location on the river.



Figure 43: Whereas the *local* restaurants are reopened, the *tourist ones* are closed.

In the wake of COVID-19 it was also interesting to observe how restaurants reacted to the lock-down and the slow re-opening up without tourism in the summer of 2020. “Here you can just see which restaurant is popular with the locals and which is popular with tourists”, explained Monika during our walking interview in the first weeks after the shutdown. “Now that the tourists are gone, their business is gone too”. Monika pointed to the still closed terrace of Restaurant Taube (see Figure 43): “Although they are in such a great location, nothing is going on” (Interview 30, Pos. 28-29).



Figure 44: Filling up hot and cold water at Casagrande Souvenir shop.

Tourists also provide themselves with meals without going to restaurants, as we have seen with the Belgium family getting their lunch at the Coop supermarket. Similarly, Asians like to cater for themselves on the go, but according to the manager of a Migros supermarket, “in general, the Chinese want to eat warm, not cold” (Interview 3, Pos. 35). For this means, hot water is provided at several places, for example, at the Casagrande souvenir shop. This is used by many visitors to fill up their drinking bottles with cool water or boil their own tea. But according to the Migros manager, this is not only because of convenience or to save money, but also because our tea does not meet their high-quality standards: “Chinese guests use it [the hot water] to pour their own tea, as they have no use for our standard tea bags, so they’d rather bring their own” (ibid., Pos. 60). This is confirmed by the Yun Nan Tea House, where selected teas are brewed for a knowledgeable and appreciative audience during a real Chinese tea ceremony (see Figure 45).



Figure 45: Tea ceremony at Yun Nan Tea House

Some tourists also like to brew instant soups with the hot water, as the example of Amy and Vincent (see Ch. 04) and their 11-year-old son shows: “These are instant noodle soups from Migros for the children, that is good for them when they are later hungry”, Amy explained to me in front of the supermarket, where she bought a box of soups; “for the adults, however, instant soups are not ideal, we rather prefer something freshly prepared”, she swiftly added (Interview 4, Pos. 30). They should not be judged as penurious or, even worse, as unsophisticated, for eating instant soup in their hotel room.

In restaurants, sometimes the cultural practices of consuming food differ, as the quote from a service worker in a local restaurant illustrates. “Some order 12 plates of food for only four people and then leave most of it. They often just take a few bites, take some photos of the food, and then leave. And then we can throw everything away. This is just a huge food waste”, the waitress claimed (Interview 22, Pos. 102). But the fact that practices are cultural is often neglected in such observations. In Asia it is common to order many small plates and share them among everyone seated round the table. Certainly, this does not work with the Swiss style plates, which mostly consist of a well-balanced mixture of meat, vegetables and a side dish already composed as a single entity. In the Western world, one usually eats by oneself. Except for collective meals like raclette and fondue, which though usually are not getting combined with Cordon Bleu, Älplermagronen and Bernese Rösti, as some of the rather unknowledgeable visitors of a typical Swiss restaurant do. The fact that food must be ‘instagramable’, meaning photogenic, is another phenomenon of our times. However, this is not merely informed by cultural backgrounds and respective eating habits – so-called ‘food-porn’ exists all over the world. It reduces meals to their superficiality, it champions look over taste, it privileges the status and the story within the actual experience of consuming it. This might be irritating for those who prepared and served the dishes, but it is a very established practice pretty much all over the world, as an enquiry into the relevant hashtags (such as #foodporn, etc.) in social media show.

Littering and keeping the environment clean

Switzerland is regarded a clean and safe place, as many interviewees noted, such as Flaminia and Alessandro, our couple from Milano: “It’s very Swiss here. Everything is so clean and tidy. There are also no graffiti on the walls. There are nice park benches in the park, but there are no people, not even dogs. It’s different in Italy, where it’s much busier. There are no such wells [Alessandro was just drinking from a public fountain], and if there are, you can’t drink the water anyway, and there is rubbish and graffiti everywhere” (Interview 18, Pos.78), Alessandro observed. Flaminia made a similar comment while we were strolling later along the river Reuss: “Wow, look here you can watch fish ...”, she said to her partner; “the water is so beautifully clear and clean” (Interview 18, Pos. 38).

Similar observations are also made by James, the international student from Vietnam. He remarked: “The environment is also healthier here, there is less pollution, people are more socially responsible, and there is more regular cleaning. You can see that on the streets, for example, there is no rubbish at all. Also, there are not even any cigarettes on the floor”. I found this quite a remarkable observation, having noticed a sign in the lobby of B.H.M.S, while waiting for my two interviewees. The sign stated that it is not allowed to throw cigarettes off the balcony. “You see!” James responded, after I had shared this observation with him; “that is exactly aimed at the Asian students. The Swiss wouldn’t do that; cleanliness is a matter of course here”, James claimed, and he continued: “Such behaviour is deeply anchored in the mind-set. In Asia the credo is that if I don’t do it, someone else will. Why should I change it then, it doesn’t help anyway?” (Interview 24, Pos. 156-160). He explained the different approaches to littering with reference to the cultural backgrounds of the respective actors. This is surely an idealized and exaggerated point of view, but it illustrates existing stereotypes regarding habits of neatness and tidiness.

This generalization is also made by other actors, such as Claudio, the local chestnut seller in front of the chapel bridge: “And they [the tourists in general] simply do not have the same understanding of cleanliness; often they just throw the garbage on the floor”, he complained. This is very much in line with the views of Urs Anton Krügel, the district police officer, who also accords responsibility to the service providers and the city administration: “Littering is definitely a problem. For example, the Mashida take-away restaurant on Rössligasse only uses disposable dishes. Even if they are made of

cork, they are still lying around afterwards. The public waste system is not developed for such capacities”, he remarked. He also blames the insufficient infrastructure as a source of the problem. It is therefore not only a question of ‘things’ and their use, to put it in Reckwitz’s words (2002:249), but of the motivational knowledge of the respective actors that goes with it whether food packaging is recycled, binned or simply left where lunch has just been eaten. It is also about the organization of public services that enables certain practices. There is a need to be aware of such consumer behaviour, whether from tourists, locals or all the others involved, having a quick snack in the public space. New patterns of consumption need properly reacting to, if only through a revamp of the public waste system.

That the public waste system itself can become a sort of a tourist attraction was incidentally captured on a stroll near the Lion Monument. A few tourists had to wait for the orange vehicle belonging to the local garbage collection to pass by, which apparently attracted their attention. The Asian-looking tourists whipped their cameras out of their pockets and recorded the Swiss way of collecting waste disposal in their photographs. Sometimes the most mundane things can stimulate interest, as even basic routine work can differ from country to country according to cultural background or established structures. This, as we have seen, can also include the collection of garbage on a public street.



Figure 46: Collecting garbage attracts the attention of tourists and is captured on photographs.

But it is not only garbage that is thrown on to the streets or that attracts the attention of passers-by. More annoying for many city dwellers is the spitting. In a quite ironic article, a local cultural magazine remarked how disgusted residents are at this practice (041 – *Das Kulturmagazin* 2018). I shall discuss this article in more detail in the section on *practices of critical reflection* later in this chapter, when looking at the irony of some dealings with tourism. However, in addition to spitting, also the pulling up of glanders evoked quite some reactions, as for example in a story provided by Judith: “There was a situation on the plane once. Someone was sitting in front of me who pulled his snort always up the nostrils. I almost went nuts. Twelve hours on the plane, and the Chinese in front of me was constantly pulling up his glanders making this obnoxious noise. That was so disgusting. We ended up in Zurich, and the next day my son saw the man at the McDonald’s in Lucerne. He immediately took a photo and put it in the family chat with the comment: “Do you remember? Yesterday’s *Schnuderi* [Swiss expression for someone who pulls up snort through the nose] on the plane ... that was quite funny”, Judith recalled (Interview 5, Pos. 63). But as Dominic W. in Ch. 04 already noted, negative interpretations of culturally informed practices can go both ways: for example, blowing one’s nose in public is viewed badly in China, but often done in the Western world. One therefore needs to be aware of the pitfalls in either direction, so as to respect each other’s sense

of place. What is regarded as a normal conduct in one country does not necessarily meet the standards, rules, and conventions of another.

Conclusion of mundane practices

We have seen that the many mundane practices I collected in the field of Lucerne co-constitute the place in all its multiplicity. Most of these practices happen every day or at least with such regularity that they can be considered normal and are therefore normally not worth mentioning. But as has been made clear, such basic practices can be full of meaning, can trigger conflicts and must always be coded and decoded by cultural background knowledge and shared understandings. Most of these everyday practices, gathered in Lucerne, are somehow related to tourism, though not always directly, and sometimes not in the strict sense of the word. But while performing everyday practices, a variety of touristic and non-touristic actors meet and mingle in space, which lays the basis for interaction, cultural misunderstandings, and fruitful encounters. It is important to note that these practices do not stand loose in space. It is not that somebody is, say, only driving, while another is only shopping or is only having lunch. It is about the fluid entanglement of all these practices, all constituting a relevant aspect of a bigger picture, adding meaning, value, and further content to it. It all comes together in plenums, combines doings and sayings, bundles practices and arrangements, and shapes the world we live in. I shall now move to focus on practices that are rather extraordinary and that do not happen every day, but which are equally rich in content and meaning and are connected and related to each other in similar ways.

5.3 Extraordinary practices

People leave their normal place of work and residence consuming goods and services which are in some sense not essential, because “they supposedly generate pleasurable experiences which are in some ways different from those typically encountered in everyday life”. Thus, Urry and Larsen (2011:1) explain the main motive of holidays, tourism, and travel. In this section I shall shed light on these tourist practices, which are not only performed by foreign visitors, as shown later. I shall start with sightseeing, which can take various forms and characteristics. By so doing I focus on city tours conducted in tourist trains, e-tuk-tuks, horse-carriages, or motorboats, or simply on foot. I shall question what exactly is looked at and sought for and realise that it is also sometimes tourists, who are the object of interest. I shall then turn to the practice of photographing, a mundane practice for many, but always on the quest for the exceptional, the extraordinary. Another extraordinary practice then will be revealed in looking at marriages, for which Lucerne is popular among a wide range of people. I shall then close this section of the chapter by investigating the practice of sleeping overnight in hotels, a practice which is self-evidently mostly done by tourists, but with some remarkable exceptions, as will be seen.

Sightseeing

I went sightseeing with many individual tourists and group tourists during my research. Some observations have already been shared in investigating walking in public space and visiting churches or markets. These sightseeing practices were performed by individual tourists, who were on their own and discovering the sights of Lucerne with the help of their own mobile phones or a paper map. I shall now look with closer scrutiny at collective sightseeing and roaming the city in guided tours. These tours can be undertaken by many individual travellers, who gather in groups to investigate the place, and also by entirely closed groups. Unfortunately, I never had the chance to attach myself to

such an organised closed group, as the pandemic rapidly ended such tours during research, and I missed the chance to immerse myself in such a setting when they were still flocking to Lucerne in swarms.

Sightseeing by city-train

A popular way of moving through a city with other tourists is the city-train, or the so-called tourist-train. This is a diesel-driven locomotive dragging two carriages with seating for about 15 to 20 passengers each. Such trains are not only popular in Lucerne, but in all sorts of tourist places, where visitors wish to be escorted to the most important sights at a leisurely speed, covered from the weather and other external factors that might disturb them. Not all interview partners appreciate these trains, for example, Monika, who cursed them as “ridiculous and childish” (Interview 2, Pos. 37). Others were more tolerant, like the district police officer, who commented on a city-train passing by: “It drives through here regularly but that doesn’t bother anyone here” (Interview 10, Pos. 64). Flaminia and Alessandro commented equally positive on a train passing by: “I’m sure that’s great. I loved it when I was a kid”, they remarked, adding: “Maybe we would do it with children, but not necessarily just the two of us” (Interview 18, Pos. 89). Also, the head of the borough association showed some understanding for this means of transport when we encountered the city-train in front of the Alpineum, next to the Lion Monument: “I don’t find it that tragic. I could also catch myself doing something like this in another city – but it’s really crazy: with a 30-second stop, the Lion Monument is dealt with, and people don’t even get out of the train. That’s a reduction that I don’t like: Lucerne has more to offer”. Thus Marc-André Roth expressed his concern about it (Interview 7, Pos. 46).



Figure 47: The city-train stopping briefly in front of the Alpineum

While riding myself on such a tour, interviewing Martina and Stefan from Zurich, I tried to observe the interactions of the train passengers with the surrounding public. Certainly, the speed of the train permits a laid-back, haste-free tour, but for communication with the outside world it is not sufficiently slow. In contrast, due to its size, the train even caused some disturbance to other actors on the streets, for example, a man sitting on the bench on the Reussbrücke, or pedestrians strolling down the quite narrow Kramgasse (see Figure 48).



Figure 48: Blocking the view of a man resting on a bench and ousting pedestrians in the Kramgasse.

Nevertheless, the one-hour city tour gives passengers some interesting insights on Lucerne, in sixteen different languages, including Swiss German, and there is even a Swiss German version for children with fairy-tale voices. Most of the guests used to be international, the driver told me, when I was chatting with him before the round tour started: “Usually, this means before coronavirus most of the guests came from the USA. Then I would say the Germans and the French, many of whom are also from the French-speaking part of Switzerland. We have had fewer Chinese, and if so, we had more individual travellers. Groups don’t do that”, he explained further (Interview 33, Pos. 15) by giving evidence of the different preferences of the visitors.

Sightseeing by e-tuk-tuk

A similar but more personal way to explore the city is by private e-tuk-tuk. We have encountered this means of transport in the portrait of Arie and his grandchildren from the Netherlands (see Ch. 04). The e-tuk-tuk company in Lucerne is a one-man-show by Pascal, its founder, driver, and guide in one. He is a local Lucerne man in his late-forties and offers standard roundtrips of 60 or 90 minutes as well as individualised charter trips for special groups (bachelor parties, business trips, etc.). In addition, he also offers some trips for gourmets with restaurants as his cooperation partners. According to the website and the stickers on the e-tuk-tuk, the company is sponsored by the Casagrande souvenir shop, a local bank, and others. From some he receives cash benefits, from others in-kind services, such as free overnight parking and electric recharging. In the first year of his business, approximately half his guests were from Switzerland, the other half consisting approximately of 20% Americans, 20% Indians and Arabs and 10 to 15% Germans and Europeans: “Only 1% were Chinese, I think I had only two or three tours with them”, he recalled, and explained their lack of interest by saying that “such a tuk-tuk is nothing special for Asians, as they can find one on every corner at home” (Interview 37, Pos. 113-114). Due to the pandemic crisis, his clientele has changed dramatically: “Now with coronavirus, I would say 50% of the guests come from Lucerne and 50% from other parts of Switzerland, many of them from the Romandie. I started on Ascension Day and straightaway had three to four groups from the French-speaking part of Switzerland” (ibid., Pos. 105-106). But business is going well, despite the crisis: “Well, I lost three months of business, that was tough. But now it’s going quite well. July was actually the best month in business ever, even better than anything before. But without the crisis, it might be even better, so it’s difficult to say” (ibid., Pos. 115).

Pascal gets along very well with tourists, as was apparent during our joint tour. He jokes and interacts with his clients, giving the round-trip a very personal touch. This interaction can also lead to a

reciprocal dialogue, in which also he learns things from his guests, as the following example shows. Pascal recalled a funny anecdote about the shape of the rock around the Lion Monument: “It’s just a rumour, but it persists. The stone cutter who carved the lion into the rock was not satisfied with his wages and played a trick on the client. That’s why the frame around the lion resembles a pig. If you look closely, you can see the snout on the left, the ear on the top left and the tail at the back”. The Dutch passengers recognized the second animal around the lion immediately, and the grandfather laughed and told us his story in return: “A funny story, indeed. We have something similar in Holland too. In St. John’s Cathedral (Sint-Janskathedraal) in Hertogenbosch, during the renovation, the stone carver chiselled a mobile phone into the hands of an angel” (Interview 37, Pos. 56). In exchanging such anecdotes, the actors are indulging in levelling on equal basis to their mutual benefit, as I am sure Pascal will recount the Dutch version of the story in his future visits to the Lion Monument. By sharing local insights with each other, geographical imaginary is facilitated and mutually enriched by storytelling.



Figure 49: The lion outlined as a pig and passing two persons not wanting to be photographed

At our subsequent interview, Pascal also comment in general on tourism in the city: “It’s true, they sometimes get off the buses in hordes, move like herds through the city and look neither left nor right”. I therefore asked him if he, as a tuk-tuk driver, must take this into account? “Yes, of course, sometimes. The tuk-tuk runs electrically and is therefore very silent. So, I had to install a bicycle bell, because the horn itself was too loud for constant use” (Interview 37, Pos. 99-100), he told me.

The tuk-tuk is integrated better in street life than the larger and cumbersome tourist train. However, I personally received a critical reaction to my random photography while riding in the driving vehicle. In front of the *Alte Suidtersche Apotheke*, the oldest pharmacy in Lucerne, two women were sitting leisurely on the bench chatting with each other. As I pointed my camera towards them and took their photograph without asking for permission, one of the ladies raised a warning finger towards me. I excused myself out of the e-tuk-tuk, which was still moving forward, but obviously had no time to explain myself in the brief period of time. I nevertheless earned myself a smile with a twinkle in the eye, so I understood this as a friendly warning rather than a severe objection (hence I am including the picture in this dissertation; see above). Nonetheless the woman made it clear by her embodied warning that she did not want to be photographed by random passers-by, even if they try to excuse themselves afterwards.

Sightseeing by horse-drawn carriage

As we have seen already in the portrait of Marie-Therese and Heimo, horse-drawn carriages are popular among different guests in both winter and summer. Whereas in winter two offer evening fondue round trips in a closed carriage, in summer they tour around all day in an open coach. Horse carriages do not really work well in traffic, due to their slow speed and sight-obstructing size, and it is not easy for others to overtake them. But according to the coach driver, there have never been any arguments with other road users in this regard: “No, there has never been any hostility. Most of them find it something nice, as most Lucerne people do something similar when they are on holiday themselves”, said Marie-Therese, giving reasons for the broad understanding. “Like some nostalgic things, for example, the train in San Francisco or something, that’s actually the same, isn’t it?” (Interview 22, Pos. 51-55), she replied to me.

I questioned them on the interactions between the guests in the carriage and pedestrians in the street: “There is less interaction with the guests, they are too concerned with themselves. They’re eating fondue and sitting behind the plastic tarpaulin. But we as coachmen, of course, we get everything. You’ll see that later. There are people who wave to us, then we wave back. Others take photos, and so on...”, Marie-Therese explained. “But inside there are people who interact among each other. We often have locals and tourists on the same journey, so naturally they start talking. And it’s different in summer too when we have an open carriage. There is more contact with the outside world” (ibid., Pos. 58-61). Thus Marie-Therese explained her view from the coach box.



Figure 50: Eating fondue on a sightseeing tour in a horse-drawn carriage.

But this is very much in line with the view from the inside, as one of the participants in the fondue tour confirmed. The group had just poured wine in their glasses and started to toast each other, when from the outside a random stranger hailed: “Cheeerio!!!”. I then asked the group how they perceive contact with the outside world, out of the coach? “You mean because somebody just toasted us by shouting from the sidewalk? That’s kind of funny, isn’t it?” one of those sitting at the table replied. “But to be honest, you don’t get a lot from outside this carriage. You’re busy enough with the fondue”, my interview partner added (ibid., Pos. 105-107).

And the other way round, I asked them? What do they think of being photographed by tourists? “That’s not a problem, it’s part of it. If that bothers you, you don’t have to go in such a carriage. Besides, you can hardly recognize us behind the plastic window” they said, continuing: “You may not come into contact easily with the outside world, but in here it works quite well. We were here last year, and we were alone. But basically, it would be a great opportunity to talk to people. As with

you now. It's a tight space, you can't avoid it" (ibid., Pos. 108-110), thus highlighting the social aspect of booking such a fondue tour.

The practice of sightseeing with horses therefore seems to work well within the ongoing city life, even though communication with the outside world is not really possible. And despite its olden days appearance and its generally slow progress, people tend to have understanding for such a vehicle – at least the carriage-drivers think so. This was anyway confirmed in my other interviews: I never heard a complaint about horse-carriages, even though Marie-Therese and Heimo are not the sole carriage-drivers in Lucerne.

Sightseeing by the lake

Another form of sightseeing is on cruise ships, motorboats or so-called *pedalos*, a paddleboat worked like a bicycle. Certainly, on the lake the city is seen from rather afar, but still the scenery is magnificent from this perspective, as the sights, such as the iconic water tower and the chapel bridge, can be captured brilliantly with the backdrop of the mountains lurking from behind. To find out more how people practice sightseeing on the lake, I asked Chris, a local man renting out boats in front of the Grand Hotel National. This was in summer 2020, so in midst of the two lockdowns. But business is not harmed so much by the pandemic, he stated: "No, not really. It depends more on the weather. When it's nice and sunny things go great, but when the weather is bad it doesn't work at all. And above all, things go well at weekends, when people are off work". So more Swiss customers, I conclude? "Yes, but only at this rental location. Here we mainly rent boats with the necessary permits. Only a few boats can be sailed without a license. But a little further down, at Schwanenplatz, it's the other way round, and there are also many more foreign tourists" (Interview 35, Pos. 52-53). As Chris has been working at the other location for about two years, and now is based at this location for another two years, he was able to give me some insights about both rental stations. So, I asked him about the proportions of guests from overseas at the more touristic rental station at Schwanenplatz? "Difficult to say: I can't necessarily distinguish the Chinese from Koreans and Japanese, etc. But let's say about 50% Asians, including Indians and Arabs etc., and about 50% from here". And the US, I asked? "There was almost none, but two years ago the dollar was also low. So almost no Americans have been there", Chris remembered (ibid., Pos. 30-32).

I also asked him how his clients do their sightseeing, where do they actually go with their rented boats and what they do: "So I am always telling them to go down there". Chris points down the Schweizerhofquai in the direction of the Swiss Museum of Transport. You are not allowed to go to the other side, in front of the KKL, because there is the port with the scheduled boat service", Chris told me with a sincere voice, "and you are not allowed to go under the pier [the Seebrücke] neither, then I would immediately call you back" (ibid., Pos. 59-60) Chris warned. The most problems he has had are with the Chinese tourists, not only because of their rather bad knowledge of English, which harms mutual understanding, but also because of their attitude, as they simply do not listen to him: "But they [the Chinese] don't listen even if they can speak English, that's just their way. They always have the feeling that they know better. You can tell them a thousand times that they shouldn't go to the other side of the lake, then they'll definitely go over there. One hundred percent. Actually, you should tell them to go into the harbour, then they would be good along the seaside. But of course, you are not allowed to do that, imagine what happens, then they say, he said I should go into the harbour ... but in principle, you understand, that would be best" (ibid., Pos. 91-93).

Shortly afterwards the first clients arrived, looking for a boat that doesn't need a license. It was Lucien, a man in his sixties from Alsace, in the company of two young fellows from Rumania. The

group is in Lucerne for two or three days. They have been on excursions together throughout Europe. They have visited St. Tropez, Cannes, Monaco, but also toured Switzerland, where they have been to St. Moritz, Davos, and Arosa. But cities such as Berne, Basel, Zurich, and Lausanne are also of interest to them: “The best place was Zurich”, said Georgie, one of the young guys from Rumania: “we often rent such boats and make excursions on the lake, we simply like that” (ibid., Pos. 99), he said. However, I had the impression that they were more interested in each other than in the city and that they used such boat tours rather for their own social pleasure than for sightseeing purposes.



Figure 51: Boarding a boat for an hour, while others rent for the week

Just an instant later, two more guests arrived, a couple from Möhlin (canton Aargau) who have rented a boat with a license for a whole week and are now using it on a daily basis: “We come here by car every day, it’s not that far, and we spend the day at the lake. In the evening we’ll go home again”, the man tells me. “Maybe we will stay overnight in a hotel in Vitznau or somewhere else”, added the women, “or in principle it would be even possible to sleep on the ship, but the boat is actually not really made for that” (ibid., Pos. 115-117), she continued. They too were not that interested in the city of Lucerne, but rather on the experience on the lake. However, they use the city as their home port for their daily excursions and used it as a place to park their car.

Last, but not least, I investigated cruise-ship passengers on one of the many historical steamboats and modern lake cruisers pottering about on the lake. These vessels are popular with all different actors for tourist sightseeing experiences, as well as providing a shuttle service for hotel guests at the Bürgenstock, for example. Furthermore, some local commuters, living in Weggis, for example, use it as a means of transport for their daily commute to Lucerne, as going directly over the lake is quicker than going all along the shore by public transport. In addition, some use the ship to go skiing at Klewenalp, with a direct link from Lucerne to Beckenried. Many Lucerne people simply love the cruise ship for leisure purposes, such as Monika, who regularly goes on so-called evening after-work cruises: “I like to do that a lot in summer. There are no mass tourists either: the journey takes 1.5 hours, which is too long for groups” (Interview 2, Pos. 51) she said. Other tourists use it to go on excursions to Rigi or Pilatus, like Arie and his grandchildren, our guests from the Netherlands, who took to the *golden round trip* from Lucerne up to Pilatus by cable car and then down the other side to Alpnachstad by the historic cogwheel railroad, with a subsequent return by boat to Lucerne (Interview 37, Pos. 37). Many actors mingle for very different reasons on such cruise ships, all enjoying the scenery from the moving vessel. In general, the boats are used for relaxation, but sometimes also for mundane practices such as transportation from A to B. In this case, tourism can be regarded as a supportive element allowing a tight schedule and an attractive offer to be maintained.

Only with a certain frequency of passengers can a regular interval timetable be provided. This was also noted by Miriam, who replied as follows when I asked her about the advantages of tourism in Lucerne: “Sure, the traffic connection. We have good connections to Zurich, Basel, and Berne, and that certainly has something to do with tourism. And the ships on Lake Lucerne would certainly not run that often without tourism” (Interview 1, Pos. 36).

Sightseeing in organized groups and by guided tours

Sightseeing is often done in organized groups, mostly led by a professional guide working for Lucerne Tourism. However, there are also some privately run tours, as we saw, for example, with the “all-Chinese-are-eating-cats-and-dogs-city-tour” in Ch. 04. I describe two examples of guided tours in this section, the first during the Lilu festival and the second by VisitLocals, a privately run tour company promising “genuinely local experiences” because “sightseeing was yesterday”, as its website states (VisitLocals n.d).

The light festival called Lilu took place for the second time in a row in January 2020, and I joined an official guided tour for a walking interview. Most of the participants were locals from Lucerne and its surroundings, therefore the tour was held in Swiss German. There was a group of work colleagues using this occasion for a late-Christmas event with a dinner to follow, while others were there with friends, partners or simply by oneself: “I’m actually on my own, but by chance I have met an old friend here. Now we do the tour together and have a little chat (Interview 23, Pos. 16), one attendee told me, who was glad to have met a familiar face. Another participant stated: “It’s great to see the city from a different perspective. The Lilu sheds new light on the familiar” (ibid., Pos. 26), and this person indicated how sightseeing in one’s own city might change the angle of one’s own gaze, on the well-known, on the mundane, in particular when it’s set the scene so attractively. We roamed the city as a group, mooring in front of illuminated facades, listening to the tour guide explaining the background story to the artwork. While moving as a collective entity, we blocked sidewalks and passages, and harmed other pedestrians in passing by. I questioned several participants on how it feels to be part of such a group: “That feels good, but I don’t have the feeling that I’m a tourist or anything” (ibid., Pos. 27), responded one. In addition, the participants did not seem bothered by the rhythm of the group, where one is obliged to follow like sheep in a herd, as in the analogy heard so many times about group tourists (see Ch. 04): “No, not really, that’s OK. If a piece of art interests me more and I want to stay longer, I can just come back later”, the interview partner replied, rather uncritically of this fact (ibid., Pos. 28). Also, the members of the tour were not aware that they could be a potential nuisance to others who are not taking part in this collective endeavour of roaming the city as part of a guided tour. My interview partner replied with astonishment when I approached her about that: “No, definitely not. That would never have occurred to me” (ibid., Pos. 29), but when I reminded her that Asian tourists are always blamed for walking apathetically in groups, she confessed: “Yes, that’s right. But I don’t think that we hinder or disturb anyone, or what do you think?”, she said turning to a colleague who also denied such an effect. This statement made it clear that not everyone who roams through space collectively is measured by the same criteria. Whereas foreign group tourists are often criticized as herds of animals obstructing others, one’s own practice in visiting the town in groups is rather seen as unproblematic.



Figure 52: Roaming the city as a group at Franziskanerplatz/Hirschengraben and on Kornmarkt.

Later, I approached the tour guide, asking her if a group at Lilu behaves any differently than a regular group on a normal city tour: “No, not necessarily” she replied, “there are certainly more people coming from the region, but we also have other city tours that locals attend, so that’s nothing new to me” (ibid., Pos. 34). She continued: “The response has been very good; people really appreciate the Lilu” (ibid., Pos. 35). This was confirmed by another participant, visiting his own city for the first time in a guided tour: “I’ve never done that in Lucerne, as I am from here. But basically, I think that’s a great thing”, adding that he already went on such guided tours when visiting foreign countries, for example, the last time in the Vatican (ibid., Pos. 44-46). These quotes, gathered while on the itinerary, illustrate impressively how uneven the judgment of oneself and others is. It clearly shows that actors can adopt very different positions and argue concurrently from different perspectives. Obviously, people are rarely aware of that. At the end of the tour, I asked a random guest with whom I hadn’t talked along the way how he liked the tour. It appeared to be the vice president of the board of directors of Lucerne Tourism: “Very much”, he said, “but as a co-organizer I practically have to. The goal of the event was to create a benefit for the local population, so I think it got off to a great start quite well”, he concluded (ibid., Pos. 54-55).

To impart such a different perspective on Lucerne and create a mutual benefit, Andreas has launched a special tour company, called VisitLocals (or initially VisitLovers). The aim of the company in this second example is to provide experiences that go beyond sightseeing and that are beneficial for tourists and locals alike: “We are creating a platform that strengthens the region’s identity in a healthy way”, Andreas claimed; “that is why we founded the interest group *IG Microtourism*. It is still in its infancy, but its aim is to support such ideas and objectives”, he told me (Interview 31, Pos. 37-38). The goal is not to showcase the obvious, the sights everybody visits anyway, but the special, the extraordinary off the beaten track: “Here in central Switzerland there are so many exciting offers where nobody goes. And the entire *overtourism* debate is the worst thing that can happen to Lucerne. But instead of pointing the finger at others, I wanted to contribute something myself and earn money in the process”. He thus declared his ambitions in the project, which is backed by many tourism interest groups: “we want to offer the guest something special, a personal experience with a lot of passion and at the same time make the region better known” (ibid., Pos. 59-61). The company therefore offers small-scale experiences such as micro-brewery tours, sketching courses, yoga and meditation practices, carnival experiences and a variety of other options, all embedded in an emotional story-telling experience. Due to the pandemic, most of the clients so far have been Swiss, mostly from the region, but “of course we want to attract tourists for our tours”, Andreas said; “two thirds are also available in English. And otherwise, we can offer translations. Above all, French will

probably be the most important language at the moment. Chinese and so only comes in second or third. It all has first to start now”, thus Andreas sketched out his business plan (ibid., Pos. 20-22).

VisitLocals can be regarded as a response to the current *overtourism* debate, where certain hotspots are being overrun, whereas others are neglected. Also, other interview partners made similar observations, like the district police officer, who stated: “It’s crazy, the *Musegg Wall* or the *Männli Tower* is hardly advertised by the Lucerne tourism board, because you can’t make any money from them. But actually, this is one of the most beautiful spots in Lucerne” (Interview 10, Pos. 51). Hidden gems are sometimes not promoted simply because there are no adequate business models, Mr. Krügel therefore suggested.

Other hidden gems are not made of brick and mortar, but experienced socially, with friends, new acquaintances, or strangers. This very much is the concept of VisitLocals, which aims to bring together different actors and make them create an extraordinary adventure together.

Sightseeing individually

Many tourists carry their tour guide in their own pockets. There is a plethora of apps installed on mobile phones which help one to navigate, find the places one is looking for and provide additional information on things that might evoke one’s curiosity. There are travellers, like Vincent and Amy, who navigated the city using google maps. We have met Phoebe, who found her desired restaurant online and piloted her group there. Also, we have encountered Alessandro and Flaminia, who used a traditional paper map from the tourist office and followed the red line marked on it so as not to miss the main sights. Once a place stimulated their interest, they searched for additional information online, for example, when at Hirschenplatz they were attracted by a drawing on the wall, stating that Goethe lodged in this house in 1779.

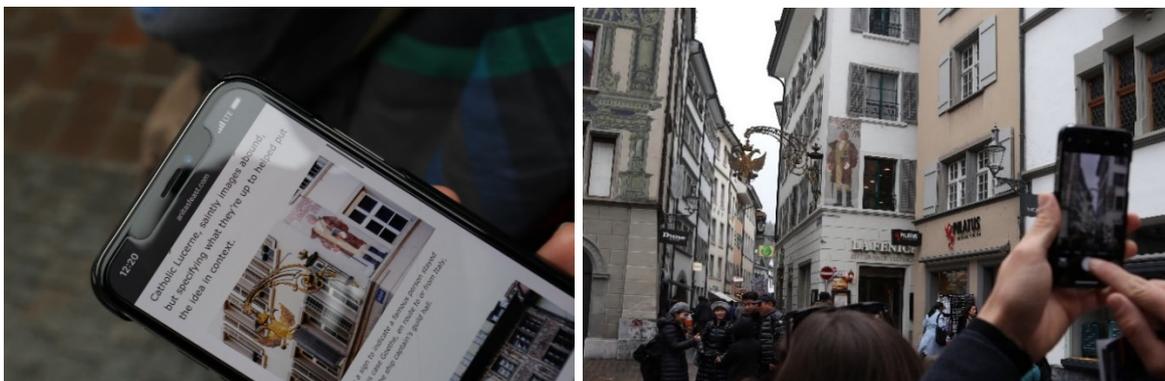


Figure 53: Sightseeing with a mobile phone. Capturing where Goethe used to stay.

Alessandro and Flaminia went on a travel blog called Anita’s Feast for more content (<https://www.anitasfeast.com/blog/>) and read out the information to each other (see Figure 53 above). This hybrid application of off- and online sources immediately ended when I explained to them that, unlike the member states of the European Union, roaming fees in Switzerland are not repealed. As they did not get a Lucerne tourism guest card, which is usually given to guests staying overnight, they had no access to the free Wi-Fi network which is otherwise provided. Nevertheless, the information on the back of the printed map seemed to help them in their ongoing walk through the city.

Sightseeing tourists

In some cases, the situation is the reverse. Instead of tourists gazing at the locals, the people living in Lucerne turn things around and become sightseeing tourists within their own place. Monika provides an example when recalling an experience when a friend was visiting her in Lucerne: “Recently a friend of mine came to visit me from Zurich. I then told her, come on, I’ll show you the newest attraction in Lucerne, and I brought her here [to the Schwanenplatz]. I asked her, tell me, in which country are we in here? It’s no longer a typically provincial Swiss city, is it!?” she rhetorically asked her companion, and added: “The new sights in Lucerne are the tourists themselves” (Interview 2, Pos. 11-12). This change of role from being observed to actively observing was impressively shown when a huge group of 12,000 Chinese tourists arrived in Lucerne to enjoy the benefits of the largest-scale work-incentive trip ever held in Switzerland, as Swissinfo (2019) reported. This coup was covered by the national media and witnessed by many passers-by, who wanted to see this spectacle firsthand, as the pictures below illustrate.



Figure 54: Extraordinary tourist group as a media spectacle, a must-see for many onlookers

But it is not only such extraordinary group visits that arouse interest. Another interview partner, with whom I had been on the one-hour round trip in the fondue-carriage, told me about a comment he received from visiting colleagues: “I once had colleagues from Germany visiting. They could hardly believe what was going on here. It looks like China here, one of the colleagues told me” (Interview 22, Pos. 122). The experience of living together with tourists every day seems like something haunting that is worth looking at. However, the fact that this attraction might not be regarded as amusing or enriching is shown by his subsequent comment on this episode, when he added: “Well, I can understand when someone is fed up with them [the Chinese tourists]” (ibid., Pos. 123).

In the next chapter I will discuss the *Invictis Pax Minifestival*, an open street music festival attracting mainly locals to the otherwise tourist-dominated Lion Monument. As we shall see, this festival is a way of reclaiming the streets and re-occupying the public space. But a further reason underlying this practice of gathering there was revealed by Christoph, an interview partner whom I met once at this festival: “It may be just an excuse to get a close look at the tourists”, he suggested (Interview 32, Pos. 37), and made later a similar comment about people visiting the Stadtkeller, a restaurant infamous for its tourist orientation: “[...] the only reason why anyone goes in there is to look at the tourists, [...] he said (Interview 32, Pos. 50). These comments make it apparent that tourists visiting the city are also of interest, an object of curiosity, a mystery to gaze at. Many locals wonder what is going on in town and are keen to share these experiences with their own friends and colleagues who are visiting them. Or, as Marc-André Roth has put it: “For us, tourism in the quarter is something we are wondering about more than something that is really upsetting us” (Interview 7, Pos. 73).

Conclusion on Sightseeing

We have seen that sightseeing can be of many sorts, with a more or less organisational structure, informed by different mobilities, and going round one way or the other. Sightseeing is not only about sights, meaning monuments in brick and mortar, but about extraordinary encounters, shedding new light on forms of social cohabitation and the co-construction of space. Sightseeing is a quest for the noteworthy, the special, the out of the ordinary. This could mean artefacts of historic value, unique monuments, as well as the spectacles and characteristics a place is famous for. But it could also include the mundane aspects of daily life, such as people tobogganing down a snowy hill, feeding and cuddling animals or discovering particular elements of those who inhabit the place. As we have seen, it can also include tourists as the objects of spectacles themselves. The visitors to a place can be unique, special, and worth mentioning. This is especially the case for Lucerne, a place which has always had to serve as the Swiss example in national debates about *overtourism*, the tourist themselves having become a subject of interest, not only for academic investigation (as this dissertation self-evidently is), but also for many onlookers, bystanders, and rubbernecks. This phenomenon was particularly unveiled during the visit of an immensely large group of incentive business travellers from China, 12,000 travelling to Lucerne on 14 May 2019. This invasion of travellers was even broadcast live on the media and attracted many live spectators who didn't want to miss the sensation going on in situ. At the end, the immense group visit was organised so neatly and was dispersed all over the city that hardly any untoward incidents occurred. But nevertheless, it remained the talk of the town for some time.

We have also seen in this section that some sights are overused, overrun and overemphasised, while others remain undiscovered, economically underexploited and undervalued by tourists, locals and other actors who cherish Lucerne as a place to be and to gaze at. This opens new business opportunities to focus on innovative niches that champion the extraordinary over the beaten track. Crucial success factors of such new offerings will be the potential to meet unknown people, to interact with them and share unique experiences with them, and to bridge cultural gaps, as some of the new ventures are unveiled. By embracing a more personal development of tourism, the basis for better mutual understanding can be established. In the next section I shall turn to investigating practices capturing the most important sights of a place by framing them in photographs.

Photography

Photography can hardly be regarded as an extraordinary practice, as it is too dominant, too consistent, sometimes even too obsessive when performed by a wide array of actors. In the wake of the penetration of the mobile phones, pretty much every person mingling in Lucerne is constantly equipped with a camera. And because of the low costs (compared to developing films in earlier times) and the broad use (in particular by posting pictures on social media), photography has become a mundane activity practiced on a daily basis. Nevertheless, I treat it as an extraordinary practice in this thesis because it represents a simple quest to capture something special. It is for particular moments, exceptional stories, and memorable pictures that one takes the photo camera, or the mobile phone respectively, out of one's pocket. Often, though, photos only reproduce the existing image of a place and thus rather tend to stabilise prior meanings rather than opening new avenues of reading, as Enzensberger has noted: "The colourful pictures taken by the tourists differ only in their arrangement from the picture postcards that they purchase and send. These postcards are the travel itself on which the tourists set out. The world they encounter is the familiar world known beforehand from reproductions. They only consume the second-hand, confirming the advertisement poster that

enticed them in the first place” (1996:134). Baerenholdt et al. term this “economy of reproduction” as a “hermeneutic circle” when myths of place are verified in practice (2004:90).

“Tourism and photography are modern twins”, Baerenholdt et al. further note (ibid.:69). They interrelate with and produce each other by framing, choreographing and connoting sites as tourist attractions, or by enacting and performing tourism live, practicing future memories of social connectivity as when staging “family live” or simply by deriving “pleasure from performing photography in itself” (ibid.:101). This performative approach can be regarded as a hybrid interplay between “technology, discourse and practices that all ‘act’” (Haldrup and Larsen 2006:282). This staging, framing, and posing will be illustrated by our first empirically captured example, when two young Thai visitors were encountered in a photographing and posing session on the Seebrücke. That photographing can go beyond the ‘aesthetic gaze’ will be shown with the second example: here a Chinese business traveller, whom I met at a professional gathering in Olten performed his interest in a ‘documentary gaze’ when capturing his observation of cultural difference for future proof or better memory (see Urry and Larsen 2011 for further dimensions of ‘gazes’). I shall close this section by looking at how people react to be photographed and how they mingle in a forest of selfie-sticks on their regular strolls through town.

Let’s start with Sukanya and Phunnawydee, two female travellers I encountered on Seebrücke taking photos of each other. They have been travelling through Switzerland in the last couple of days and have been visiting Jungfrau, Grindelwald, and Interlaken. They have also been to Zermatt, but without seeing the Matterhorn due to the bad weather. Before coming to Switzerland, they have been to Munich, where a friend of theirs is based, and have been visiting the Oktoberfest together. Tomorrow they will fly back to Bangkok and will stay overnight in Zurich. So, this is a perfect chance for some last holiday snaps before heading back home. Both are equipped with several cameras, with different focal lenses and further technical features. I ask them why the multiple range of cameras, when do they use which and why? “That depends on the emotions, on the feelings and of course also on the lighting conditions. Sometimes this camera is better, sometimes the other and sometimes even the iPhone”, they said, explaining their use of equipment to me (Interview 13, Pos. 19). While one person was posing, the other was pressing the release. After a while, they checked their results on their camera displays and exchanged positions again. One person seemed to be more the model, the other more the photographer, but basically both took on both roles. The photo session lasted in total exactly one hour (!), during which the views from both sides of the bridge were exploited. So, the mountain backdrop was either Pilatus or Rigi, the water scenery either the River Reuss or Lake Lucerne, the monument either the chapel bridge or the KKL from afar, depending on which side of the bridge the photo-shoot was taking place. I was astonished by the devotion, attention to detail and allocation of time this photo session took up. It seemed to be an important – if not the most important – part of their travels: “The pictures are preferably posted on Instagram, followed by Facebook and sometimes on Twitter. At least five pictures a day”, they explained me (ibid., Pos. 16). It can easily be seen what kind of structured approach the two are using. This is already the second time they have been to Switzerland, the last time being five or six years ago. Activities next to photography have exploited the outdoors, as they “love hiking and trekking, but this is not possible in Thailand because it is too hot” (ibid., Pos. 22), and also shopping, revealed by their bags stuffed with winter boots: “There are no such shoes in Thailand, definitely not of this quality” (ibid., Pos. 29). But the main interest of their travels seemed to capture some good shots, showing either of the two in an extraordinary surrounding of typical Swiss scenery.



Figure 55: Posing for the perfect shot, using a multitude of cameras.

Another practice of photography was aimed less at the beautiful scenery than at the people inhabiting it. This does not mean that it was less intensive, as a photo gallery of several snapshots on this informant's mobile phone clearly indicated. I am speaking about a Chinese businessman visiting Switzerland with a group of other business managers on a study tour organized by the University of Applied Sciences and Arts of Northwestern Switzerland (FHNW). During this four-week module excursions are also on the schedule, one of was a visit to Lucerne, where I met them as part of their program. I encountered them again on their last day of the course in Olten, where they were wrapping up their experience of being in Switzerland. During the lunch break I had to chance to speak with one of the attendees of the course, who showed me several pictures of Swiss pedestrians he has captured along the way (see Figure 56). They seem all so moody and unhappy, he explained to me, and he had a hard time understanding their state of emotion. For him this seemed inexplicable, as they have both material wealth and political freedom, but rarely gave a smile to a passing Chinese visitor. I explained the modest personalities of the Swiss, who are not known for being extravagant and outgoing characters. But still, this attitude can also be ascribed to the *overtourism* debate, and in particular it can be understood as a reaction to the intensive photography of a stranger. This was obviously the case in this example, as this Chinese business traveller was not backward in pointing his camera at people he did not know, the dozens of photographs impressively showed.



Figure 56: Showing snapshots of Lucerne pedestrians, who seem rather unhappy (about it)

That these reactions are not an isolated or even a baseless observation is shown by several quotes taken from interviews with actors in the field. Many people do not like being photographed: in particular, blonde children seemed to be targeted by many Asian tourists, who may even experience being touched on their bright light hair. Judith recalled an incident that happened with her boy: "Once

I almost panicked here. I was there two or three years ago with my younger son, when he was little. They all photographed him because of his blond hair and blue eyes – that was really too much for us” (Interview 5, Pos. 36). She also said that this not only happened in Lucerne, but also in other places. Once they were in Zermatt when her younger son was two years old. “We were in the Gornergratbahn, and Tim, with his blond hair and blue eyes, attracted the full attention of a whole group of Japanese. They took pictures of him without pausing until it just got too much, and he started to cry. But they just didn’t stop, and in the end, we had to calm him down with Bach flowers. Well, I swore to myself that we would never go to Zermatt again, there were just too many tourists” (Interview 5, Pos. 50). In the meantime, she had been back, as it is just too nice there, but still, the many tourists are annoying. But as Judith has grown up with tourism, this is nothing new to her, as she has learned to deal with it from early on: “I’m already a burned child. I grew up in Kriens, under the Pilatus cable car. I was always photographed there – that has shaped me, it wasn’t always pleasant” (Interview 5, Pos. 49), she recalled of her early encounter with photographing tourists in her own childhood.

Miriam, another interview partner, also noticed how Asians reacted to their newly born baby last summer: “Fionn [her son] was often photographed without being asked, and people even tried to touch him. That’s not meant badly, but it is very unfamiliar. That irritated me extremely”, she explained (Interview 1, Pos. 15). Other interviewees also shared such experiences, even when they did not react with similar irritation. Pascal, the e-tuk-tuk driver we have met before, also has two blonde children, who have attracted the attention of the international visitors: “I can understand it to a certain extent”, commented Pascal of his aversion to this practice of over-photographing blonde children. “I’ve already had such experiences too, but I can deal with them” he said and continued: “When my children were little, for example, they still had really blonde hair. There are Chinese people who simply touch the children without asking and take their hair in their hands. But, as I said, these are isolated cases, and we have always been able to deal with them”, Pascal assured me (Interview 37, Pos. 93-95), thus playing down these incidents. But even if no people are directly targeted by camera lenses, photographing can be perceived as obstructing. Many people react accordingly when they are bumped into by amateur photographers on their daily strolls. Christoph, a local artist, described the standard reaction of his Lucerne co-residents as follows: “For me, the typical Lucerne practice in dealing with tourism is to stoop”, and he bends his upper body forward to show better what he means: “when tourists stand there and take photos, we have to stop, stoop and walk under the picture or even stoop demonstratively into the picture” (Interview 32, Pos. 47). By means of such an embodied movement, people ironically express their dissatisfaction with tourism. Others see this less ironically, when demonstratively walking into the pictures. For them it is a rather a means of protest, a way to express frustration and disagreement with current tourism developments. Monika gave me an example of this when I was asking her about such small gestures in her daily life: “Well, maybe to run into the photos, I do that sometimes. But that doesn’t matter nowadays, with all the digital cameras – it would have been different in the past ... But that’s true, I sometimes do that on purpose in a provocative way, so that they notice that they are being disturbing ... this is just our little power struggle” (Interview 2, Pos. 34) she added smiling, indicating that she sometimes enjoys playing off these small pinpricks and provocations. These tactics are well understood, says Dominic W., a Swiss who speaks fluent Mandarin and chats with Chinese visitors regularly at his chocolate booth at the Migros. He regards this rather as a racist assault on other cultures rather than humorously teasing tourists: “I’m just talking about how everyone deliberately walking into the picture when they are taking pictures and such. That’s an affront, it’s just Chinese-bashing”, he claimed (Interview 19, Pos. 107), asking for more respect and dignity for the city’s international visitors.

Marriages

Another worthwhile occasion for taking photographs is marriages. Lucerne is a famous place to hold weddings, both for locals, and also for couples from throughout Switzerland, and even far beyond. With the romance of Lake Lucerne, its traditional cruise ships, and the many suitable hotel buildings from the Belle Époque on its shore, it provides the necessary infrastructure for such festive gatherings. Many hotels, like the Park Hotel Vitznau, the Vitznauerhof, the Waldstätterhof, and all lakefront premises located outside the city of Lucerne, focus on this business model, some of them hosting several marriages a week.

But it is not only the Swiss who want to come to Lucerne for this special occasion. The innovative and marketing-savvy tourism director Kurt H. Illi, who has been in his post for 22 years and has made Lucerne the internationally sought-after place we are dealing with today (see Ch. 01 for details), invented Japanese weddings in 1982. He and his wife conceptualised real weddings in western style for couples from the Land of the Rising Sun. Picture-perfect wedding dresses in black and white, professional photographers and a traditional Christian ceremony gave Japanese couples on their honeymoon travels to Switzerland an extraordinary twist. They needed a civil marriage in Japan beforehand to acquire the appropriate status in their homeland, but the symbolic value of such marriages is not underestimated. Images, memories, and event snapshots toured the world after the ceremony and most certainly inspired others to visit this romantic destination at the foot of the Swiss Alps. But this was not approved of by many of the traditional Catholic citizens of central Switzerland. As the NZZ reported, opposition to this touristic selling out of Christian values arose and was even regarded by the newspaper retrospectively as the first arrival of *overtourism* in Lucerne (Aschwanden 2019).

Sleeping in a hotel

Sleeping overnight in a foreign bed can also easily be regarded as an extraordinary practice, as one rarely stays longer than one or two days nowadays. Whereas in the beginning of Lucerne's touristic development, in the mid-19th century, guests would stay for weeks, sometimes even for months, this has changed noticeably in more modern times. In 2018, an overnight tourist stayed on average 1.7 nights in Lucerne, which is slightly below the Swiss-wide average of 2 nights. According to the local statistics, Chinese guests in particular spend rather short duration here, on average 1.2 nights only (LUSTAT 2019).

Nevertheless, I spoke with some Chinese guests who stayed in hotels (Interview 4), as well as with Belgians, lodging outside the town in a campground (Interview 11). I also interviewed a French visitor with his Rumanian friends staying at a served apartment (Interview 35), and with a couple from Milano who booked their Airbnb, which was actually hosted by a hotel (Interview 18). I also met an American tourist originating from the Philippines who was served by a Swiss man at a hotel where the telephone did not work (Interview 14). And I have spoken with Lucerne people renting out parts of their house to tourists via Airbnb (Interview 8). At an art exhibition on the Lion Monument (more details in the next chapter) I also met an artist from Basel exhibiting in and about Lucerne. She stayed with her business partner in a hotel overnight, which she found remarkable to mention in her interview: "My husband and I once stayed at the *Hotel Ibis* as part of the project. It's also such a bubble. But it was exciting to see the city of Lucerne from the perspective of the tourists", she told me (Interview 21, Pos. 41). This shift in perspective was also experienced by Markus, head of the borough association of Hirschmatt-Neustadt, who once slept in a hotel in his own borough: "I even slept in this hotel myself, it was a gift from someone, very private", he told me when we were

standing in front of *The Hotel*, a boutique design hotel by Jean Nouvel; “this was a great experience, just like a vacation in your own city. And when I stepped out of the hotel, I perceived the *Vogelgärtli* [the little park in front of the hotel] very differently, more like a park in London. I immediately felt so urban, so metropolitan” (Interview 6, Pos. 19). Thus, he described a sensation that were caused by changing the angle at which things were viewed.



Figure 57: Stepping out of Jean Nouvel’s *The Hotel* one feels like one is in a London park

This change of perspective is also encouraged by the Lucerne tourism board and the Lucerne hotel association, which have launched a campaign to encourage locals to stay in a hotel in their own city for a good deal in January (Luzern Tourismus AG 2019). Markus also took part in this promotion, as he thinks it is a valuable experience, even for someone who knows the city well: “This is a great idea, we seized on the opportunity to stay in the *Château Gütsch*. It wasn’t such a blatant change of perspective as it was with *The Hotel*, but it was also a great experience, especially the view over the city” (ibid., Pos. 20), he said, recounting his experience of staying in the four-star hotel overlooking Lucerne.

Further extraordinary practices

Extraordinary practices are not limited to sightseeing, photographing, marrying, or sleeping overnight. Many more typical ‘touristic’ practices unfold in Lucerne, but not all of them have been captured by this research. This is either because the spontaneous encounters did not lead there, or because some traces have not been followed for other reasons. I could easily have been drawn by some of my informants into one of Lucerne museums, whether of art, history, or transport. Also, there was the great potential of encountering a visitor to the *Lucerne Festival*, the most popular Swiss classical music event, or one of the other music festivals that takes place regularly in Lucerne, such as the *Blue Balls Festival*, the *Blues Festival*, or other concerts that take place regularly at the *Schüür* or *Neubaud*. Some informants talked to me about the comic festival “*Fumento*” or the billboard festival “*Weltformat*” (Interview 9, Pos. 48) or the “*Glacier Garden*” or the “*Bourbaki*” (Interview 7, Pos. 55-56), but because time, capacity and maybe simply interest were limited, I did not follow these hints. This is especially regrettable for the extraordinary practices that take place at Lucerne’s monumental sights, such as the *Bourbaki*, which has been constitutive of Lucerne since the birth of the city’s tourism (see Bürgi 2016). But their importance vanished in the meantime, and other traces seemed to be more promising or alluring. Other places, such as the *Alpineum*, have been included in this dissertation, but not in their original purpose, as early 3D Alpine Diorama, but as an alternative coffee bar and as co-organizer of the *Invictis Pax Minifestival*. The ways of visiting, dealing with,

and connoting these places have significantly changed over the last two centuries, and it would have been worthwhile delving more deeply into these developments.

Conclusion on extraordinary practices

As this section has shown, extraordinary practices can involve different forms of sightseeing, photography, getting married and overnighing, which are all informed by various forms of mobility and practices. Such extraordinary practices are performed by all sorts of actors, more or less familiar with the place, and they can open new and fresh perspectives on mundane and regular living. People on sightseeing tours need not be far-travelled tourists but have much closer origins. The same goes for people taking photographs, as they might have all kinds of different motives and motivations and therefore should not necessarily be reduced to tourists, as we saw, for example, with the Aree in Chapter 04. Not even the most touristic practice of all, sleeping overnight in a hotel, can be reduced to single tourist use, as some locals do this on special occasions too. Certainly, practices differ according to knowledge, cultural background, and other framework conditions, but in principle they are more similar than different. Not all actors make judgements in this way, as they seem more tolerant and understandable of some, less so of others. Reactions to certain practices can therefore be quite harsh, for example, to people walking on purpose into a picture, cutting groups or even jostling them.

In order to increase understanding and foster tolerance, the Lucerne tourism board and the Lucerne hotel association have launched the initiative for locals to sleep a night in a Lucerne hotel at a knock-down price. This should encourage a shift in perspective, and it can also be regarded as a way of expressing gratitude to a broader population and of paying something back to those who actually live in Lucerne. Tourist companies are well aware of the accusations that tourism provides one-sided benefits, the costs of which everybody has to bear. In the next section I will now examine the economic aspects of living with tourism in an urban space and examine practices of gaining advantages for oneself out of the current tourism development.

5.4 Practices to create economic value

In this section I investigate practices to create economic value from tourism. This might happen through the traditional tourism trade and specialized businesses, such as souvenir shops (as we saw with Aree), sightseeing tours (by e-tuk-tuk, city train, horse carriage or on foot), renting out boats and pedalos (as we saw with Chris) or simply by selling food on the go (as we saw with Claudio, the local chestnut vendor). All these businesses are directly related to tourism, meaning that they earn income directly from visitors from near and far. Tourism, though, also creates indirect economic value, such as businesses that deliver goods and services to tourism providers, which the latter resell to the end consumer. A good example of this is Doggwiler, a local butcher, who told me that “we deliver to several hotels and restaurants. This is good for us, as our products stay fresh through regular turnover” (Interview 38, Pos. 5). Urs Doggwiler runs a fourth-generation family business and sees tourism as an important economic pillar in Lucerne: “Companies such as Bucherer [the main watch and jewellery manufacturer] pay a lot of taxes, which is to the benefit of us all” (ibid., Pos. 8), and he further states that “we all are all profiting, also indirectly” (ibid., Pos. 9). For this reason, Urs Doggwiler supported the campaign of the Lucerne Tourism Forum in 2016 (see already Ch. 1.4). Under the slogan “tourism creates employment”, various small and medium enterprises stressed the economic value of tourism, and in particular its labour-intensive aspect: “Tourism matters – we are

all benefiting” states one advertisement, using German word-play relating to sausages, impossible to translate literally.



**«Tourismus darf uns nicht
Wurst sein – wir alle
profitieren davon»**

Urs Doggwiler, eidg. dipl. Metzgermeister, Metzgerei Doggwiler

Tourismus schafft Arbeitsplätze!
11'239 Vollzeitbeschäftigte im Tourismus (Kanton Luzern 2014) www.tfl-luzern.ch

TOURISMUS FORUM
LUZERN
TFCBNE

The advertisement features a man in a butcher's uniform holding a string of sausages. The text is presented in a white speech bubble on a dark red background. The logo for the Tourism Forum Luzerne is located in the bottom left corner of the ad area.

Figure 58: Tourism creates employment (Tourism Forum Luzern 2016). © Susanna Bertschmann

But the main turnover from tourism comes not from these small and medium size companies benefiting directly or indirectly from the visitor flows. According to a study by Hanser Consulting (2018), commissioned by the four main companies located at Schwanenplatz (Bucherer AG, Gübelin AG, Embassy Jewel AG, Casagrande AG), the main profit is generated by group tourism on Schwanenplatz. The study states that “in 2017, 1.4 million group travellers from Asia and the USA came to Schwanenplatz and visited the old town in Lucerne [from which an] added value of CHF 403 million resulted [in the overall region]” (Hanser Consulting 2018:3). In addition, the study states that the watch, jewellery, and souvenir businesses at Schwanenplatz generate 90% of their turnover with group tourists. In contrast, the restaurants, small retail stores and pharmacies located there only generate 10-20% of their turnover from tourism (see Table 2 below). This unequal distribution shows the high dependency of certain actors from a specific business model, which can be highly beneficial for some of the actors.

Sectors	Shares of group tourism in total turnover (%)
Retail sale of watches and jewellery in specialised stores	90%
Other retail sale of new goods in specialised stores (especially souvenirs)	90%
Retail sale of bread, cake, flour confectionery and sugar confectionery in specialised stores	30%
Retail sale of tobacco products in specialised stores	30%
Retail sale of footwear and leather goods in specialised stores	30%
Retail sale of clothing in specialised stores	20%
Dispensing chemist in specialised stores	10%
Food and beverage services activities	10%
All other sectors	0%

Table 2: Share of group tourists on turnover at Schwanenplatz © Hanser Consulting AG 2018

This lucrative business model creates not only winners, but also envy and resentment on the part of those who do not benefit that much. As there are only a handful who have become very rich from group tourists, they are regarded as too dominant and powerful. The local police officer, for example, states: “Bucherer, Gubelin and Casagrande have a lot of influence, they call the shots” (Interview 10, Pos. 50), claiming that these few businesses are those that decide the direction in which tourism development in Lucerne is heading. However, Roberto Casagrande, the owner of the largest souvenir store, did not appreciate it being put like that. In an interview he told me about an unpleasant experience with a journalist who once interviewed him and then described him in the article as “the Lucerne King of Souvenirs”, a title he found really unpleasant (Interview 28, Pos. 46). Rather, he sees himself as a family man running a business that has been handed down for generations, having grown from a small souvenir shop into a successful company, as explained himself in the theatre play *Souvenir* staged by the Luzerner Theater (2020), to which he contributed as a pre-recorded guest actor.



Figure 59: An Indian tour group descending on the Casagrande souvenir shop at Schwanenplatz.

Nonetheless many people in Lucerne are annoyed at the dominance of certain actors. This was shown in an interview with one local resident, who was speaking about the most successful bakery and

chocolate vendor in Lucerne, which also has a busy branch at Schwanenplatz: “In the Bachmann”, she said, pointing to the bakery next door, “there is even an employee who speaks Japanese. [...], I think that’s exaggerated. But that’s not the reason why I don’t go to this store anymore. It is because they just got too powerful for me. They are already on every corner. Even on Bahnhofstrasse in Zurich. But I am not allowed to say anything, as Bachmann is also one of our customers [referring to the tea store where she works], and they really understand their business. So, hats off to his sons. They’ve expanded tremendously since they took over the company” (Interview 5, Pos. 39).

Dominance and adaption

The dominance of certain actors ousts other, smaller business, so that a monoculture of retail stores is emerging. One interviewee stated: “The normal shops are disappearing. There are practically only watch shops in town” (Interview 21, Pos. 59). Another interview partner even stated: “Everyone has adjusted in the ways serve them well. It is like Egypt here, the people there also make their living from selling souvenirs” (Interview 28, Pos. 167). This change to the retail structure annoys other interview partners as well, for example, Miriam, who lives in the old town: “The only thing that bothers me are the many watch shops. That there is a Bachmann [bakery] on every corner is OK with me. Sure, Bachmann also benefits from tourism, but we are also able to use it. And the cheese store, *Käse Barmettler*, also benefits from the tourists. There was once a report by an American journalist, since when the shop has been famous, I’ve been told. But many Lucerne people also go there. And who knows, without tourists this specialty cheese shop might even not exist anymore” (ibid., Pos. 37), she said, explaining why it is not so simple to oppose tourism. There are many facets, some of which are disturbing, while others are for their own good. This explains the ambivalence of many of the actors I interviewed. Lucerne without tourism is simple not imaginable anymore, but the economic dominance of the industry is disturbing. Nevertheless, tourism is often used as a scapegoat thing, though in reality the reasons for structural change are more complex and nuanced. “I am not only associating the change in the retail structure with tourism. Clothes and shoe stores are also closing down in other cities. Online retail is more to blame for this. But it is noticeable that most of the vacant retail spaces are used for watch and jewellery stores. That is why one also has the feeling that they are displacing the conventional businesses” (ibid., Pos. 27). Miriam explained why a general change in the use of urban spaces is perceived differently in Lucerne than in other places. Whereas in other cities, prime locations on the high street might stay empty or be taken over by other tenants, in Lucerne it is usually the watch and jewellery business that does this. And because they can afford the high rents, it is often not possible for less lucrative businesses to compete for empty retail spaces.



Figure 60: Promoting Swiss watches with Chinese photographic models

These shops are adapting more and more to the needs of tourism, not only with their product offers, but also with their communications and services. Many watch stores have advertising billboards with famous Chinese models a person from Lucerne would hardly ever know. Price tags and product information are in English and Chinese, not only in the watch, jewellery, and souvenir businesses, but also in ordinary convenience stores, such as the Alnatura organic supermarket: “Yes, we wrote a few things in Chinese here in the store”, the store manager explained to me, “but more to our relief than to please the Chinese guests”, she explained. Too many customers lacking knowledge were asking and bothering her staff, so it seemed easier to indicate some information in the customers’ native language. However, this means that the international tourists are claiming space and changing a formerly non-touristic store for a more touristic purpose. Such signs and billboards change the image of these specific places and thus the overall feeling in town.



Figure 61: Advertisements in English and Chinese in an organic grocery store

This obvious transformation was also noted by James, the international student from Vietnam. As we were strolling by the Casagrande souvenir store during our walking interview, he told me: “Only tourists shop here, but sometimes I go there too, because it’s open on Sundays. Sometimes it’s so boring here in Lucerne, as most of the shops are closed. But the ones at the train station are also open, so I usually go there”, he told me, explaining his reasons for visiting a souvenir shop. For James this is more a matter of killing time or for leisure purposes than of an actual need to consume: “But I don’t buy anything at Casagrande, I think it’s too expensive. If I wanted a souvenir, I would go to Harry’s [a smaller souvenir shop in Pfistergasse]. As we stepped closer, James showed me the sign in the entrance of Casagrande: “Do you see?” he asked me; “everything is also written in Chinese. A clear indication of who the store is geared towards”, he explained, adding, “I’ll probably bring chocolate with me for my parents or friends, which I then buy at the Coop”, he said, not without pride. Certainly, James is money-wise, as other statements during our conversation revealed, but it is not just about being frugal. It is rather a matter of showing that he has understood how the locals, the knowledgeable, the insiders consume, and that he does not belong anymore to the outsiders, the foreign, the visitors. Shopping is therefore not only an economic practice or a mundane activity, but also a form of distinction in the sense of Bourdieu (see, for example, Freytag 2010:50), a way of showing where one belongs and how one wants to be perceived by others.

Not every actor in Lucerne appreciates and enjoys the lax opening hours for tourism businesses like James does. Lucerne, as a traditional Catholic canton, has one of the most restrictive opening hours of all Swiss cantons. However, an exception is made for tourism businesses with a minimum of 30% touristic products in their range, as they can open until 10 p.m. This creates a sense of unequal

treatment, which is wrong. As Judith put it: “Another sticking point is the opening hours. I don’t know how Bachmann handles it, but Bucherer is even open for tourists on Sundays. And in Lucerne we have the strictest shop-opening hours in all of Switzerland. It’s not fair!” (Interview 5, Pos. 41). She was referring here to all the other shops, which are not allowed to extend their business hours.



Figure 62: Relaxed opening hours could lead to further dominance by tourism retailers

Marc-André Roth, the head of the Hochwacht borough association, also opposes the lax opening hours for tourism businesses. He explained: “The tourists usually come in the late afternoon, as they normally go on a mountain on their day program, such as Rigi, Pilatus or Titlis. That’s why the tourist businesses want to extend the opening times until 10:30 p.m. in the evening, so that tourists have more time to do their shopping. But I’m against that, it just adds to the hectic pace and unrest. We don’t need that here”, he said. Moreover, in addition to the extra stress caused, it merely increases further the divide between the large professional shops and the small, independent, owner-managed businesses, as the latter can hardly cope with extended opening hours and therefore see no benefit in them. “The small shops would be overwhelmed with these opening times anyway: it never pays off. Casagrande told me that after 9 p.m. hardly anyone comes. He can afford it, but the small companies certainly cannot. Consequently, they would have to close their businesses. And that would be poison for the branch mix. If only the big souvenir shops could afford to keep them open for so long. Grendel is an extreme example, and certainly no one wanted such a situation here too” (Interview 7, Pos. 35-41).

Unequal distribution of tourism profit

Economic practices in dealing with tourism also lead to a one-sided distribution of benefits. As one local Lucerne resident claimed: “It’s a myth that everyone gains from tourism. Rather, it is individual companies that benefit and not the general public” (Interview 9, Pos. 55). This recalls the view of other interview partners, who criticized the unequal distribution of tourism profits: “It bothers me that Lucerne does not really benefit from tourism. The canton must save money and economizes wherever it can”, states Miriam, who works as a teacher and is therefore affected by the recent austerity measures. “The canton is not doing well financially. And it has so many tourists, but only individual companies benefit, and the canton practically goes away empty-handed” (Interview 1, Pos. 16), she said, expressing her concerns. She is not sure whether the watch shops in Lucerne pay taxes, but in any case, the general public do not seem to get a slice off the cake: “If they pay taxes in Lucerne, then they certainly pay too little”, Miriam complained (ibid., Pos. 17).

Other local interview partners addressed the unequal distribution of the costs and benefits of tourism: “It’s a fact that the canton of Lucerne is not doing well financially. The big companies are the beneficiaries of all tourism, but we can open our cash boxes. You get the feeling that everything is done for the tourists, but that we the people must save money. For example, the streets are renovated in winter so that the city looks good for tourists in summer. But austerity measures are being taken for canton employees”, Monika said, who also works as a civil servant in the public administration of the canton of Lucerne.

Markus Schulthess, head of the Hirschmatt-Neustadt borough association, is also aware of the problem: “Basically, I think Lucerne people like to share their city. But what bothers us is that only a few people get the benefit (such as Bucherer) and the others do not get anything from the cake, which is not fair. My wife works in the *Comme-ça* boutique near Schwanenplatz, but the group tourists rarely if ever buy from her. Only the individual travellers do that, as they have more time and other interests” (Interview 6, Pos. 21), he stated, adding: “Most of the sales are made by local businesses with locals and Swiss tourists who come here to shop, and only about 10 percent with international guests. At Bucherer, however, it is exactly the opposite” (ibid., Pos. 22).

These statements make it clear who is considered to gain and who to pay for tourism, in particular mass tourism. There are only a few who are well positioned and get a big slice of the cake, whereas most of the remainder must be satisfied with the crumbs. This injustice causes envy and resentment, as the general public is well aware that without them the tourist system would not be working. Just selling souvenirs and watches at the airport departure hall or at an anonymous shopping mall does not work that well. The city with its people, its specific ambience and long history is needed as a backdrop to tell the romantic fairy-tale story of the unique watch and jewellery experience. Without the scenic ambience, the real Switzerland around it, and the sense of a once-in-a-lifetime opportunity in visiting this special place at a special moment to remember, this hitherto successful business model would not work so well.

No pay pack for the public

However, the beneficiaries of tourism do not compensate sufficiently for the general public’s inputs. There is hardly a return, not even a token of appreciation or a thank you. “It’s different in Basel [the city where I come from, which is easily recognizable by my dialect]”, a Lucerne interview partner remarked. “In Basel the two pharmaceutical companies, Roche and Novartis, give something back to the population through their extensive patronage, don’t they? This would also be important for Lucerne. This is actually a strategic mistake on the part of the watch industry, as it would benefit them in the long term. Well, Bucherer has recently been supporting the Luzerner Theater, which could be a start after all” (Interview 6, Pos. 62), he acknowledged.

Also, the main tourism stakeholders have realized this so-called “strategic mistake” (ibid.). In the wake of the rising dissatisfaction with tourism and the emerging complaints, *IG Weltoffenes Luzern* distributed a free voucher booklet (with 2 for 1 offers and several discount coupons) to all households in Lucerne (see Ch.01). However, this was not well received by the public, as it was regarded as a too obvious attempt to gain public support and as a desperate attempt to buy off an apparently venal audience. “As far as I know, the campaign was not well received. There was also a critical report in the newspaper” (Interview 10, Pos. 55), the local police officer stated. But others were more approving of this gesture by the main tourism companies. “Of course, I think that’s a very good idea” said Judith when I asked her about the booklet before raising the question of whether the media

criticism was justified: “No, I don't think so, I would welcome something like that”, she said, confirming her attitude (Interview 27, Pos. 94-96).

However, it is not only that residents feel they are not gaining enough from tourism, but they must also pay a high price for it. We have heard actors along the way complaining about crowded trains, traffic-choked streets, boisterous tourists on the streets and in the supermarkets, photographing whatever and disturbing wherever they can. In addition, tourists are often perceived as receiving preferential treatment. Whereas ‘normal residents’ must stick to the rules or have to live with nuisances, tourists are privileged. “Take the example of Rigi or Pilatus” said one interview partner, “or the Stanserhornbahn. There the groups are given priority and are simply smuggled past the Swiss guests, who are waiting in line. It’s not fair. Just because they bought a group ticket in advance” (Interview 22, Pos. 139). It is rare for the discriminatory treatment to be so obvious, as mostly it is more hidden and nuanced. For example, this happens to the ticket prices, where groups benefit from reductions, or in catering, where meals are provided in better conditions due to vast group sizes.

Such accusations are widely expressed and address various issues and realities, but the defence strategy of the main tourism beneficiaries has also been well elaborated: Their financial contribution to Lucerne’s public treasury has significant relevance to the city, but the real value can hardly be estimated, as taxes are not declared publicly and thus no transparency exists. Nevertheless, the many jobs tourism creates, the many cultural events it supports, the manifold infrastructure it maintains have a bearing when arguments for further growth in tourism are made.

Economic dependencies

The focus of economic practices on tourism also entails a high degree of risk, as the pandemic crisis made obvious. Many stakeholders are (too) dependent on international visitors and have accordingly neglected the home market or other sources of income. “Now the collateral damage is apparent”, said one interview partner (Interview 33, Pos. 42) when referring to the void caused by the closure of the national borders in early 2020. Whereas in earlier times hordes of Asians and other international travellers have flocked to the stores and bought loads of things while rushing through town, they are now simply absent. But it is not only the major players at Grendel, Lucerne’s infamous watch and jewellery street, and the adjacent Schwanenplatz that are feeling the loss of business. Many smaller businesses have also felt the lack of customers due to the crisis. For example, a vegetable stand on the River Reuss, which sells fresh produce under the arcades, said: “We feel the missing tourists very much. They came in invasions previously and accounted for around 20% of our sales. Especially fruit to eat on the go, such as a bowl of cherries or something like that, are no longer in demand. And of course, we also sell less of the freshly squeezed fruit juices” (Interview 27, Pos. 197-198), he said, explaining the change in demand the pandemic has caused.



Figure 63: Fruits on the go are in far less demand due to the lack of tourists

The question now arises, how the population is dealing with the effects of the coronavirus pandemic. Is it regarded more as a relief, enabling people to take a breather from the burdensome tourists, or is it increasing the awareness of what is now missing? “More the latter”, said Pascal, the tuk-tuk-driver, when I questioned him about the reaction of the people to the crisis. “Tourism makes up a significant part of the economy. We are dependent on the added value of tourism. It is not just the Asian saleswoman at Bucherer or Casagrande who is now suffering – we are all affected. When these companies pay their taxes at the end of the year, we will all notice what is missing” (Interview 37, Pos. 109-111), he explained.



Figure 64: Mr. Roth pointing at souvenir and watch stores closed due to the coronavirus crisis

However, such crises are an inevitable part of tourism, as Marc-André Roth claimed, and it is therefore important to avoid too much dependence on it. “There have always been tourists in Lucerne. I grew up on Rütligasse, which is right next to Pfistergasse. Tour buses were already the kind of thing when I was a child; back then it was the English. Then in the 1960s came the Americans, when the Pound Sterling was no longer worth that much. And now one has the feeling of having hit the jackpot with the Asians. But it is not so clever to be dependent on only one market”, he said (Interview 26, Pos. 59).



Figure 65: Campaign to illustrate the negative effects of empty beds for the city's culture.

Source: www.facebook.com/hotelschweizerhofluzern/photos/pcb.10159167296619574/10159167294839574

That not only hotels are dependent on tourism, but also a wide range of other industries, in particular culture and events, was a reminder made by an awareness-raising campaign by the Lucerne hotel association in December 2020. By putting empty beds on the Schwanenplatz, where the many tour coaches usually drop off their shopping-hungry passengers, the initiative sought to sensitize government and the ordinary public about the great impact the suffering hotel industry was having on the city. Each empty bed is considered a symbolic memorial for a cancelled event in Lucerne. The hotel association sought to emphasize that the current crisis is not only causing a lack of international visitors, but also harming Lucerne's cultural life. Hotels, restaurants, and tourism companies are important initiators and sponsors of festivals and thus contribute significantly to the local quality of life. If the tourism industry is not doing well, nor does culture in Lucerne. Another important message about dependency must also be remembered when better times return after the crisis, when criticism of tourism bouncing back is expected to rise again. This thought was at the back of the organizers' minds, as they were already aware of the hostility of many Lucerne people to tourism before the crisis. Now they were seizing the opportunity to draw attention to the importance of the tourism industry, hoping it will have a lasting effect on the city's residents.

Re-interpretation of public space due to the crisis

Another re-interpretation of a former parking lot has been demonstrated on the Löwenplatz. Like the Schwanenplatz, the Löwenplatz was mainly used to park tour coaches depositing international tourists in the city centre. Because the latter have now gone due to the pandemic, the Löwenplatz has also been converted to a new use. Left-wing politicians in the social democratic party asked the city government in a "urgent suggestion" (Gauch 2020) to install park benches and mobile foliage plants while the buses are absent. This would represent an about-turn in the exploitation of this public square. Instead of hectic, polluting, noisy buses, a calm green area for people to pause and relax has been implemented. But not everyone is happy about this attempt to give the place another purpose, meaning, and identity. "That sends out the wrong message. One wonders what this left-ruled city stands for. Whether the government really wants tourism or not. Are you welcome, or are you not welcome?" Roberto Casagrande, the owner of the largest souvenir shop in town, asks rhetorically. Certainly, he understands that due to the new distance rules caused by COVID-19, many cafés and restaurants need more space to serve their customers on their terraces, where seats and tables need to be installed beyond the usual perimeters. "Sure, there is not enough space in the city. At the weekend, the cafes on the Reuss are bursting at the seams. With the new distance rules, more space is taken up. So, I can understand that someone could come up with the idea of managing the empty bus

parking spaces” (ibid., Pos. 34), he admitted. “But at Löwenplatz, I can’t understand that. There is a busy street to the left and right, nobody wants to sit there and have a drink. And further, imagine if some madman comes along and drives his car into people, that’s far too dangerous”. This struck me as a rather specious argument, as one could give the same reason for all the tourists usually leaving their buses there. Some security pillars could also easily be installed to counter this rather unlikely danger. “And also, at Schwanenplatz, that’s not realistic”, Casagrande continued; “neighbouring locations like Bachmann, Schwanen [the Café de Ville] or the Schweizerhof couldn’t cope with serving the additional tables there. And some restaurateurs from Zurich or Berne would come and, as an additional competitor, make life even more difficult for the local people”. He brought in this further argument to show why, in his view, a repurposing of the main square in front of his flagship store does not make any sense. In reality, though, probably the real sorrow is that once the Löwenplatz and Schwanenplatz are populated by people and no longer by buses, many residents would see the benefits. And this would certainly endanger the business model of many stores in the area, as a quick stop between Venice and Paris does not allow too long a distance from the parking lot to the main attraction. Businesses are well aware of this and have also realized the danger of political attempts to banish parking lots right out of the city, as the *Inseli-Initiative* in 2017 clearly showed (see Ch. 1.4).



Figure 66: Park benches and greenery on Löwenplatz, a former parking space for tour coaches.

This objection is rather unsubstantiated, states Christoph, while sitting with me on the newly installed benches of the pop-up park on Löwenplatz: “As soon as the tourists are here again, that’s over” he said, pointing to the mobile benches and greenery. But not everyone thinks that way, I objected, and I told him about the conversation I had with Mr. Casagrande. He would rather not stick out his little finger and give these important bus parking spaces to the public, out of a concern that they will no longer be easy to get back. I don’t find this worry so unsubstantiated, I confessed, as it’s a well-known policy of certain political parties. “Nevertheless”, argued Christoph, “for me the whole thing is rather symbolic”. For Christoph the question remains whether this new use really represents a need on the part of the population and corresponds to the city government’s strategic long-term planning or is just a “cosmetic filling of the void. If you have a beer here, is it a political act? Or is this just a way to maintain social distancing? If this measure helps the cafés and restaurants, then I think it’s totally OK. If it is to be used as a gesture against tourism, I would find that totally ridiculous” (Interview 32, Pos. 69-73).

This also goes for Mr. Krügel, the district police officer, who cannot see any sense in this new refurbishing of the square either: “This has nothing to do with strategic traffic-calming, which has been planned for a long time. It is only a spontaneous reaction to the lack of buses due to the coronavirus epidemic”, he said, also thinking that the message of the initiative goes into the wrong direction “Well, I think that is very unappropriated, you can’t go out now and scream: Yes! Finally, no more tour coaches!”. This is just not a moment of political spitefulness. And in addition: “This misuse of space doesn’t meet any need. If I want to linger somewhere I can do it already, there is no need for new seating. I can sit here on the bank”, said the police officer, pointing to the other side of the River Reuss (Interview 34, Pos. 59-62). I finally asked him whether the space will be used as a bus parking space again when tourists are coming back? “Oh yes, definitely”, he said; “when the tourists start returning, these benches will go away very quickly. The Lucerne people are venal, you’ll see” (ibid., Pos. 85-86).

Conclusion on economic practices

That tourism is a financially lucrative business is nothing new, but how adapting to tourist needs changes the life of a city and its urban landscape is often underestimated. Many stores adapting their product and services using dedicated images, symbols, and language to promote their offers, thus increasingly shaping and co-constructing the tourist place. This constant adaption is in line with the growing touristification of the city, which alienates conventional customers, who are not targeted anymore by local service providers, and thus expelled them from the traditional city centre. These negative effects are widely regarded as a cost of tourism, a cost that must be defrayed by everyone, as everyone living in Lucerne is affected by its consequences. On the other hand, the benefits of the tourism business are perceived as merely going to a chosen few. There are some individuals who earn fortunes from tourism and do not distribute enough to the general public, many interviewees stated. Even though most of them also agreed that many jobs are created through tourism and lots of taxes paid, that does not seem sufficiently rewarding to many. A lot of Lucerne people feel exploited, as they provide the foundation on which tourism businesses are based, but do not receive adequate compensation for doing so. The economic distribution of costs and benefits therefore represent a crucial basic problem in the current *overtourism* debate.

In addition, this one-sided economic development seems to have become increasingly risky. The wide-ranging dependence on tourism has become evident through the economic crisis the pandemic caused from early 2020 onwards. Focusing too much on one industry, and within this industry on merely one segment, is regarded as hazardous and irresponsible. In particular, as so many related branches and businesses are directly and indirectly interwoven with tourism, it seems to be a high-risk venture. Tourism is a highly volatile field, as previous crises have impressively shown. Even though it has always bounced back after the many downturns it has experienced in the past two centuries, these crises were always painful and awful.

But a crisis can also provide opportunities. Tourism need not restart where it halted in spring 2020 but can be designed anew. Monika, for example, has a clear vision for the rebounding of tourism after the crisis: “Tourism just has to cost something again. The guests must take a little more time again if they want to enjoy the surroundings and nature; they should come back on vacation here. These are different brand values, not cheap and mass ones. Even if that means that some will no longer come. I can live with that very well” (Interview 2, Pos. 53), she said, making her stance clear.

5.5 Practices of critical reflection

In this section I investigate how the general public deal with controversial tourism development. There are different ways of collectively reflecting on tourism, whether in open forums and public debates, in the media, by art performances, or something else. In studying these different practices of critical reflection, we sometimes find nostalgic traces in memorizing the past. Tourism's heydays are blandished, and earlier forms of travel are collectively missed. Some other forms of reflection include humour and irony and are therefore addressing the issue with a wink. Other forms are more serious and digest current developments within an academic discourse, using an interdisciplinary approach that embeds the topic in a broader context. All these practices of critical reflection co-constitute public opinion, shaping and ordering knowledge and understanding about the current situation, and enabling people to develop their views on tourism. Sometimes these practices of critical reflection are rather political, sometimes even accusatory, but mostly they just deal with what is around and contemplate critically what constitutes social life in the tourist city of Lucerne.

Debating tourism in public

I shall start this section by looking at public debates on tourism. There are many different formats organised by all sort of stakeholders. Tourism interest groups, such as *Weltoffenes Luzern* (see Ch. 1.4), organized information evenings and discussion panels, giving the government, the public administration, tourism bodies and hotel associations an opportunity to explain themselves to the general public and, vice versa, to give the public the chance to raise questions and express their support or concern. Some of these public gatherings were also organised by students from the Lucerne University of Applied Sciences and Arts, such as the panel debate in the *Brennpunkte im Public und Nonprofit Sektor* series, where regional opinion leaders from trade and industry (City-Vereinigung Luzern, Weltoffenes Luzern), national tourism organizations (Swiss tourism association), and local politicians (Green, Social Democratic, and Liberal Parties) were invited to debate current tourism developments openly. In such gatherings, tourism academics (mainly from the Institute of Tourism and Mobility, sometimes including myself) often provided a contextual framework and contributed keynote and kick-off speeches to provide an analytical basis for the discussion to follow.

The *Neubad Luzern*, an alternative cultural centre in a former indoor swimming pool, was another regular venue for such critical debates about tourism. In several meetings opposing voices were invited to discuss the issue. In addition, the topic of unbalanced tourism was also covered in the so-called *Neubad Lectures*, where the stimulating thoughts of intellectuals are presented and critically discussed. On 15 January 2020, Prof. Dr Valentin Groebner of the Department of History of Lucerne University seized the opportunity to reflect tourism development in Lucerne. He set out thoughts he



had already articulated in various articles in the *Magazin*, the weekly Saturday supplement of several high-circulation Swiss newspapers and in his acclaimed book *Retroland*, which he has published in 2018 and was a bestseller for several weeks. In his thinking, Prof. Dr Groebner offered a critical historical review of how and why people travel, one that is easily digestible for non-historians and non-academic readers as well. In his writings, he examines the constant quest for the authentic, which can develop bizarre forms and contradictory traits. The hook in the *Neubad* lectures was again the tour coaches, as also illustrated on the event flyer (see Figure 67 on the left). Tour buses also meander through the debate, constituting the actual question mark, as they symbolize like nothing else the controversial tourist groups, mainly those visiting from Asia.

Figure 67: Flyer for Neubad Lecture on tourism

People from various backgrounds engaged in these discussions, and the media covered some of the events. This enabled different actors to participate, have their voices heard and contribute to the discourse, which actively shapes the self-understanding, identity, and connotation of the urban space they are dwelling.

However, the media debate does not end with articles and reports: it also covers readers' letters, editorials, and op-eds too. Sometimes these can be quite tendentious, giving an unbalanced, one-sided, and personal view of things. Some of them can be ironic too, such as an editorial in the culture magazine 041 (see Figure 68). In a pretended open letter to the tourism board, "Good day Lucerne Tourism", the magazine complained about spitting guests from China:

“Yesyes, now the days are getting warm and sunny again, and Lucerne is once more impressing the far-east upper class as the place of longing. Besides the 330 bucks the Chinese visitors are leaving here in cash, our highly esteemed guests are also bringing some rather disturbing habits with them. We have accustomed ourselves to the selfie-sticks and the neon dazzling pelerines and down jackets. But not at the spitting. Yes, Lucerne Tourism, they spit, flob and spew and slither our streets, bridges, and cobbles. That bothers us, we who just got our Birkenstocks and Adiletten [Adidas sandals] out of the shoe box. Why couldn't your Ltd. put some signs around Schwanenplatz, Löwenplatz or Kapellplatz? 'Welcome to Lucerne, please don't spit here' or alternatively, '请不要吐'. Or just give away free plastic bags to the tour buses that are stuck in the traffic jam to collect the spit – and the ones who return them full at Gletschergarten could receive a reward, such as a local biscuit” (041 - Das Kulturmagazin 2018).



Figure 68: Editorial of the cultural magazine 041

Certainly, this editorial is meant to be funny, but it is full of aggravating stereotypes. By slating Asian tourists as uncivilized and unhygienic, the article drifts from its rather humorous or satirical tone to a comprehensive Chinese-bashing approach. It follows the main argument of the dominant *overtourism* discourse, first highlighting the economic benefits of the customers, then mocking their physical appearance (clothing and cameras) and their poor behaviour and bad manners. Finally, the article degrades the Chinese visitors as miserly by suggesting that they would exchange their spit for a cookie. It is not always easy to draw a line between humour and racism, but given the veracity and poignancy of the topic, I suggest that a more subtle and nuanced way of addressing the tourism dilemma in town could probably be expected from a cultural magazine.

Exhibitions in art and history

In discussing the current role tourism plays in the city, it is not only today's situation that is mentioned: the discourse sometimes goes back to the beginning of the tourism development in Lucerne two centuries ago. I shall therefore describe an exhibition at the *Historisches Museum* of Queen Victoria expressing appreciation of her five-week visit in 1868. I shall also focus on the jubilee show on the foundation of the Lucerne art society, the supporting association of the *Kunstmuseum Luzern*. The 200th anniversary was celebrated by an exhibition on the British painter J.M.W. Turner, who strongly influenced Lucerne with his paintings, but was equally influenced and inspired in his own creative work by Lucerne and its surroundings. Finally, I shall closely scrutinize the work of Tobias Madörin, who referenced and contextualised the paintings of the most famous Lucerne artist Robert Zünd (1827-1909) with his contemporary large-scale photographs.

The historical museum of Lucerne used the milestone anniversary visit of Queen Victoria to Lucerne as an opportunity to reflect on her influential visit 150 years ago. At this time, Queen Victoria was one of the world's most powerful women, and her stay in Lucerne was followed by half of Europe's population (Historisches Museum Luzern 2018). Her visit lasted five weeks and was mainly recreational. Queen Victoria visited the adjoining mountains, Rigi and Pilatus, celebrated their beauty in aquarelles, and noted her impressions into her diary. The visit of the Sovereign of the United Kingdom marked the starting point of tourism development in Lucerne, as many people followed her example afterwards. She influenced not only British travellers to visit Switzerland and Lucerne, but many others emulated her visit too (Arengo-Jones 2018). The *Historisches Museum Luzern* contextualised this visit in relation to the forthcoming development of Lucerne and highlighted its



importance for the city's history. The museum not only exhibits historical artefacts but also actively engages the audience in the Queen's activities during these early days of tourism. By lending out historic costumes, organising comprehensive theatre plays with excursions on traditional steamboats to Mount Rigi or offering painting courses in aquarelle technique, the museum relives the old days and makes them tangible to today's audience. Such experiences sometimes evoke nostalgic feelings while performing early tourism practices and – while contrasting them to today's fast paced and rather superficial touristic consumption of the city – make people realise the vast change the tourism industry has gone through in its two centuries of existence.

Figure 69: Exhibition on Queen Victoria in Switzerland

The exhibition on Turner at the *Kunstmuseum* evoked similar sentiments. Turner was an equally important influencer of the time, as he showed Lucerne's magic by means of his paintings to the art collectors, opinion-formers, and decision-makers of the European elite. He was fascinated by the beauty of Lake Lucerne, its adjacent majestic mountains, and the play of light and colours produced by the local weather. For Turner beauty and threatening nature were in alluring interplay, which he painted with grandeur and dignity following the romantic credo of his time. He was so fascinated by Switzerland that he visited the country several times between 1802 and 1844 and actively cultivated its image as a place of longing (Kunstmuseum Luzern 2019). The tourism industry has benefited heavily from this image, and still does so today. However, ways of exploring Lucerne have changed significantly in the meantime, as was also remarked by the president of the city government in his opening speech to the exhibition in 2019: "Joseph Mallord William Turner was a guest in central Switzerland around 200 years ago, as millions have been for decades. While many people visit Lucerne only once today, he has visited our area five times. He also travelled differently. On the one hand, with less comfort, because today's tourist infrastructure didn't even exist on his first trip. On the other hand, the landscape was not just a background for a selfie for him. He sketched the landscapes on and above the lake. In his own way he painted atmospheric scenes in which reality and dream seem to merge" (Züsli 2019). In his speech the Mayor of Lucerne contrasted the practices

of visiting the city of today with the practices of earlier times. When, two centuries ago, people had more time to visit a place several times and for a longer period, nowadays visits are shorter, often once-only and more superficial. Instead of sketching the beauty of the region with aquarelles, as Turner did (and Her Majesty the Queen did about 50 years later), while dedicating time and attention to detail, the tourists of today simply use the magnificent scenery of the region as a simple background for their selfie-pics. Rushing through in a short space of time does not allow them to delve into Lucerne, as Turner did. This is certainly not only a phenomenon of tourists visiting Lucerne, but an all-embracing trend of global society. Modes of travel have changed over the centuries, with no-frills airlines and high-speed rails replacing horse-carriages, steamboats, and early railway links. Looking back with nostalgia, as the President of the Lucerne City Government did, is a common reaction observable in the practices of many people. One often forgets, though, that not only do the tourists visiting Lucerne travel differently, so do Lucerne people when spontaneously roaming abroad, capturing their weekend breaks in random snapshots, and only superficially engaging with their destinations of travel. Nonetheless it is a longing for other tourists which is discernible in his lines, in parallel with the general thinking of many people living in Lucerne. One can argue that, as well as guests requesting authentic hosts and destinations (as impressively argued by MacCannell 1976), there are also hosts who long for authentic tourists visiting their destination, in order to turn the binary relationship between hosts and guests around (see also Egli et al. 2020:183).

Art exhibitions, such as the Turner show, do not stand loose in space: they are accompanied by side events and promotional campaigns, and are also embedded in an academic discourse. The University of Lucerne, for example, provided an open evening lecture series called “Stormy Times” [stürmische Zeiten] to honour J.M.W. Turner and his time working in Lucerne. Five lectures from different disciplines treated individual facets of Lucerne and central Switzerland in Turner’s time, including the aspect of tourism and of relations with foreigners. Turner’s visits took place at the very beginning of Lucerne’s touristic development, where not much infrastructure, nor knowledge of dealing with strangers, was yet in place. Turner therefore marked the starting point of a development that continues to define the city’s self-understanding. Turner’s paintings created the image of Lucerne as a place of longing, situated in the middle of mountains and lakes that were well worth seeing. This image is still exploited today in tourism markets around the world, luring visitors with similar branded promises to Lucerne as in the old days.



Figure 70: Mount Rigi by Turner, and contemporary photographer Madörin re-interpreting Zünd

Another painter who played a decisive role in shaping the image of Lucerne was the local artist Robert Zünd. He painted almost exclusively the landscapes around Lucerne, so that “his paintings serve as a historical source for the study of nineteenth-century Central Switzerland” (Fetzer 2017: 44). He captured the nice views of the hills, lakes, and rural life of his region, making it accessible to the many others who adored his pictures and thus the Lucerne landscapes. His works are very much inspired by walks, as Zünd often strolled randomly through the area, drifting along with his sketchbook, and letting serendipity play its part. But Zünd was idealizing the landscape of today, Tobias Madörin told me in a personal interview: “Zünd left out a lot in his pictures. The landscape is downright idealized. What he didn’t like he simple didn’t put in the painting. For example, Lucerne’s railway station never appears in his paintings – that’s interesting” (Interview 12, Pos. 56-59). Tobias Madörin is a contemporary photographer who was invited by the *Kunstmuseum Luzern* to re-interpret Zünd’s oeuvre in its contemporary context. As most of Zünd’s paintings are clearly of known locations, most often even incorporating the location in their titles, Madörin followed his traces and investigated the landscape from today’s point of view: “Some of the pictures were taken at the same starting point, but deliberately from a different perspective. Here I had a lot more freedom [than with a similar work with the same curator in Venice, see Madörin 2003]. It was more of a playful approach” (ibid., Pos. 14). It is striking, however, how Lucerne has changed in the 150 years between the two artists. And in contrast to Zünd, Madörin does not blandish what he sees, but rather the opposite: “The aim of the work was to depict the region from today’s perspective. And in the way it is, without any whitewashing. Zünd often left out details that he didn’t like. Or added things that fit his world view better (ibid., Pos. 15-16). In doing so, Zünd created an idealized place, in fact a place the many visitors were longing for. By leaving out all aspects of urbanization, industrialization and everything connected to technical engineering and progress, he created a romanticized Lucerne. This image corresponded to the wishful thinking of the visitors of those days, who wanted to escape their industrial towns, the stresses of their mundane lives, and recuperate in a natural, pure, and healthy environment like this picture-postcard setting of central Switzerland. And actually, this still corresponds to the perspectives of many of those who visit Lucerne and its region today. So, no wonder the current claim of the local tourism board states: “Lucerne, the city, the lake, the mountains”, and leaves out the highways, traffic jams and industrial landscapes. It still works according to the same principle. But not in the case of Madörin’s work. He, in contrast, points the finger at the truth, shows the contradictions between unspoiled nature and the tourism industry, the solitude and mass consumption, expectations and reality. Madörin therefore challenges the usual understanding of the beauty of the landscapes, of what is widely perceived as attractive and part of local concepts of identity. In his unconventional perspective, Madörin is fostering a new aesthetics, which are not only gracious, but also offer new ways to read and understand a place.

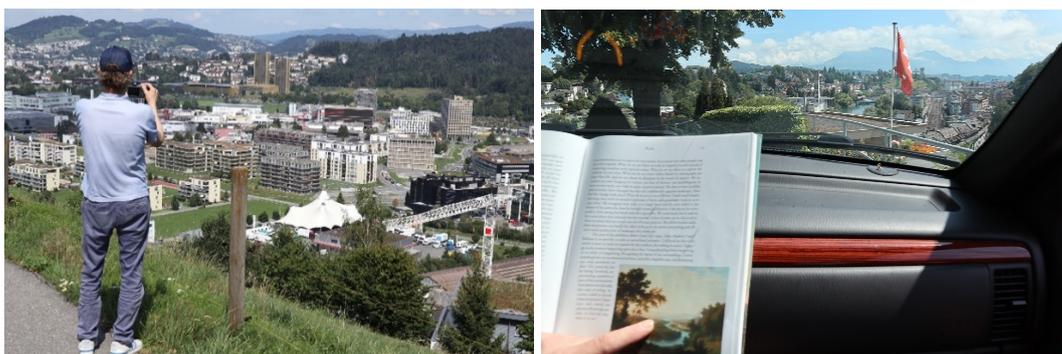


Figure 71: Madörin searching for an angle to capture Zünd’s view, using his paintings as a basis

Theatre

Tourism development is also dealt with in artistic performances like theatrical plays and musicals. I shall describe three recent examples, starting with a musical called *The Wonder of Lucerne* at *Le Théâtre im Gersag* at Emmen, just outside Lucerne. I shall then focus on a rather humoristic production at the *Kleintheater Luzern*, a small theatre that commissioned a piece called *Visit Pyöngyang* for its 50th anniversary. And finally, I shall look at the municipal *Luzern Theater*, which in late 2020 staged a piece called *Souvenir* as a contemplation on tourism and the current pandemic situation in the city.

The Wonder of Lucerne, a critical musical of a place of play

The Musical *Das Wunder von Luzern* [The Wonder of Lucerne] was staged in autumn 2018 and dealt with the ongoing touristification of the town. According to the website of the organizer, it is “a funny, ironic, fast-paced musical that deals with Lucerne’s development as a tourist city and low-tax paradise”. The piece depicts Lucerne as a Disneyland-style theme park in 2033 and thus poses the critical question of how the city wants to develop in future. By putting the flags of China and Russia on the two steeples of the St. Leodegar Church, which has been transformed into a commercial



shopping mall open 24/7, the billboard of the theatre production (see Fig. on the left) already gives a clear indication of where the piece is pointing. Lucerne is sketched as a place of amusement, where Bachmann (the increasingly dominant bakery) is present alongside fast-food stalls offering burgers. It therefore depicts a selling out of culture, a commercialization of the city’s soul, which is proclaimed in this narrative. In the musical, a mysterious ghost from the 17th century comes to the city to prevent its cultural and financial decline. Obviously, this ghost does not exist in reality, so people are indirectly urged to take the development of the place into their own hands.

Figure 72: The Wonder of Lucerne © MachArt Musicals, Design Susann Buchholz (2018)

resorts, such as the rebuild Hallstatt in China (see, for example, Steinle 2017) absolutely make sense to him. In his view, “tourism could also take place at the old military airport in Emmen. There one could build a wooden bridge, a historical village and everything else needed, to unload the tourists, bus by bus. That would not be a problem for me” (ibid., Pos. 107). He explained this cynical proposal as follows: “Such replica cities are only a problem as long as you believe that the tourists are seriously interested in the people” (ibid., Pos. 109), which according to Fehlmann is rare.

These critical thoughts are all woven in one way or the other into his satirical piece on tourism. Irony plays an important role in sceptically reflecting on tourism, as Christoph rather wants to highlight the controversies, ambiguities, and manifold nature of the topic, rather than point with his finger and blame a particular actor. The discussion is complex and full of contradictions, which ideally make for an ironic piece of theatre, but it also lays the ground for a more profound thespian treatment, as the next example shows.

A souvenir of tourism: (hey)days, not so long ago in the past

Souvenir is a play written by Giacomo Veronesi and staged by Nikolai Ulbricht. It deals with the effect the pandemic is currently having on tourism in Lucerne. It was developed by these two theatre-makers in autumn 2020 for staging in December. But not a stage in the strict sense, as the play is performed and enacted in public space. In groups of 12 the audience is guided through Lucerne by an actor, who performs the role of a tour guide who has just lost his job because of the pandemic. “For almost two hundred years, Lucerne has been one of the most important travel destinations in Europe for people from all over the world. But now the visitors have disappeared from the city. The old town is extinct. Luxury watches tick alone in shop windows, Swiss quality chocolate spoils in warehouses” (Luzerner Theater 2020), states the teaser on the website. In the form of a philosophical but playful stroll through the city, the audience experiences Lucerne from a different angle, encountering well-known sites and situations from fresh and unconventional perspectives. The piece not only questions the tourism development in Lucerne, but it also addresses the more overarching problems that emerge when contemplating travel as such. “Why do we travel? Out of curiosity? Or out of a longing for intense experiences that give our life meaning? What is experience about? What do we expect from the experience? Or about the experience itself?” (ibid.). The performance is a half-live, half pre-recorded itinerary through the streets and alleys of Lucerne, on which the consequences of the crisis are painfully evident. Several stakeholders raised their voices on the tour: a real redundant tour guide now working as a nurse in an old people’s home, and the manager-owners of the Casagrande souvenir shop and the Grand Hotel Schweizerhof, who both recounted their personal stories of the lock-down in March. In addition to these contemporary witnesses, a PhD candidate in tourism studies writing his thesis about ‘living with tourism in Lucerne’ (apparently myself) contributed to the piece, sharing his understanding of tourism with the two theatre professionals, and participating in the pre-recorded interview, which was then played during the guided city stroll.

The piece was well received by both the audience and the media, but ironically the pandemic itself upset the plans for it. After only three presentations the new regulations of the Swiss government forced the Luzerner Theater to stop their performances, as the audience was above the limit of five people. Even though most of the theatre play was held outdoors, some of the itinerary took place in closed buildings, such as the water tower, the Casagrande souvenir shop or the Grand Hotel Schweizerhof. As a result, the effects of the pandemic on tourism were experienced in greater reality than the theatre play originally intended.

Illuminating art in public space

A similar change of perspective on the well-known cityscape was stimulated for many city dwellers by the Lilu light festival. This is a yearly festival that takes place in January, when hotel beds are usually empty and only a few tourists are visiting the place. The Lucerne tourism board and the Lucerne hotel association each invested half a million Swiss Francs in organizing and promoting the event and did so with great success: 2019 was only the second time it had been held, and people were already embracing the cultural festival as a yearly tradition. Judith, an interview partner, stated: “Yes, I was there too. I think it’s a great thing. But there was such a buzz about the festival in advance, everyone just posted in social media about it, that I was almost a bit disappointed in reality. But I like to go there, and I think it’s good they do something like it. I will definitely go again next year” (Interview 27, Pos. 153).

In the ten days of the festival, nineteen light installations illuminated the facades of the old town and the adjoining area. Monumental hotel buildings, the town hall, churches, and the iconic water tower were all projected by light animation or moving sculptures. And these projections were not only of aesthetic value, often they also contemplated the city, even referring to tourism issues, thereby contributing to joint reflection about the urban landscape and the place’s identity. The *call for projects* by the festival organizer accordingly states: “There is no specific festival theme, but projects are included with a connection to the city and region of Lucerne”. This request is met, for example, by the piece called *Mutatio*, which was projected just next to the Reuss bridge. In the festival brochure, Lucerne as a city is described as subject to constant change: “But what remained is tourism. Stays from guests from all over the world are the order of the day, and the selfie culture is ubiquitous. When visitors climb the podium, they become part of the installation. While you can decide for yourselves about the subject of the photo with a selfie, this situation is reversed with *Mutatio*. Outsiders from the other side of the Reuss decide on the background motif” (Lilu festival 2020). When I visited the installation on an organised guided tour, I asked a fellow participant what she thought when the tourism aspects, such as the selfie-culture, are discussed in such installations? “I think that’s basically good”, my interview partner replied; “after all, tourism is very present in the city, so it’s logical to make it the topic of an exhibition” (Interview 23, Pos. 38).



Figure 74: Installation on flying medusas and on the selfie-culture at the Lilu light festival Lucerne

Also, the next installation on the chapel bridge refers to local circumstances by projecting the historical milestones of the bridge chronologically onto the water tower, including the fire of 1986. The booklet explains the following: “This Lucerne landmark reports on its 700-year-old history. There’s a lot to tell: a dungeon, an archive, a treasure, a shot, a dead stork. What other events and

secrets are hidden behind the thick walls of the water tower? The visual artist François Chalet takes us on an audio-visual roller coaster ride through the past” (Leaflet of the Lilo festival 2020). The artist is also a lecturer at the Lucerne University of Applied Sciences and Arts (Design and Arts), and he specifically aims to emphasize the peculiarities of the city. This local referencing is appreciated by the visitors and renders the light festival more exceptional. Or as the guide on the above tour put it: “This also makes our light festival unique and not so easily interchangeable with similar projects, such as in Murten or in Lenzerheide. It is important to show local identity” (ibid., Pos. 43).

This local face is also showcased by the installation at the façade of Hotel Schweizerhof. The boutique chocolate manufacturer *Max Chocolatier* runs an exclusive shop within the hotel premises. This fact is also the subject of the story “The Magnificent Chocolate Hotel”. The Lilo booklet explains: “In Max Chocolatier’s small factory, chocolatiers create small masterpieces out of chocolate with precision and passion. Of course, such fine craftsmanship does not escape the illustrious guests of the Schweizerhof, and they cannot resist the handmade delicacies. But nothing works without you. You control the chocolate machine and set the pace of production. But be careful - there is a risk of overheating!” (Lilo festival 2020). In this interactive installation, where the audience are activated and included in the performance, several touristic aspects and Swiss-brand premises are dealt with. By drawing on the hospitality culture, the tradition of handicraft, precision industries and chocolate manufacture, this artwork references attributes that parallel the image maintained of a tourist place. The traditional understanding of Lucerne is not challenged in such performances: on the contrary, by playing on the conventional attributes, the image of the tourist city is reinforced and stabilised. Whereas some installations were more critical-reflective (as, for example, the one with the selfie-installation), others referred more to the marketing aspects of the tourism destination, with a piano installation drawing on the renowned classical musical festival, illumined swans cruising on the lake or simply showing off Lucerne’s iconic landmarks. Nevertheless, the festival attracted many visitors, the majority of whom came from Lucerne and its region and offered them a new perspective on well-known views.

Conclusion

Practices of critical reflection deal with tourism in many different ways. By collectively contemplating on the situation today, the people of Lucerne are digesting what is currently happening in their place. Practices of critical reflection are a means of contextualising city life and re-considering the image and self-understanding of the place. Such practices are actively negotiating the many attributes of the city as such, defining and re-defining what Lucerne is all about. By reflecting and articulating thoughts on tourism, the place is actively shaped, co-constructed and enriched with importance and meaning.

In such reflections, many aspects are considered. These could include dimensions of the past, as set out in academic lectures, guided tours in museums, or publications about and opening speeches on exhibitions and artistic interventions in public space. While dealing with the historic coming into being of tourism, sometimes melancholy and nostalgia become apparent. Earlier periods are perceived as more worthwhile, with greater respect between locals and visitors, more in-depth interactions and generally ‘better’ tourism. By celebrating the past, simultaneously a certain criticism of the contemporary situation becomes apparent. There is a lot of wishful thinking involved in this process of remembering, ignoring the many aspects the people of those days had already been complaining about.

In reflecting on what tourism is all about, the uniqueness of the place can also be carved out. By letting artists think what Lucerne is particular known for, an interesting form of marketing has been developed. The Lilo light festival, for example, not only illuminates facades of the old town to make them more attractive for visitors by providing nice backdrops for photographs. The festival also feeds a narrative about the value of tourism, embedding it in a wider storytelling which includes historical facets, broader contextualisation, and personal relatedness. Reflecting practices is therefore by no means only critical, blaming tourism for its negative consequences and urging a different development. Practices of critical reflection can be equally supportive, adding further input into the debate by means of its explanatory value. In particular the various contributions by different stakeholders in public talks are stimulating a serious debate by drawing on an enhanced democratic understanding of political arguments.

In dealing with the current situation, ironic or sarcastic traits also come into play. Humour is a playful means of juxtaposing different positions on tourism, demonstrating contradictions and negotiating one's own ambiguous stance. Self-irony can reveal uncertainties but at the same time manifest poise and self-confidence by addressing the topic directly and examining it from all angles. Irony can also be used to articulate grievance and disagreement, without explicitly naming the problem or even opposing it. Rather, a sarcastic exaggeration of a situation or a witty allusion to it can draw attention to a concern. This practice can also serve as a safety-valve and reduce pent-up frustration in a humorous way. Urbain (1991:25) states that humour can remove a certain discomfort towards tourists, but that satire ultimately contributes more to the spread and trivialization of prejudices, rather than helping reduce them. Practices of irony can therefore also be understood as a preliminary stage of protest and resistance. These never arise by chance, but always articulate a conscious state and embody a correspondingly stable posture, as has already been outlined by the author elsewhere (Eggli and Stock 2020).

The next section of this chapter will now investigate these practices of protest and resistance. They have different intentions and degrees of intensity but will always be directly addressed to the controversial idea of 'living with tourism' in Lucerne.

5.6 Practices of protest and resistance

People in Lucerne react very differently to the diverse practices of 'living with tourism' as outlined in the earlier sections of this chapter. There are many responses, interactions, and counter-tactics to the *mundane practices* people are faced with on a daily basis. We have seen, for example, how people react to other people crossing the streets by honking their horns and thus expressing their discomfort with pedestrians not obeying the traffic rules (Interview 7, Pos. 9). We have also seen counter-tactics when bumping into *extraordinary practices*, such as photographing, with people walking on purpose into others' snapshots (Interview 2, Pos. 34) or deliberately stooping into a picture (Interview 32, Pos. 47). Equally there are practices of protest and resistance towards sightseeing tours, as, for example, with the city train. One interview partner recalled that some people take such city tours to joke ironically about the other passengers and jibe at their practice of roaming around the place (Interview 32, Pos. 48). These are all spontaneous, small-scale, and isolated actions that constitute *tactics* in De Certeau's sense, as opposed to *strategies*, which are developed and executed by the powerful, such as city governments or landowners: "a tactic is an art of the weak" (De Certeau 2005:219). Tactics are performed in the field of the enemy, in the space of the other, and they challenge existing power relations, the ruler's dominance and the system's established regulations. In contrast to strategies, which are aimed at the long-term and based on territorial control, foresight,

and the systematic mastering of space, tactics are subversive, challenging the status quo by being full of trickery and wit. De Certeau states that “a tactic is determined by the absence of power just as a strategy is organized by the postulation of power” (ibid.:220), which, however, doesn’t make tactics any less powerful. We have seen several subversive tricks in dealing with tourism, for example, when encountering a chestnut seller promoting a higher quantity of chestnut portions. It is about the many small, sometimes tiny elements that constitute a bigger picture when they are assembled into a broader collective entity.

I shall now discuss in more detail three concrete forms of protest and resistance, all articulated in public space. The first is a piece of graffiti challenging the economic practices of the watch and jewellery industry, the second a performance by art students questioning the joint use of public space by tourists and locals, and the third is a grassroots initiative for the preservation of a local neighbourhood street. These practices can all be understood as varieties of De Certeau’s tactics, as they are subversive, uncontrolled, and challenge the dominant discourse of tourism development in Lucerne.

Just another graffiti on the wall

Let us start with the first example, a piece of graffiti on a hoarding on a construction site. The building lot is located in the middle of the old town, not far from Schwanenplatz. Before the construction, the building housed a department store, which is now being refurbished and fully renovated. As we saw in the section on *Practices of creating economic value*, many of the stores in central locations are turning into tourism businesses, mainly into watch and jewellery stores. This was exactly what was apprehended in this case, which led an anonymous person to smear the following words on the hoarding: “Chond do au nomolen Uhrelade hi?” (See Fig 73 below), which literally translated means “Is there another watch store coming here?” This graffiti should therefore not be misjudged as plain vandalism or as an act of scratchwork, but rather as the expression of a thought-through concern about the further touristification of the city centre. That this concern is not unjustified but is rooted in a generally ongoing change in the fabric of the retail structure, the orientation of commerce and target marketing was also expressed in various interviews (for example Interview 1, 2, 5 among others). Also, Vivienne and Peter understand the subtext of the graffiti and shared its message: “I understand”, said Peter, “that the person who wrote the graffiti probably thinks there are already enough watch shops in Lucerne. Especially on the other side, but actually here too”, he said, pointing to the watch shop just opposite. “So, he means another watch shop is too much”, reflecting the stance of Vivienne and Peter: “Yes, I hope something nicer comes here [...]”, said Vivienne, “for example, something charitable” (Interview 29, Pos. 73-76). The purpose of such buildings at this central location is therefore highly disputed. Despite it being privately owned, there is a relevant public interest in its use. The building’s focus and orientation are shaping the leisure facilities, enabling specific activities, and depict a specific image of the city. It is therefore the tactics of the weak, the reaction of the voiceless, of those who are not involved in city planning, property speculation and party politics, who are opposing this development by scribbling objections on the wall. It might be just a small element, a negligible piece of graffiti, but because it is rooted in a collective anxiety, which evokes other subversive elements, it can be regarded as piece of a puzzle, which, when put together, constitutes something greater than simple the addition of its distinct elements.



Figure 75: Graffiti on a construction site asking if there is another watch store coming here?

Graffiti in Lucerne, however, not only point the finger precisely at a concrete nuisance, such as the feared conversion of the retail store; they also address more general feelings about ‘living with tourism’, as the next example will show.

The local/tourist divide

In an artistic intervention by the Design and Arts Department of the Lucerne University of Applied Sciences and Arts, students have been writing in chalk on the sidewalk at the Seebrücke. This was meant to provoke other city dwellers using of space, one of the students involved told me in a brief conversation. By dividing the sidewalk into a left and right side and respectively allocating locals to one and tourists to the other, a separation of these two apparently distinct actors is effected. And because the two terms *tourist* and *local* are both written in both English and in Chinese, the addressee of the message is made clear. International tourists from overseas are meant to walk on the right-hand side, whereas native Lucerne people should use the left-hand side. This separation draws on the practices of the apartheid regime, where people of colour were not allowed to use the same space as their white-skinned fellow citizens. But this was not the actual starting point of the project, the student told me, but rather about the two distinct forms of roaming the city, one characterized by greater speed, more straightforwardly with a concrete purpose in mind (such as the workplace, a fixed date or something else), while the other is more leisurely, leaving space for occasional pauses, posing for photographs, and admiring the beauty of the (right-hand) panorama. The action was performed in summer 2018 and drew inadvertently on a similar performance in New York City, where “a prankster painted lanes for locals and tourists” on Fifth Avenue as the *New York Post* reported on 20 May 2010. The article states that “[s]omeone has finally come up with a way to keep New Yorkers from being driven mad by slow-moving tourists who get in their way — dividing the sidewalk into separate lanes for residents and out-of-towners”. People interviewed in the article thought this presumedly artistic performance was meant to be funny, but they also underscored its serious side: “New York tourists are annoying. They stop, look around, take pictures, and hold me up”, a local resident was quoted as saying, and continued: “I don’t know if the lanes could be enforced, but it would be nice. For now, I’ll just keep walking around them” (Sutherland 2010).



Figure 76: Dividing lines in NYC and Lucerne by ©Mark Armstrong and © Timo Ohnmacht.

This last statement makes it clear that the two artistic performances are not hanging loose in space but referencing an actual problem for many city-dwellers. As Stock (2018) has noted, actors have different ways of inhabiting the city, making it “an illusion to see the resident and the tourist as equivalent category of inhabitants when visiting the city because of a different mastering of the urban space. For the former, the urban space is experienced as a familiar space where different spatial problems (such as orientation, accessibility through transport, knowledge) are mastered. For the latter, the urban space is experienced as a space of otherness, where even the most mundane elements (such as food, drink, public transport, traffic) are elements of excitement” (ibid.:8). This different mastering of space also influences the velocity, movement, and flow of the pedestrians, which is causing the problem being criticized. Creating different pedestrian lanes for tourists and locals therefore simply emphasises, exaggerates, and exacerbates an existing circumstance in a trenchant way. By means of such artistic performances, salt is rubbed in the wound and widely shared concerns are articulated. The reactions to the art school project in Lucerne have also been many, the involved student told me, ranging from people showing some understanding of this provocative act to others who found it racist and unacceptable.

An angel fighting for its street

The third example of practices of protest and resistance is captured at Steinenstrasse, a Lucerne neighbourhood street with some alternative artists’ shops, owner-led retail stores and colourful residential homes. The street is near the Lion Monument, but is not that popular for tourists, even though there is a quite fascinating *trompe-l’œil* painting at the end of the street, which extends the visual axis with made-up houses. There is only one hotel, the low-budget Lion Lodge, which mainly caters to backpackers and other individual tourists. However, the owner of the Lion Lodge aims to rebuild the rather run-down premises and turn it into a three-star hotel. This created particular concern, opposition emerging to this project for two reasons, explained Marc-André Roth, the president of the borough association involved: “First, the hotel wants to expand much further into the street and also to grow in height. Where balconies once faced into Steinenstrasse, a new house facade is now to be built (see Figure 77 below). However, this would destroy the character of the Steinenstrasse, as it changes the alignment and axis of the street scene and gives the neighbours a wall in front of their own house entrance. In addition, such an enlargement should not be legally possible because the Steinenstrasse is in protection zone B. This forbids the demolition of houses unless it is economically and technically not otherwise possible”, Marc-André Roth explained (Interview 7, Pos. 64). And second, local residents are fighting for another reason: “If a backpacker

hostel, the Lion Lodge, is to become a three-star hotel, that is, the Lion Hotel, then that will also attract other guests. And most likely group tourists who are driven up in coaches. Nobody here has anything against backpackers, that also fits well the spirit of Steinenstrasse. But they don't want group tourists here. And nor does anyone want the extra traffic with the tour coaches. Where do they want to stop and turn anyway?" Marc-André Roth asked doubtfully (ibid., Pos. 65).



Figure 77: The Lion Lodge from front and back, with the *trompe-d'œil* at Steinenstrasse

Therefore, residents are joining forces to obstruct the building project. They have founded an organization, the *Verein Pro Steinenstrasse*, which has already collected 1,745 signatures to preserve the street in its original character. The artist Caesar Balmer is one of these activists, who lives just opposite the Lion Lodge: "He told me that he would be moving out as soon as the hotel comes", Mr. Roth said (Interview 7, Pos. 68). The construction plans of the hotel development are attached to the wall of his workshop (see. Figure 77). This makes the planned building extension publicly visibly. On the window of his studio there is also a poster advertising a benefit concert to raise money for the ongoing protest with the slogan "Fight for your street". On the poster there is also a guardian angel, a symbolic figure of resistance designed by the artist Caesar Balmer. This symbol is also made from poured cement and sold in his shop. So far, the resistance has been successful, as administrative court has decided that more documentation is needed to continue with the application", Marc-André Roth told me on a subsequent stroll about a year later. "The canton of Lucerne has not been sufficiently clear about whether a renovation is economically unreasonable. There are insufficient reports or tenders to prove that. But there need to be concrete renovation projects to decide whether these are economically justifiable or not", Mr. Roth explained, and concluded "this will probably not prevent the project, but it will delay it" (Interview 26, Pos. 68-69). The protests and resistance are therefore a matter of tilting at windmills, but nevertheless they are being conducted with verve and enthusiasm. By doing so, the advantages and disadvantages of tourism development are carefully investigated, considered, and balanced, and the sore points identified.



Figure 78: Plans, posters, and symbols of resistance at Steinenstrasse

5.7 Conclusion of chapter

We have seen in this chapter that people do not simply support or oppose tourism but are dealing in manifold ways with the touristic aspects of their city. People are inhabiting their place with an array of different practices, all relating, co-constituting, and shaping Lucerne and its urban character. This nuanced way of interacting with tourism is opening up a fluid reading of the place concerning entanglement of the different practices that resonate mutually in space and weave the fabric of the city. In this understanding, it is less about the number of people frequenting a place and more about how these people inhabit, deal with, and depict city life. This is a contrast to the conventional notion of *overtourism*, a concept that mainly relies on its container-like understanding of the limited carrying capacity of a place. This dissertation thus argues that it is about how people actively practice their mundane lives in a tourist place and thus shape it. It is about their extraordinary dealing with the cityscape when visiting and admiring it. It is about drawing the economic benefits out of tourism and about how these benefits (and their related costs) are distributed among the people. It is about how tourism development is contemplated, how it is digested and dealt with. And in the end, it is about how people react to these processes when they oppose rather than agree with the city's current tourism development. All these practices are closely related to each other and complete for the meaning and purpose of a place. They are “thrown together”, to use Massey's idea (2012:154), controversially disputed and constantly arranged and re-arranged to form a tourist place. It is through practice, through the “negotiation of intersecting trajectories” that a place unfolds as an “arena” (ibid.), as a place where power struggles are held, where combats are fought, where meaning and interpretation are excelled. The decisive question now is, whose practices are dominant, which actor gets the upper hand, whose reading prevails? It is a constant controversy, which is never finished and always starts anew. As a result, the spaces of tourists and the spaces of locals are continually merging, and what were formerly conceptualized as separated front- and backstage areas (MacCannell 1976) turn into an overall contested, mutually produced and jointly lived space.

By investigating *mundane practices*, we have been strolling the streets, places, and alleys, sitting on benches, and passing time in the public realm. We have seen that, even though the activities of the different actors might be similar, they differ in scope, meaning, and content. Practices are informed by varied cultural backgrounds, different norms and understandings, and different forms of motivational knowledge. People practicing mundane everyday tasks, like shopping or using public transport, have different ways of mastering space, use distinct codes and readings, and therefore deal differently with space. This can lead to misunderstandings, conflicting standards, and naïve demands, which all feed into the debate on *overtourism*.

These differentiated dealings with space become particularly obvious when we examine *extraordinary practices*, those that do not happen every day and are mostly allocated to those who are foreign to a place. While the view of the lake, the adjoining mountains and the historical monuments of Lucerne might be commonplace for many regular city-dwellers, it causes excitement for others, who are new to Lucerne and not yet that acclimatized. Such people, often tourists, inhabit the place with extraordinary practices, like admiring the landscape, taking pictures, or even joining a sightseeing tour. While the claims of the people differ, their use of space is equally varied, sometimes even opposing and therefore conflicting.

Some actors harness the claims of the visitors, their quest for the authentic, their desire for the extraordinary, their desire to uncover the unknown, and to experience something valuable to remember. Businesses have arisen along the tourism flows, catering for over 200 years to the needs and wants of the city's guests through their *economic practices*. By adopting offers and services to the requirements of the visitors, altering language and communication, and adjusting quality and price, a so-called touristification of the city space is unfolding. There is a perceived unfairness in this development, as only a few gain in this process, while most of the others must bear the costs, such as losing well-known habitats, compromising on their identity, self-esteem and understanding, and countenancing the increased volume of traffic on the streets, lakes, and railways.

These consequences are openly dealt with and discussed in public. What kinds of tourism suit Lucerne? How and why did all this emerge? And where should this development finally lead to? To answer these and other questions, several public meetings have been held, debating controversially the meaning, relevance, dependencies, contradictories, and excesses of tourism in town. Also, artistic performances play a relevant role in jointly digesting current developments, embedding them in an encompassing context and giving them a new, sometimes ironic, sometimes nostalgic twist. In *practices of critical reflection* purposes and meaning of tourism in Lucerne are actively contemplated and thought through.

Tourism is often also questioned and opposed by the subversive tactics of the weak. Some *practices of protest and resistance* form a countermovement to the dominant development. We have seen graffiti questioning the conversion of the retail structure (such as watch and jewellery stores) and the use of public space (such as sidewalks), as well as initiatives against the construction of tourist infrastructure (such as hotels). These forms of protest are challenging the ongoing touristification of the city and deploying resistance to the powers that be.

All these practices, which are captured in the field of Lucerne, meticulously observed, and densely described, are not isolated in space. On the contrary, they all relate to one another, referring in tone, breath, and intensity to the further practices that are present in this place. Practices resonate in space, like musical instruments in orchestras, to draw on Ingold's (1993:65) analogy. They interact with each other, they adapt, subdue, or harmonize, but they are never without ramifications and connectivity. Practices mingle with each other, constituting a gigantic maze of practices, forming bundles of equal but distinct parts, and unfolding in practice plenums, as Schatzki (2019:80) suggests.

Chapter 06: Places

6.1 Introduction: Three places of scrutiny, where it all accumulates

The third and final chapter of the empirical part of this dissertation will now bring together the people and their practices in three distinct places. I shall investigate three localities where the “practice plenum” (Schatzki 2019:80) unfolds in Lucerne. These places have not been chosen randomly but have emerged out of the empirical material gathered in interviews, city strolls and the various encounters with involved inhabitants. The different strings of arguments are woven together in these particular localities, the amalgam of practices melts and the intensive dealing with tourism can therefore be illustrated with examples. I shall consider how these places are negotiated, dwelled, and made meaningful by the people and their practices. Certainly, these three places do not stand apart from one other, nor do the practices, nor the people. Instead, they all relate to one another, mutually influencing and correlating. These places therefore do not stand loose in space but are rooted in a general understanding of Lucerne, referring to a broader and more encompassing place identity, and contributing its own relevant share to it.

We will see that places are not stable, but constantly evolving, adapting, and changing in a sometimes fruitful, sometimes contested interplay of different actors. Places are like ships, as Sheller and Urry have noted, “moving around and not necessarily staying in one location” (2006:14). Sheller and Urry describe places as “dynamic places of movement”, which are travelling themselves, “slow or fast, greater or shorter distances, within networks of human and nonhuman agents” (ibid.). A place therefore does not stay as it is but develops according to trends and influences of the outside world, needs and wants of the people dwelling in it, and the manifold practices going along with it. Places are shaped, moved, interpreted, and re-interpreted by the mundane, extraordinary, economic, reflective, and resistant practices of their inhabitants. Places are therefore “about relationships, about the placing of peoples, materials, images, and the systems of difference that they perform” (ibid.), drawing on a city’s constant genesis and demise by means of the dynamic, encompassing, and fluid production of place.

I therefore dedicate this chapter to three places which are not necessarily in the eye of the hurricane, as the overall debate on *overtourism* is mainly focused on the traffic problems of tour coaches at Inseli, Löwenplatz, and Schwanenplatz and at the ‘herds’ of tourists who flock over Chapel Bridge and flood the historic old town. Nevertheless, the three distinct locations are heavily linked to what is happening in the centre, whether by being an integral part of the founding period about two centuries ago (like the Lion Monument), being located exactly between the two main hotspots of tour coach parking, namely the Löwenplatz and the Schwanenplatz (like the Migros Schweizerhof) or functioning like a counterpart to the city centre (like the borough of Hirschmatt-Neustadt).



Figure 79: Three places of scrutiny: The Lion Monument, the Migros supermarket, and the Neustadt

In the following I shall investigate the manifold elements, dynamic processes, and entangled structures through which these places are performed. First, I shall take a close look at the Lion Monument, a place of remembrance, but also a place for sightseeing, strolling, sojourning, eating ice cream, going to the loo, doing business, winning over fellow believers, performing art, reflecting on tourism, and opposing it in organized gatherings. It is a place full of contrasting interests, manifested in different sorts of practices and performances, where a wide array of different people with their respective cultural backgrounds, motivational interests, and embodied knowledge gather and together constitute a place of their own.

Second, I shall look at a supermarket, a mundane place for many, but at the same time an extraordinary destination for others. I shall consider the images, narratives, and materialities this place bears and the products and services it offers. A supermarket is not only a place to run errands, but a politically contested place, one where interests collide, meaning is negotiated, and a balanced use of space must be carefully managed and constantly striven for. I shall look at payment methods, take-away dishes, mobile app services, signboards, and stocks of comestibles.

The third section will then look at a spatially broader perimeter, encompassing an entire borough of Lucerne. By comparing the quarter of Hirschmatt-Neustadt with other Lucerne boroughs, in particular the city centre with its old town, interesting relationships will be unearthed. The Neustadt

(literally ‘New Town’) is more affected by tourism than is commonly thought, as the relationship to tourism is also fed indirectly. Many stores, cafés, and restaurants, ousted by tourism from the old town, are today nestling in New Town. Many people who try to avoid the increase in foreign tourism epicentres are shopping, sojourning, and mingling in a borough in the south of the city. This urban development attracts many city dwellers from all kinds of backgrounds, including tourists. What this means for potential tourism strategies, the often-cited dispersal of tourism flows, will be discussed at the end of the chapter. But first, I shall dwell on the Lion Monument, a central piece of Lucerne’s touristic history and its current self-understanding.

6.2 The Lion Monument: a *pièce de résistance*

The Lion Monument was built in 1821 by Lucerne patrician Carl Pfyffer to honour his fellow military officers of the Swiss guard who fell in the battles of the French Revolution in 1792 while defending the Tuileries Palace in Paris. The dying lion has been carved into a former sandstone quarry and surrounded by a little park and a water pond. The monument was designed by the then world-famous Danish artist Bertel Thorvaldsen and is today one of the most visited tourist attractions in Switzerland (Fischer 2019:2).

We encountered the lion on our sightseeing tour with the tourist train, while pausing for a few seconds outside the park, glancing over the wall, and seeing the monument from afar. We also approached it by e-tuk-tuk, driving up until we reached the pond, filling the void the absent tourists have left during the pandemic crisis. We have heard stories about unpaid bills and hidden messages in form of a pig graved in stone around the lion itself. And we have realized that one of the most visited tourist attractions is not necessarily ‘a must see’ for everyone, as shown by the example of the couple from Zurich, who have missed it out of their peregrinations so far. We also lingered with families from China and Belgium in the park and gazed at the monument, though the children of the first family were more fascinated by the snow, and of second by the modern self-cleaning toilet next to it, than the 200-year-old monument itself.

Selling one’s soul through tourism instead of being a mercenary

I shall now take a closer look to investigate the role the Lion Monument plays in the current debate in tourism. This means delving into the production of the site, and analysing the business models, imaginaries, and practices that go along with it. We shall see how people react to the tourism flows, and counter them with critical reflections, irony, and resistance. By doing so, I shall deal with the symbolic meaning of the monument: built for fallen Swiss soldiers backing French aristocrats, the monument also sealed the fate of 300 years of ongoing cooperation between the Swiss Guard and the Ancien Régime, which ended after the French Revolution. Christoph, the theatre-maker already encountered in the previous chapter, thinks the symbolic meaning of the monument is quite exceptional, if you compare it with what currently happens with tourism: “The irony is that the tourists have replaced the mercenaries as the main source of income [of Lucerne], as if they were paying homage to the monument”, and he compares Lucerne selling the city’s soul in the old days (to the French aristocrats), with it selling its soul today (to tourism).

“The monument was a huge story back then, a political dispute between the liberals and the conservatives, but nobody knows that anymore. And nobody cares”, said Christoph, continuing: “I can’t understand what the tourists want from it ... That is only of local historical significance; for someone from the USA, China, and Japan it has zero meaning” (Interview 32, Pos. 26-38). And as

for the Swiss, for them it is rather a dark spot in history than a glorious achievement to remember, as Andrea, an artist from Basel, claims: “After all, it honours Swiss mercenaries who fought against the French Revolution in Paris. That is not exactly easy to combine with our much-praised neutrality”, she stated, while also thinking that most people do not know what the monument stands for anyway.



Figure 80: Andrea Iten performing ‘à table’ an artistic intervention on the Lion Monument.

This ambiguous relationship between Lucerne and this monument also features in art festival L21, organized by *Kunsthalle Luzern* on the occasion of the Lion Monument’s bicentenary. Marcel Glanzmann, President of the Board of the *Kunsthalle*, explained in our conversation at a respective exhibition: “When we realized that the anniversary of the Lion Monument was coming up in 2021, we reacted immediately and planned an exhibition with sufficient advance notice. It was obvious that tourism plays a role in this. We wanted to approach the phenomenon from different perspectives. In Lucerne there is a split relationship with the monument, as it signals support for the royalists. The exhibition aims to shed light on this relationship and encourage Lucerne residents to grapple with their heritage” (Interview 21, Pos. 90-93). The artist involved in the exhibition explained her own motivation in approaching this topic: “Of course, tourism played a part in the project. You can’t think of the Lion Monument without tourism. But it was more about negotiating personal positions than explicitly about tourism” (ibid., Pos. 37). Andrea explained access to her performance ‘à table’, which included participatory gatherings of about six people around a British inspired teatime-table with subsequent group strolls through Lucerne, as follows: “There were always contacts and encounters with tourism on these walks. But I perceive tourism in Lucerne as two different bubbles that tend to work side by side and not necessarily with each other”. Andrea Iten recalled her experience of these joint city walks, which allowed her to show the personal places of the longings of the participants. “But we were once on the public bus while doing the project, and tourists got on at Schwanenplatz. That was a strong moment, that triggered something in the group. That was a kind of temporary society that resulted from it”, she noted, contextualizing the encounter she witnessed with different urban actors mingling together on public transport. “Basically, I think that people are curious about each other. It’s just difficult to get in touch. That goes for tourists as well as for locals. People just have practically nothing to do with each other” (Interview 21, Pos. 38-40). Thus, she provided a potential rationale for the lack of interaction between the different people who inhabit Lucerne.

Dropping coins and cars in the pond

In fact, many tourists are not that interested in the Monument itself either. There is no real involvement. It is rather about the beauty of the monument, its surface and appearance, than its historical context. Tourists use it as a picture backdrop and pose in front of the pond, where the lion sits quite impressively enthroned in his carved cave above. Already Mark Twain (1880) considered it “the most mournful and moving piece of stone in the world”, though one can never be sure how sincere he meant it. Some visitors drop a coin of fortune into the pond, which are then fished out by local children, as a neighbouring informant recalled: “My two sons, for example, always waited for the city to clean the fountain and then went in with their rubber boots to collect the coins. [...] Often there were coins from abroad too; you can’t do much with them anyway. My sons have since moved out, but they left the change behind” (Interview 7, Pos. 60), he smiled. Some tourists even left some banknotes in the pond, as spotted by Anton, our Belgium family father, who recognized the Chinese communist party’s figurehead Mao Zedong on a bill and declared with a twinkle in his eye: “Definitely a sign of tourism from China” (Interview 11, Pos. 20). It is through such practices, like leaving coins, taking photographs, and posing in front of it, that tourists proclaim the space and turn a historic heritage site into a tourist attraction. The Lion Monument in fact already served mainly touristic purposes ever since its inauguration two centuries ago, as Bürgi (2016:92) has noted.



Figure 81: Mao Zedong in the Lion’s pond, spotted by Anton and his family from Belgium.

Tourists not only claim, acquire, and connote the space by dropping coins and bills in a pond, sometimes they even drop their rental car in it. The president of the borough association recounted this anecdote: “It was a long time ago, but something really funny happened here. An American couple drove their rental car from Italy directly in front of the Lion Monument. It was already late at night, so there were no more people around, and everything was pretty dark. The two did not see the pond in front of the Lion Monument - and suddenly there was a huge slap and the two landed in the pool with the car. Of course, they couldn’t get out again without outside help” (Interview 7, Pos. 59), laughed Marc-André.

Touting the gullible (and something completely different)

Other guests would rather spend their money on ice cream or soda, which is available in a nearby kiosk at the Alpineum, than drop it into the pond. In the heydays of tourism, the Alpineum was a well-visited attraction with mountain panoramas, but today only a few antique examples remind one of the advent of 3D representations of the natural scenery of the Swiss Alps. A bar and café are located on the ground floor, serving mostly for the locals, as Marc-André Roth noted: “The café was

not do this with German or English leaflets, only with leaflets in Hindi and Mandarin. Even though the sect's members are not proficient in these languages, they address potential newcomers in their native tongue. This is because Jehovah's Witnesses are prohibited in China and not allowed to operate there, a member of the cult explained me. Therefore, potential believers are sought ought in foreign countries, who can then take home the leaflets on their own. This is not something that is done uniquely or spontaneously in Lucerne, but stems from a central strategy decided in Germany, the informant recalled. Nevertheless, the tourists react quite positively, and some are willing to take the information with them, he told me in our conversation. It is just very important to adapt the language of the leaflets to the country of origin of the group to which the tourist belongs currently, he said of this ploy.



Figure 83: A member of the Jehovah's Witnesses touting for followers from India and China.

Other companies also include the massive visitor flows from and to the Lion Monument in their business strategy, such as the Casagrande souvenir store. In 2017 the company took over the oldest existing souvenir store in Lucerne, just in front of the park gate to the Lion Monument (Jordan 2017). Strategically well located between the tour coach parking at Löwenplatz and Lucerne's main attraction, the store bids for the attention of the tourist groups walking by. A wooden carved lion, easily visible from the outside, lures the pedestrians inside the store, and the store offers a range of souvenir lions in all shapes and sizes. This is just like the beginning of the golden tourism age, when Twain already stumbled over the plethora of lions in Lucerne (1880:27). Twain satirically pointed out how the image of Switzerland was actively connoted by such exuberant efforts at symbolization. "The version of Switzerland more generally peddled rests on exactly such re-presentations as the 'mnemonic stereotypes' that symbolize the country as touristic place", notes Messent (2004:152ff) in his interpretations of Twain's work. He therefore stresses that tourism shaped the physical world not only with its trains, hotel monuments and cable cars, but equally also with its narrative, which stereotypes and overemphasizes the predominant images and actively co-shapes Swiss national identity.



Figure 84: A wooden lion lures customers into a souvenir paradise

Not all tourists find their way to the souvenir store: some desperately seek the Lion Monument itself. A graphic design bureau located not far from the monument experienced these circumstances first-hand, as they were constantly approached by disoriented tourists asking the way. Erich Brechbühl, one of the tenants told me that one day he and his colleagues got fed up with the many curious passers-by who were nosing around their studio, asking this and that and distracting them from work. However, a sign saying ‘do not disturb’ or ‘no photos’ would have been too lame and philistine for them. So, they opted for a more creative and subtle way of getting across the message. They chose to play ironically on Monty Python’s (1971) catch phrase “and now for something completely different”, which is generally known because of its repetitive use in the similarly named cult movie. The oversized sign hanging in front of their studio, translated literally from German, reads as follows: “The studio community Mixer has been located on the ground floor of this marvellous Lucerne townhouse, since 2003. The current workforce is noted on the doorbell [then switching into English]. And now for something completely different: Dear tourists, the Lion Monument isn’t here! To find it, please go back, make a right at the Old Swiss House and follow the Denkmalstrasse” (see Figure 85 below). By drawing on a humorous movie, a witty and ironic statement is made. The message is clear and put plainly – but not in a dull and boring way.

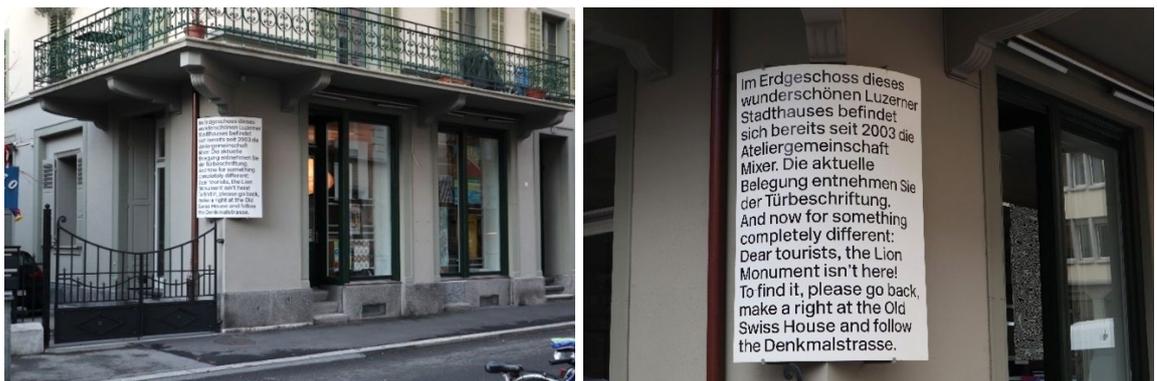


Figure 85: Ironic use of Monty Python’s catch phrase ‘and now for something completely different’.

Protesting still and loud

Such protest and resistance can arise from all different sorts of actors, who are unhappy with the current situation, whether tourists, locals or other involved inhabitants who dwell in the city. In the context of the Lion Monument there two faces that need illustrating. One concerns the frustrated tourist, who protested in a very specific manner, still and hidden, to point out an annoying situation.

The other concerns a public meeting to express equal unhappiness with the current situation but articulated loudly and obviously by locals against such tourists.

The first incident happened in summer 2013, at a time when there had been no public toilets in the Lion Monument park for over two years. The Lucerne city government adopted a masterplan for all public toilets in 2010 and wanted to modernize 29 toilettes in public space while closing 15 others. This was quite a large project costing CHF 2.5 million but reducing publicly available toilets by a third within Lucerne. As part of this scheme, the toilet in the Lion Monument park was considered redundant, disregarding the on average 500,000 tourists a year who visit the monument, as *Zentralplus* reported (Schweingruber 2013).

The outcome of this city policy was increased use of toilets in cafés, restaurants, and bars between the bus parking lot at Löwenplatz and the Lion Monument, which certainly did not please the respective managers. The newspaper quoted one offended restaurateur: “What should I do if twenty tourists are marching through our restaurant to the toilet at the same time?” (ibid.). The nearby cinema *Bourbaki* has chosen to protect their toilets with turnstiles and to provide entry tokens to paying guests only. This was the main policy at most of the gastronomic establishments surrounding the Lion Monument. Without consuming something, there is no free use of the premise’s toilets.

However, at the beginning of June 2013 “an apparently very desperate tourist” reacted in his own very specific way to this annoyance, and “relieved himself in a corner of the museum” at the Alpineum, as the *Luzerner Zeitung* reported (Schlöpfer 2013). The Alpineum owner, Daniel Hodel, was shocked and threatened to close his museum if the city government did not take adequate measures to solve the problem. The owner of the Alpineum even showed a photograph of the incident to a *Zentralplus* reporter: it depicted a dark corner between the umbrella stand and the main exit, which was full of excrement: “It was disgusting”, Hodel is cited as saying. “And something like that happens here in Lucerne. Worst of all, no one seriously cares about this toilet issue in the city government. The masterplan they have drawn up is fundamentally completely wrong”, he complained further to the newspaper (Schweingruber 2013).

Evidently, this form of resistance – one might say a silent protest note – brought about an immediate change of policy, as it made the unbearable situation visible and therefore no longer tolerable. The city government reacted by placing some mobile plastic toilets (normally for use at events and on construction sites) and reconsidered renovating the defunct toilet in the park and reopening it for public use. Through a protest made in secret, a powerful wake-up call went through the Lucerne media, urging politicians to take adequate measures.

The next form of protest is quite loud, fierce, and openly articulated, but no less powerful. It is about the *Invictis Pax Minifestival*, which is organized by the Alpineum café bar and the local borough association. It has taken place every year since 2012 in August (except for the summer of the pandemic) at a little chapel on the fringes of the Lion Monument park, just in front of the Alpineum. The chapel is inscribed with the words *Invictis Pax*, which stand for “peace to the undefeated”, as Marc-André translates these Latin words. “And that is also the name of the festival that the Alpineum organizes together with the Quartierverein Hochwacht [the local borough association he is the head of]. The festival is a form of protest, because once a year the square belongs to the Lucerne residents again. Then local bands play, and the whole day is a party until 10 p.m.” (Interview 7, Pos. 48).

It is all about reconquering public space, or as an article in the cultural magazine *041* stated, about re-arranging the streams by the numerous Lucerne spectators at the festival (Ruckli 2016). It is about showing a presence, taking over lost space that tourists have acquired over the last 200 years. “It’s not just about a street festival”, Mr. Roth assures me, “but about reclaiming the square” (Interview

7, Pos. 49). This is communicated accordingly, as it is important to gain the good-will of the neighbours for this event and to “appease the residents who find the noise too much” (ibid.).

This message is also shouted out good and loud by the organizers during the festival, when the crowd is urged by microphone to step closer to the scene, barricading the direct path of the tourists who are heading to the Lion Monument. “On 364 days [in the year], we have to adjust ourselves to the visitor flows, get pushed around and barged into, but on one day of the year it is us standing in the way, obstructing the others”, a visitor told me in a casual conversation at the festival in August 2019. I asked Marc-André Roth, who is co-organizing the event in his role as head of the borough association, what the city government thinks about the festival. “I doubt whether they really understand. Recently they came up to us with a request that it was important that the tourists are able to get through the spectators. We should sort of form a corridor. But that would run counter to the idea” (ibid., Pos. 50) he explained, alluding to the city simply turning a blind eye to the ongoing conflict through ignorance or simply incomprehension.

Yet not all spectators present at the festival are aware of the protests associated with the gathering. I talked on another occasion with two female festival visitors, who did not like the idea of it at all. “Hmm, we have actually been there. It was quite funny. But we didn’t really realize that it was directed against tourism”, the interviewee recalled. “To be honest, I don’t like that: tourists should actually be welcome. Of course, I prefer the individual travellers to the groups, they are sometimes a bit difficult. But after all, we travel too, and we want to be welcome too”, one of them said (Interview 34, Pos. 88-91).

Also, Christoph, the theatre-maker, does not back the idea of “reclaiming space”, even though I have met him at the festival too: “Honestly, I think it’s a bit of a joke about recapturing space. Look, of course the park is quiet here now [we were amid the pandemic during the interview], but it’s also quiet when it’s back in season. The tourists only come here at certain times of the day, otherwise it’s completely quiet. What do you want to recapture here?” Christoph asked rhetorically. “It’s totally peaceful here”, he said and pointed to the upper part of the park. “I even know someone who sometimes retreats here to read, it’s so quiet here” (Interview 32, Pos. 51-53).

But Christoph admits that the message of the festival is aimed precisely at this idea of reclaiming space: “Yes, of course, that’s totally the topic of the festival. It is certainly not a source of serenity. But I consider this to be an attitude. It’s a form of distancing. Or maybe just an excuse to get a close look at the tourists, he suggested finally (ibid., Pos. 37).

Conclusion

Inhabiting a place like the Lion Monument is a question of distance and proximity, of appropriation and rejection, of multiple use, intertwining narratives and subversive dealings. The first section of this chapter has shown how contested, politically negotiated, and fully charged with meaning, interpretation and attitude a place can be. Many actors in Lucerne, overtly or secretly, articulate their needs and wants regarding this very place. Such requirements can work in opposite directions, challenging or even mutually excluding each other. Through this multifaceted dwelling of place, a historical monument to mercenaries can turn into today’s controversy concerning *overtourism*. It constitutes a so-called ‘hotspot’, as different practices accumulate and coalesce in a practice plenum, as suggested by Schatzki (2019). Different ideas, notions, materialities, handlings, doings and knowings meet each other, trying to make best use of the tourism flows, selling them souvenirs and overpriced tap water, or trying to persuade them about certain religious beliefs. Places are marked and claimed by dropping bills and coins, using them as a picture backdrop and distributing these

images on the worldwide web. Places can be collectively remembered, critically reflected on, and artistically performed, as various exhibitions on the bicentennial anniversary of the monument indicated. Places, or better the people inhabiting it, can also be joked at, and mocked. Irony plays an important role in blowing off steam and keeping anger away, while keeping the smile. Other reactions are less relaxed, as they articulate more sincere discontent and an immediate urge to change. Such practices of protest and resistance can be embodied and become physically manifest in public gatherings, while hindering tourists on their way to a sight. Tourist places, such as the Lion Monument, are full of controversies, hidden agendas, and open discontent, which are all manifested in practices. These practices are merged, forming bundles of practices and arrangements, which again connect with each other and form broader constellations, as Schatzki (2019) has noted. The Lion Monument can serve as a meeting point of such broader constellations, a place where they meet and intersect with other constellations, thus making up a single overall complex, the praxis plenum (ibid.: 80).

By unveiling the manifold use of the place and, uncovering the various approaches to dealing with it, a better understanding of the current situation is achieved. This will lead us in the final chapters to derive adequate solutions for how to manage and co-organize such places of public interest, substantial economic benefit and contested historical meanings in better ways. But before getting too much ahead of myself, I shall now turn the attention to a place with a rather mundane function, a supermarket on Hertensteinstrasse. This is not far from the Lion Monument, actually on the way from the Löwenplatz, where most of the tour coaches park, to the old town, where for example Schwanenplatz is located.

6.3 Migros Schweizerhof, a tightrope shopping place

The Migros Schweizerhof at Hertensteinstrasse is a popular supermarket for all kinds of people. Most of the customers use it for their everyday shopping, whether for their daily groceries, articles of everyday use or occasionally some take-away food. Other customers have a different approach, visiting this supermarket once in a lifetime for a rather touristic purpose. These different uses of place constitute an interesting field of research. In this section of the chapter, I shall deal with the distinct practices through which people shape, co-constitute, and acclaim a place commonly known as a supermarket.

The Migros Schweizerhof in Hertensteinstrasse was built in 2000 by Swiss architects Diener and Diener as a three-aisled basilica, with references to the courts, trade halls and markets used in Ancient Rome. A Lucerne historian explains this relationship as follows: “Christian church construction cultivated this type of building until the baroque and again in the 19th century. When a Migros was built next to the Matthäuskirche in 2000, it too was given the shape of a basilica, a modern market hall as a continuation of an ancient tradition. The old basilica is reflected in the windows of the new one. It couldn’t have been done better (Messmer 2020). The new building therefore does not match the adjoining buildings, such as the existing church, nor the Belle Époque buildings of the Grand Hotel Schweizerhof, which are also shown on the walls of Migros Schweizerhof and from which its name is derived.

Overall renovation with tourist adaption

In 2017 the building had to undergo a complete renovation. This opportunity was seized on by the Migros management to adapt processes, reposition offers and organize visitor flows better also. For example, the Migros subsidiary *Chocolat Frey* was given a dedicated surface as a *shop-in-a-shop* in the entrance area to be able to promote its products better. According to Admir Sinanovic, the store manager of Migros Schweizerhof, there are only two chocolate booths like this in Switzerland, “one at Zurich Airport and the other one here. Chocolat Frey was responsible for the renovation and the concept. This was done as part of the overall renovation of Migros Schweizerhof. We had to be technically revised, but such conceptual adjustments were also made on this occasion. For this means we were advised by the company Trade Marketing Intelligence. This is an agency for the design of sales areas that arose from the activities of Migros, but now acts independently” (Interview 3, Pos. 16), the store manager recalled.



Figure 86: Chocolat Frey deli counter with Chinese speaking staff and moving chocolate fountain

The chocolate booth has a large deli counter with an oversized moving chocolate fountain, which attracts the attention of those entering the supermarket. It sells fresh pralines, some of them nicely packed in Lucerne-style chocolates boxes. The salesperson looking after the deli counter is professionally dressed in a black kitchen apron and a labelled chef’s hat, who we have already met Chapter 04 in the person of Dominic.

The Chinese adore the wide range of chocolate available in the Migros supermarket, but it is not only Chinese tourists who benefit from “the largest offer on chocolate as in any other Migros in Switzerland” (Interview 3, Pos. 19) Admir Sinanovic explained: “With regard to chocolate, sales are around fifty/fifty between locals and guests. Chinese guests particularly appreciate the promotions and are not looking especially for branded items, while Migros Budget [the cut price line] is particularly popular with the Indians” (ibid., Pos. 21). But regarding chocolate sales figures, the Migros Schweizerhof always ranks first in central Switzerland, the store manager explained, not without pride.



Figure 87: Chinese group tourists buying chocolate by the kilo, mainly in its budget edition

This might also be ascribed to the nicely illuminated mountain panoramas surrounding the chocolate booth. The peaks of the nearby mountains of Rigi, Pilatus and Titlis have been carved into wooden planks to try and give the feel of an authentic Swiss chalet. Some of in this scenery is also depicted three large screens showing a mixture of flag throwing, alphorn blowing and other Swiss folklore activities, including the traditional handicraft of chocolate making. On these screens advertising claims in German, English and Chinese also appear, commemorating the brand image and heritage of Swiss chocolate, and giving the assortment an adequate display.



Figure 88: A mountain panorama with Rigi, Pilatus, and Titlis framing the Migros chocolate world

But chocolate is not the only item the supermarket is sought for. In particular Chinese tourists like to buy milk powder and baby nutrition *en gros*, explains Mr. Sinanovic. This is because of yet unexposed Chinese food scandals, which has caused mistrust in local products and increased esteem for their Swiss counterparts even more. Most Chinese tourists therefore do not consume milk powder and baby nutrition on their travels themselves but take these articles home to friends and family as prestigious gift from Switzerland, just like chocolate. After a group of Chinese visitors has cruised through the supermarket, very often the shelves of milk powder, baby nutrition and chocolate are emptied. But these products are never sold out, the store manager assured me: “If a shelf is empty, this is not a problem. There is a safety stock for most products. If the sales staff detect a gap, it is filled in within a few minutes. In addition, there are of course empirical values, and the order quantities are adapted to the consumption being experienced” (Interview 3, Pos. 38) he explained.



Figure 89: Some shelves of baby nutrition are empty, which calls for immediate resupply

I asked Mister Sinanovic how the Asian guests find their desired products. As these products are neither marked from afar, nor labelled in detail, I think even I would have trouble finding skimmed milk powder: “Most of them bring a photo and show it to our staff. The visitors often have very specific ideas about what they want to buy. Additional labelling of the products is therefore not provided” (ibid., Pos. 39), he explains on our tour through the supermarket, while detecting a void in a shelf, immediately causing him to call for supplies.

Signboards, apps, and multilingual staff to guide visitors around

To guide international visitors around the supermarket’s three storeys in a better manner, signs in German, English and Chinese have been installed, indicating where the most prominent sections are. But these are not sufficient, Mr. Sinanovic told me, so the supermarket has also hired Chinese-speaking staff: “Migros employs a total of four part-time employees with Chinese language skills, who cover a total of 41 hours per week. They all work part-time so that they can still complete a language course, as not all Chinese employees speak German well yet”, Admir Sinanovic explained. Mostly they are used in critical locations, such as the supermarket’s entrance and exit: “In this area we always try to have an employee with Chinese language skills on duty. This is because most questions from Chinese guests arise here, either in connection with chocolate or in the checkout area which is located just next to it” (ibid., Pos. 23), the store manager stated. “There are no special staff working in any other foreign language, only Chinese. This was due to their partly poor command of English and the high need for information of the Chinese guests. Often, they have questions or needs that must be picked up individually, or they have problems with payment, which constantly obstructs the shopping of existing guests” (ibid., Pos. 26), Mr. Sinanovic continued, concluding that Chinese-speaking employees had been introduced for two main reasons: “On the one hand to generate sales through this segment, [and] on the other hand to continue to create a conflict-free shopping experience for existing customers, and also to relieve the staff, which is increasingly required when dealing with Asian travellers”. Thus, the store manager provided reasons for the decision to hire extra personnel.



Figure 90: Signs in German, English and Chinese show the way to the many customers.

A useful tool is also *WeChat*, a Chinese application for mobile phones comparable to *WhatsApp* in the western world, but with additional features such as payment methods and product offers. Migros Schweizerhof has created its own account which it is actively promoting on a poster at the entry of the supermarket with a QR code to download it easily for instant use. The app not only provides current information on products, prices, and their locations in the store, it also enables Migros to interact online with its Asian customers. This account is mainly looked after by Ms. Bing or other Chinese-speaking employees: “They can do this largely independently and define the content themselves”, Admir Sinanovic explains: “Migros Schweizerhof cannot decide for itself which campaigns are available anyway, as this is done by the regional cooperative” (ibid., Pos. 28). He continued, “Sure, I sometimes give my input, but by and large she [Ms. Bing] looks after the channel on her own. I can’t read it anyway [laughs], she has more knowledge” (ibid., Pos. 63-64), he added with a grin. In addition, it is also possible to pay with UnionPay, a Chinese payment-provider comparable to Visa or MasterCard, which is also used quite regularly.



Figure 91: Advertising the own ‘WeChat’ account and the option of paying with UnionPay.

Balancing the different needs of many different customers

These manifold measures and adaptations, described in detail above, might give the wrong impression that only Chinese customers shop at Migros Schweizerhof, which obviously is not the case at all. On the contrary, many other visitors from all parts of the world visit its premises. Because of the high demand by tourists, there is even a small souvenir shop installed in the basement. “Classic Swiss souvenir items such as pocket-knives, cowbells and Swiss shirts dominate here. These are not specifically made for Lucerne; such products are available in other branches too. But we have really

high demand here, of course, not only from Chinese guests, but from everywhere. There are also many day-trippers from Switzerland in Lucerne; this should not be underestimated” (ibid., Pos. 50). For Mr. Sinanovic this gave rise to particular concern.



Figure 92: Souvenirs are sought after also by many Swiss day tourists

And not only do tourists visit, so do many local residents too. “That is why it is important to keep the balance and to meet all needs” (ibid., Pos. 20), the store manager explained in relation to his complicated role, which sometimes reminds him at a tightrope walk: “If you do too much, Swiss customers complain. If you do too little, the foreign guests won’t manage. It is not easy to meet all needs” (ibid., Pos. 40). While we were walking around the store, Admir Sinanovic constantly greets customers, sometimes even by name. I therefore assume that most of them are from Lucerne and shop regularly at this supermarket.

But not every local is a fan of Migros Schweizerhof. When, for example, I was talking with some Lucerne people on the fondue tour with the horse carriages, one woman who was taking part, who otherwise works in a nearby watch and jewellery store, said: “You can no longer go shopping in the city centre: for example, the Migros Schweizerhof is full of tourists. In addition, the parking spaces are much too expensive” (Interview 22, Pos. 138), giving an idea about how people think who no longer shop at this Migros. Also, Miriam, the young Lucerne mother with her baby boy we have already encountered in chapter 04, states that she has ambivalent feelings about Migros Schweizerhof. She recalled a situation when she approached a member of staff because she needed some extra information: “The lady could only speak English and Chinese, but no German. I wanted to ask something but had to do it in English. That was very strange” (Interview 1, Pos. 28-29) she remarked. But she can show some understanding for this and even finds it more funny than annoying, she assured me: “And besides, it is legitimate and understandable that Migros is trying to capitalize on it. If Migros doesn’t do it, someone else would”, which is a common argument in the entire *overtourism* debate. Miriam usually goes shopping at this Migros because it is a large one. There are basically three sizes of Migros, marked with one, two or three Ms, indicating the range of products and services the store is offering. The one at Hertensteinstrasse is rated MM, “but there is also one in Neustadt, which is smaller but has fewer tourists. That’s why I sometimes go there too,” said Miriam, explaining the trade-off she sometimes has to make when considering where to shop for her daily needs.

I also visited the Migros supermarket with the couple from Milano when touring with them through the city. Flaminia and Alessandro wanted to buy some chocolate for their loved ones back home before heading further on to Colmar, and I showed them the Chocolat Frey booth. The two were impressed by the big range and gladly accepted the plenitude of tastings Dominic W. offered them. A more than pleasant experience for them, which resulted in their purchasing of quite a few items, all worthwhile souvenirs of their stay in Lucerne. But not all customers are equally amused by these tourist-oriented services and offers.



Figure 93: Flaminia and Alessandro purchasing chocolate for their loved ones back home.

Mr. Sinanovic explained that many local customers have already reacted negatively: “They complained that there are extra sales staff for Asian tourists, but that there are not enough contact persons for them. As a result, we also increased the normal staff, and now the sales areas are served above average” (Interview 3, Pos. 41), said the store manager, shedding light on his approach to overcoming the dilemma. The checkout area is particularly sensitive because local guests don’t like to wait there either, Mr. Sinanovic told me, as an example mentioning a written comment, he received on a feedback form: “A customer suggested that a cash register should be set up separately for tourists” (ibid., Pos. 24). But that is out of the question for Migros, so instead the store tries to meet the various demands and needs with other means, Mr. Sinanovic assured me. But this too does not happen without conflict, as Dominic too, the chocolate vendor with knowledge of Chinese, observed a general saturation and complacent attitude on the part of the Swiss: “We are simply not flexible enough as a result. We have become lazy. Here at Migros, for example, we’re trying to do something. But then it always sounds like that: we do everything for the Chinese, but nothing for the Swiss. But Lucerne people should contribute more to this: after all, we live from tourism” (Interview 19, Pos. 69-71). Dominic recalled an incident that happened the other day: “[T]here was an older Chinese couple at the checkout, who had problems with the language, and I was called to help. They only had Euros and wanted to pay that way, but the cashier could only give them change in Swiss money. They didn’t understand that. When I arrived, a Swiss woman was grumbling from behind: “Just give them Swiss money back, they’ll eat everything anyway”. Dominic W. was embarrassed about this racist comment and ashamed of his fellow Swiss citizens. “I mean, luckily the Chinese couple didn’t understand it, but the negative attitude certainly came across, I’m convinced about that”, he said, and concluded more generally: “Anyway, the Swiss are always so negative”, which reminded me of the unveiling pictures the Chinese businessman showed me, when capturing the bad mood of Swiss pedestrians in public spaces (see Ch. 05). But also, Pascal, our e-tuk-tuk driver, made a similar observation to Dominic’s experience: “Yes, maybe around seven years ago at the Migros checkout, when there was an incident”, Pascal told me, when I was asking him about any adverse events. “The

cashier really rolled his eyes when a tourist - I think a Chinese – couldn't pay or didn't know the money or didn't have a card that worked. It was actually harmless, but you could feel that he was getting upset by the tourists and did not welcome them here" (Interview 37, Pos. 128). Thus, Pascal remembered a small incident from years back, but which apparently made a lasting impression on him.

Eating instant noodles and pork feet with Chinese herbal sauce

Tourists are not only interested in chocolate, milk powder and baby nutrition, which they usually buy as souvenirs for their friends and family back home: many visitors look for proper meals for immediate consumption too. The store manager noted that "Cheese is less in demand. If food, then more fruits. And generally speaking, the Chinese want to eat warm, not cold", alluding to cultural preferences and commonly acquired eating habits. This results in an expanded range in warm take-away food with some long tables for instant consumption. This was also observed by Miriam, who said: "They [the Asian customers] mainly buy chocolate. And in masses. But they also use Migros for snacks, like we do. There are also more and more take-away products, but this is certainly not only due to the tourists but is also a general trend", she said, bringing her own observation into perspective (Interview 1, Pos. 31).

The Migros Schweizerhof has therefore quite an extensive take-away counter serving hot and cold food. We have already encountered Amy and Vincent from Shanghai buying a Chinese instant soup for her son to boil in their hotel room (see Ch. 04). The Chinese couple bought this at a take-away counter and carried it around town, all up to the hill, and all the way back to their hotel in a shopping bag they had brought along.



Figure 94: Chinese instant noodle soup bought by Amy and Vincent for their little boy.

Mr. Sinanovic and I were visiting the sales counter to question the personnel working there: "The best seller here is certainly the Asia menu for CHF 11.90, a chicken thigh with rice and vegetables", the vendor informed us, talking about the popularity of the different products. "But the pig's trotters for CHF 14.50 are also doing well. There are also locals who try this every now and then, but for the most part they are Asian tourists consuming it. About 15 dishes are sold per day", informed the saleswoman further (ibid., Pos. 56-57).

It was the pig's trotters that attracted my interest the most, as it is quite uncommon for regular Migros take-aways to sell such a foreign specialty. Even the free newspaper *20Minuten* dedicated an article to this unconventional offer (Gigor 2018). According to the Migros press officer, who was

interviewed in the article, the pig's trotters are mainly targeted at Chinese tourists: "The take-away Schweizerhof is located in the middle of the tourist centre of Lucerne and attracts many tourists and tour groups, especially from China. They do their shopping in the supermarket and eat in the take-away section", she explained to the journalist. But it is not only Chinese tourists who benefit from this offer, the press officer from Migros Luzern further explained: "Chinese employees from shops in the old town also eat with us. With this additional offer, we aim specifically to address the needs of these foreign customers", she continued. This is an interesting remark, as it shows the sheer numbers of people mingling in Lucerne, transcending the conventional dichotomy between hosts and guests. As we saw in Chapter 04, there are many people in Lucerne with different agendas, backgrounds, and origins. This comment therefore underlines this open approach and indicates a nuanced way of looking at things.

The initial effort to include the pig's trotters in the take-away offer was quite challenging, Ms. Reinhard, the press officer, states further in the journal: "The pig's trotters come from Switzerland and are made by Micarna [the meat subsidiary of Migros] according to an original Chinese recipe with 48 alpine herbs. Micarna representatives travelled to China several times to find the right recipe. Micarna has been exporting pig's trotters to China for many years and has a lot of experience in this area", she continued. Mr. Sinanovic also told me that Migros has been selling pig's trotters to China for many years: "Because here in Switzerland pig's trotters are a waste product that is difficult to sell, that's why Migros exports them to China" (Interview 3, Pos. 56).



Figure 95: Pig's trotters on Chinese herbal sauce with egg and rice and other take-away dishes

Migros Schweizerhof actively promotes this offer with the aid of two oversized pig's trotters in front of the supermarket entrance. These two plastic pork feet are about 1.70 meters tall and of a golden colour. They stand to the left and right of the sliding glass doors, like the golden lions frequently positioned in front of a Chinese restaurant. These golden trotters are promotional material from Micarna in China, and are branded as such, as the Chinese ideographs printed on them indicate. These oversized golden trotters are quite an eye-catcher, but had to be removed, as Mr. Sinanovic regretfully stated: "We had to remove them for political reasons. That didn't go down well with the Swiss guests, it was a bit too offensive (ibid., Pos. 55).

A few months later, in summer 2020, I was walking down Hertensteinstrasse with Christoph, interviewing him on a joint stroll. I wanted to show him the pig's trotters on offer and ask his opinion about them. But the pig's trotters had gone, along with the Asian tourists, the saleswoman informed us: "Unfortunately, we stopped having them since coronavirus, we'll only have them again when the Chinese come back", she said.



Figure 96: Two oversized golden pig's trotters marking the entry of the Migros take-away.

And again, a few months later, when I was running some errands for myself at Migros Schweizerhof, I realised that Dominic and the Chocolat Frey booth had disappeared too. Where he and his colleagues had once welcomed incoming guests with chocolate tastings, now sales promotions are laid out for the deal-savvy customers.

Conclusion on Migros

We have seen that Migros is visited by many different people from all walks of lives. We have been to the supermarket with a couple from Shanghai and a couple from Milano, buying respectively Chinese instant soup for their little boy and exclusive Swiss chocolate for their families back home. We have observed group tourists buying bars of chocolate in masses, emptying shelves in seconds, which then get refilled immediately by vigilant Migros staff. We have encountered Lucerne residents who do not shop any longer at this supermarket because it is too touristy and have met others who complain when foreign guests do not know how to pay quickly in the correct currency. We have seen the enormous efforts the Migros management makes to smooth these processes, assisting the many visitors with their lack of spatial and practical competences by providing multilingual signs, digital apps, and competent sales staff. And we have learned how critically these measures are received by more regular customers, who feel alienated and no longer looked after. It is a difficult task balancing these different needs on a daily basis, which the Migros manager must deal with. And it is an expensive endeavour too to keep everybody satisfied in this process. The entire 'tourist welcome project', which is how it is called internally, costs a lot of money, Mr. Sinanovic explained. He calculates the 41 working hours per week alone at around 70 to 80 thousand francs. These experiences, though, are very valuable for Migros Schweizerhof, which is taking on a pioneering role in making these efforts in the Swiss retail landscape. "We regularly get visits from other Migros branches", the manager told me, "but this is normal. We also do this with other stores" (Interview 3, Pos. 17). But so far, no other Migros branch has copied the concept, not even in Interlaken, which is equally touristic and has similar challenges as Lucerne.

However, China itself offers a lucrative business opportunity for Switzerland's largest retail company. Contrary to popular knowledge, Migros is already active in the mainland China market, Mr. Sinanovic told me (*ibid.*, Pos. 29). Through Orange Garten (<http://www.orangegarten.cn>), Migros maintains an online platform for the Chinese middle-classes, selling goods directly in China: "As far as I know they cost up to three times more than here in store" (*ibid.*, Pos. 42), the store manager recounted. Quality products from Switzerland are exported to China and sold online, framed by the traditional Migros history and established brand values, and represented, for example, by black and white images from the time of Migros' founding father, Gottlieb Duttweiler. The firm's

experiences with its Chinese customers serve as a valuable source of knowledge for the Migros management to explore Asian growth markets further. However, in the meantime this strategic market expansion has been halted, as a business newspaper has reported (Albrecht 2018).

Successfully dealing with an unknown market therefore bears many risks. Demands and requirements differ regarding cultural backgrounds, life situations and the contexts in which they are embedded. Cultivating new markets needs close examination beforehand to be able to understand better the need and wants of potential customers and to explore them skilfully. Even on home terrain, this is not made easy, as this chapter has shown. A wide range of customers must be taken into account when targeting additional turnover and balancing product offers according to their manifold needs. Managing a supermarket in Lucerne's city centre is anything but a simple job, as it is full of potential pitfalls. To meet people's contrasting demands and deal with their different practices as they do their shopping is a challenging and complex issue. It is not unreasonable to compare a Migros store manager with the conductor of an orchestra. Drawing on the analogy of Ingold (1993:65), who juxtaposed the interplay of the different practices that co-constitute space with the interplay of musicians in a classical orchestra as it unfolds its beauty and completeness when mutually resonating in space, a store manager has an equivalent regulatory task. Instead of tuning the trumpet with the violin, he must adjust the tone of customers from Milan, Shanghai, or Lucerne old town. This requires not only tact and flair, but also a clear vision regarding which composition is on the programme. A supermarket is therefore not only a place of everyday shopping, but a sought-after place where the tourist music also plays.

6.4 Hirschmatt-Neustadt, a new urban quarter

The borough of Hirschmatt-Neustadt is considered one of the most urbanized and vivid quarters of Lucerne, as many conversations held during this research have shown (i.e., Interviews 1, 6, 9, 10). The borough is centrally located and adjoins the old town. The Neustadt, as it is called for short, literally means "New Town" and was designated for city enlargement at the end of the 19th century (Schumacher 2016:144).

The district was built in the style of perimeter block development (Blockrandbebauung) and expressed a modern form of urban development that had already been tried and tested in major European cities such as Paris and Berlin. This form of compact construction also caught on small towns such as Lucerne. Especially when cities at that time were expanding their boundaries, grouping residential buildings in a closed ring around a common courtyard was the predominant construction method until around 1910 (Ragaz, n.d.).

This form of construction was also an expression of a self-confident urbanity, as the historian further suggests: "Lucerne, which had become an important tourist destination at the end of the 19th century, underscored its claim as a world city - or at least as a city of the world - with its sophisticated buildings. The town plan of 1897 was drawn up on this basis. It envisaged a chessboard-like development of the new Hirschmatt district with mostly rectangular block perimeter buildings" (ibid).

The chessboard-like city plan triggered enormous building activity, the district being built within just a few years. It includes representative commercial and hotel sites with elaborated facade decorations on the outer edges, most of which are still in use today. Whereas in the city centre the predominant form of tourism is perceived as mass tourism consisting of groups visiting the most iconic places for a short time only, quickly being dropped off by their buses at Schwanenplatz before being taken on

board again a little while later at Löwenplatz, the characteristics of tourism in Neustadt clearly differ. This final section of the chapter on *places* will look at these differences and will critically examine forms of so called *new urban tourism* at Hirschmatt-Neustadt (in the following just called 'Neustadt'). It will be shown that inhabiting this quarter is by no means a less complex issue than we have seen in earlier sections when covering mostly places in the city centre, with its historic old town or Hochwacht borough with its Lion Monument. I shall show that the image, identity, and characteristics of Neustadt are equally bound to tourism, even though this may not be as apparent as in the city centre. In contrast, that's exactly where its place identity comes from. As an alternative to mass tourism, as an authentic hideaway from burgeoning groups of visitors, as a place where the locals live, mingle and sojourn – ironically, this turns the Neustadt into a tourist place as well. Not, however, for the traditional ant trails of the *classic tourists*, but as a hidden gem for the so-called *new urban tourists*, or what Maitland and Newman (2004: 339) call a "*new tourism area*".

Neustadt: an alternative place of play

Approaching Neustadt is on one hand easy, as the borough is centrally located and even has its own side exit to the railway station. On the other hand, it is not at all natural to land there when coming from the city centre, as the ways out of the inner-city are blocked by busy roads as well as mental barriers. Arranging to walk with Markus Schulthess, the head of the Hirschmatt-Neustadt borough association, we met at his office at Pilatusstrasse. This is a four-lane main traffic route lined on both sides by shops and restaurants. "The left and right sides of Pilatusstrasse are very different in their identity, even though they are both in the same quarter", Mr. Schulthess explained: "The left side is characterized by a lively residential, shopping and nightlife area, whereas the right side is more oriented towards the old town [...] and thus more official with larger and busier shops and hotels, which are often branches of big companies. The scope of the neighbourhood association is more focused on the left side, where the independent stores are" (Interview 6, Pos. 9), he stated. Crossing Pilatusstrasse is not actually a big problem, as there are several pedestrian crossings controlled by traffic lights. But the busy streets hamper the *dérive*, to use Debord's concept of loosely drifting around, as they block intuitive movement. One must immediately halt and think where to go. In doing so, one might consult a map for orientation, but these maps do not really indicate a sight worth seeing in Neustadt. The River Reuss with its wooden bridges, the water tower, the old town and all the watch and souvenir shops are located on the other side of Pilatusstrasse, meaning there is no explicit tourist trigger to encourage crossing the dividing road, except, perhaps, precisely the urge to visit a non-touristic quarter.



Figure 97: The borough of Neustadt is separated by busy roads from the inner-city and its old town.

This ‘natural’ divide between the old town and its adjacent boroughs was also remarked on by the district police officer, who observed the same phenomena between the old town and the Bruch quarter, the borough next to Neustadt. Whereas there are no dividers within the different quarters of the city centre, where “people can simply cross one of the numerous bridges”, and while “there is good visual contact to each side of the river”, it is totally different between the inner city and Bruch, explained Mr. Krügel while pointing at the busy Hirschengraben (the same road later becomes Pilatusstrasse, as the map above indicates). In our joint walking interview, he immediately halted in front of the Toscana restaurant and paused: “Here the flow of visitors is abruptly interrupted. No tourist strolling around the city goes along this street. That’s a real barrier” (Interview 10, Pos. 70).



Figure 98: Blocked movement: Heavy traffic hampering the *dérive* out of the old town

Detour by locals longing for a sanctuary

Despite this blocked movement, strong interrelations between the different boroughs of Lucerne exist. It can be observed that the busy axis only hinders insecure visitors lacking in knowledge from crossing the streets. Other, more curious people or people who are familiar with the area, cross regularly back and forth. The head of the borough association even claims that there are more and more visitors coming over to Neustadt, not only from the inner city, but also from all over Lucerne and even beyond. This is also due to tourism, he explained: “The Neustadt quarter certainly benefits from the negative development around Schwanenplatz, as many locals avoid that quarter; we are a kind of sanctuary, a place for refugees [ein Zufluchtsort]” (Interview 6, Pos. 18). Markus Schulthess observed many people who did not like the situation in the inner city anymore opting for another part of town to spend their leisure time, do their shopping, meet their friends, and have coffee. This is very much in line with Monika S., who stated that she doesn’t do her shopping in the old town anymore: “Our shops are no longer here. I practically no longer go shopping in the centre. Maybe to the *Depot*, to the health-food store and to *Les Bijoux*, but otherwise I’m not interested in the shops here” (Interview 30, Pos. 73-75). Thus, the Lucerne resident made her point clear and further stated: “It’s not our business anymore” (ibid., Pos. 106).

Lucerne residents are therefore going to other parts of the city, Monika S. said, which are less affected by tourism: “On the other side of the old town, for example. To the restaurants on Mühlenplatz, where there are far fewer tourists. Or in Neustadt. There are many good shops and good bars there” (Interview 2, Pos. 31-33). This corresponds to the stance of Miriam, who also regards Neustadt as a potential hideaway from *overtourism*: “The restaurants in Neustadt are therefore a possible alternative. There are fewer tourists there, and the restaurants are more personal”, she said, describing the advantages of the atmosphere of local life in the borough and clarified: “I avoid Schwanenplatz in summer whenever I can. There are too many people here. Most of my colleagues feel the same way” (Interview 1, Pos. 19-20).

More and more residents are turning their back on the inner city, which consequently affects its character and the range of its offer. The police officer, for example, stated: “In earlier times, there was an Interdiscount or the Café Emilio on the Grendel, but today there are only watch shops” (Interview 10, Pos. 52). Here the question of the chicken and the egg arises: are the shops no longer there because their consumers are avoiding the area, or are these consumers no longer going there because there is no interesting offer anymore? Evidently, these two lines of argumentation are not mutually exclusive, but rather reinforce each other. In addition, there is a certain domino effect: if the Interdiscount closes, some customers of Café Emilio might also leave, to pick the two examples the police officer gave earlier. And this can lead to a commercial mishmash, as it is mostly interchangeable international brands that are taking over the empty locations, in many cases from the watch and jewellery business, but also other chain stores that are not relevant for residents and are crowding out owner-managed, independent stores. This development was also addressed by the political intervention of a social democratic party member of the Lucerne city parliament, who asked about the city government’s measures to encourage greater commercial diversity in Lucerne’s old town by Bühler et al. (2015).

This general development is supported by Mr. Krügel, the police officer, who further adds: “There used to be more pubs and taverns here in the old town for the locals, also for going out, but that has now shifted” (Interview 10, Pos. 76), the city’s amusement zone being drawn to the outskirt suburbs, such as Neustadt, Bruch, or the Babel area. This shift has also been noticed by the city administration. In a conversation with Reto Burch, project manager of district development for the city of Lucerne, he made the following clear: “Neustadt has developed very positively in recent years and has become much more popular with Lucerne residents. Many institutions, such as clubs and restaurants, move over from the old town. This can be a consequence of tourism. The old town used to be more attractive; today there is only the jazz canteen or the Magdi [Restaurant St. Magdalena]. The critical mass has thus been lost” (Interview 9, Pos. 49-50), a reference to a crucial issue in the urban functioning of city life. A minimum footfall is needed to maintain an offer, as in many cases the crowd itself is part of the experience. “Who wants to have a drink in an empty bar?” a random contact asked me rhetorically in a personal conversation on the topic at a café in Neustadt.

Tourists on the quest for a hidden gem

But it is not only the residents who are spreading from the traditional tourist inner city to the less touristic areas on its fringe: tourists themselves are also becoming increasingly interested in ‘non-touristic’ parts of the city. This phenomenon has been called “new urban tourism” (Füller and Michel 2014), “which shows a preference for off the beaten track areas and ‘authentic’ experiences of the city” (ibid.: 1304). This contrasts with the classic tourist preferences of those who are mainly interested in historical monuments, obvious landmarks, sightseeing experiences, and other touristic activities. New urban tourists in comparison are seeking the unspoiled atmosphere of local daily life, or as Maitland (2010:176) put it, “the everyday and mundane activities of city residents take on significance as markers of the real, and off the beaten track areas”. New urban tourists are therefore not only passive consumers of tourist products and services but are more actively engaging in local life in order to become a part of it, even if only temporarily.

Reto Burch, of the city administration’s district development department, observed this tendency in Lucerne. “There is also a certain shift from tourism to the districts. Former ‘tourism-free zones’, such as Neustadt, are now also frequented by tourists. In the past, tourism was more based in the centre” (Interview 9, Pos. 43). However, this has only limited effects on the daily life of the borough, as adaptations in Migros and the Coop like those in the city centre are not observable there, he stated. Also, he elaborated further, cultural life does not gain much from the new influx of tourism: “Cultural institutions such as the Neubad do not benefit much from tourism. They could certainly benefit from additional footfall. But Lucerne is simply not hip enough for new urban tourism. You can’t compare Lucerne with Berlin”, Burch concluded (ibid., Pos. 47).

Similarly, for Mr. Krügel the police officer it remains an open question how popular these off-the-beaten-track places for tourists really are: “The question arises how many tourists are really taking the way back’. I think it rather depends”, he noted critically. Nor does Monika S. believe in this concept as far as Lucerne is concerned: “I don’t think that this would work here. Tourists don’t want to go to Neubad, they simply don’t do that” (Interview 2, Pos. 33). Tourism in Lucerne is rather classically oriented, focusing on its main sights and highlights, which is where the largest proportion of visitors go anyway. Or as Maya von Dach, also responsible for district development in the city administration, puts it: “Tourists want to see the sights. And it is simply a fact that the chapel bridge and the Lion Monument are based in the centre” (Interview 9, Pos. 53).

However, the Lucerne tourism board promotes Neustadt as a “trendy district to discover” on its website (Luzern Tourismus n.d., b) and features the “The Neustadt Walking Route”, which has been developed by the borough association (Ragaz, n.d.). This walking tour covers 14 stops in the borough and gives information about interesting sites, squares, and premises. The map is designed afresh every year by a different local designer and is distributed free by the members of the borough association. It should highlight the diversity of the quarter and lists all commercial members of the borough association on the map. “The map is enriched with background information about the quarter and continues on the website, as there was not enough space for all the information on the printed map”, explained Markus Schulthess, making it clear that the audience for these maps are mainly people who are already familiar with the place in one sense or another: “The language is primarily in German, it is aimed at the locals and not necessarily at the tourists, even though the individual sections might also be translated into English. The plan is available at all member stores within the borough as well as in the tourist office but is not distributed to other quarters or hotels because of a lack of resources. In addition, as I said, it is also not the aim of the campaign”. Mr. Schulthess thus made the reason for the periodically redesigned flyer clear (Interview 6, Pos. 72-75), as it is aimed at the inside rather than the outside.



Figure 99: Every year a different artist designs a new map of the borough

But certainly, the plan can be used by all different actors, whether tourists, locals or others inhabiting the place. Differentiating between tourists and locals is anyway difficult, said Reto Burch in our interview: “In particular in the boroughs it is not immediately obvious whether a person is from here or from Basel or from elsewhere” (Interview 9, Pos. 56). In addition, tourists and locals basically place the same demands on a neighbourhood, Reto Buch suggested: they both want an attractive living space, the guests in the form of Airbnb, the locals in the form of the price, performance, and availability of apartments. They both want a high quality of stay, whether in the form of meeting zones in public spaces, security, or cleanliness. They both want good supply of goods and services, not a monoculture, but in a varied and diverse range. And finally, they both want detailed traffic plans, with good accessibility but limited noise and emissions. In addition, the locals within the city are often tourists themselves, as they visit other boroughs for leisure purposes, Reto Bruch further explained, and both are bothered by the same irritations, for example, when a barbeque grill stinks. It is therefore important to include the different stakeholder groups in the process, as tourism in the neighbourhood is generally difficult to control (Interview 9, Pos. 57-66), Bruch concluded.

Neustadt: an open-minded urban space

Neustadt is not only promoted by the Lucerne tourism board as the “most urban quarter” in Lucerne, but the city administration’s district development officers also see it like that themselves (Interview 9, Pos. 21-23). While walking through Neustadt with the president of the borough association, we passed the *Vögeligärtli*, a centrally located park: “City life is often also a struggle for space, as can be seen in particular in the broad mix of uses in such a small city park”, Markus Schulthess explained. “I have already seen a tour group here practicing *tai chi*. I thought that was great”, he said, claiming that his fellow inhabitants of the borough share his open-minded and tolerant view: “Such unusual uses are not necessarily met with rejection: indeed, the Neustadt is an urban and therefore also a tolerant quarter. There is room for various forms of life here”, he said and highlighted to the politically leftish and green attitudes of the residents that dominate the borough. This is quite opposed to the countryside, where people tend to be more conservative: “In Lucerne, urban residents are often less fixated on cars and more liberal than those in the surrounding area”, which is according to Mr. Schulthess particular true at the Neustadt (Interview 6, Pos. 16). But despite this tolerant open-mindedness, most residents are irritated by the development at Schwanenplatz: “Most of them are just happy that it doesn’t look like this here. There is a monoculture there that is just not healthy”. But this critical attitude to mass tourism has no connection with intolerance towards foreigners or even racism, Mr. Schulthess said in reply to my question: “I can’t see any xenophobia in our neighbourhood, but I can see a critical attitude towards group tourism” (Interview 6, Pos. 17), he brought it to the point.

Upgrading parks and public realms

This critical attitude is shared by many people, not only against tourism, but also against gentrification. Tourism is often regarded as gentrification’s little sister, or as Freytag and Bauder have noted, “bottom-up touristification and urban transformations [are] interrelated and mutually constitutive processes” (2018:446). In Neustadt the borough has comprehensively been upgraded in recent years. It all started with the overall replacement of the water pipes, which dated from the end of the 19th or beginning of the 20th century, when the quarter initially was build. Mr. Schulthess explained: “Originally the idea was to tear open the streets, rehabilitate the pipes and close them again. But when construction began, resistance arose. Many residents asked themselves why the opportunity could not be taken to calm the traffic and improve the quality of life in the borough. There was a five-year freeze on construction, and an overall renovation plan was drawn up, the fruits of which we can see today. The sidewalks have been widened and the street space reduced. Even though the wider sidewalks are still used today as a parking area for cars, this place can also be used for other purposes in the future” (Interview 6, Pos. 35-37). The refurbishment of the area also affected the mix of user groups in the borough, as illustrated by the two parks in the borough, the *Vögeligärtli* and the *Helvetiagärtli*.

Before the upgrading work, the *Vögeligärtli* was primarily a meeting point for marginalized people, Mr. Schulthess recalled: “There used to be a lot of these people here, but they took up too much space. They were often noisy, argued with each other, or left litter behind. Syringes were sometimes found in the children’s playground, although there was a place for used cutlery to be thrown away” (ibid., Pos. 31). To counter this development, an *IG Vögeligärtli* interest group has been founded to campaign for wider use of the park by everyone, including the marginalized. Mr. Schulthess further stated: “Today its use is more diverse, the park is visited by a broader population. The syringe containers have also disappeared” (Interview 6, Pos. 34). It is mainly families with their children that use the playground again and there is also a draughts and chess board marked on the ground as well

as a table tennis table installed for public use (see Figure 100 below). Sometimes also day tourists linger in the park between visiting a museum and heading back home. “The park is also often used for lunch breaks by people who work in the area. Lucerne has around 80,000 jobs with around 80,000 inhabitants” (ibid., Pos. 26). The square therefore functions as a kind of meeting point in public space. “There is basically room for everyone here, including those on the margins”, Mr. Schulthess said (ibid., Pos. 30), mentioning the many people using this public space.



Figure 100: Refurbishment of the park with possibilities for games, such as draughts and chess

“However, this redesign has nothing to do with tourist use: that was not the focus. Rather, the park stands for a meeting point in the quarter” (ibid., Pos. 40). But although there are many hotels and restaurants around it, it is practically never frequented by tourists, Mr. Schulthess considered: “Ultimately, however, this upgrading also drives gentrification, from which property owners in particular benefit. Although they contribute little or not at all to the borough association, they actually have the greatest economic benefit. It’s a double-edged sword for the tenants. They can ultimately be punished with higher rents due to the upgrading which they are promoting themselves” (ibid., Pos. 42). Here Markus Schulthess pointed to a crucial dilemma faced by the residents of gentrified areas.



Figure 101: In earlier days cars drove through here; today it is a restaurant mile

Another place of scrutiny in Neustadt is Helvetia-Platz or the *Helvetiagärtli*, which is how this little park is usually called. “Cars used to go through here, but today it is a public meeting place and has even developed into a kind of restaurant mile”. Markus Schulthess pointed along the street going past the park, which is now only for pedestrians. “The *Helvetia* restaurant has always been here, then

later the bar *Salve*, and others were added. Well, probably the last one wouldn't have been needed. Now the place is sometimes really overloaded with guests sitting outside. You can almost speak of an over-restauration!" Mr. Schulthess said with a smile, as the park really gets packed in summer, when all the cafés and restaurant put their tables and chairs out. According to Mr. Krügel, the police officer, however, this area is mainly used by Lucerne residents: "The *Helvetiagärtli*, for example, is very popular, but there are practically no tourists there, or they perish among the many locals" (Interview 10, Pos. 48), he pointed out in our conversation to highlight the residential character of the place.

Like the Hochwacht quarter, the local borough association also organizes a concert. It is not as opposed to tourism, like the *Invictis Pax Minifestival*, but is more like an open event. "In the last few years, we have set up a stage and organized concerts. Even the police had to come. We had a permit, but they didn't know that" (Interview 6, Pos. 64), Mr. Schulthess recalled. "And we are also organizing the quarter's *First of August* [the Swiss National Day] celebration on Helvetia-Platz: that goes without saying with this name", he added with a wink (Interview 6, Pos. 65).

Tourists from all walks of life

We have seen that Neustadt is frequented by all sorts of actors mingling together in cafés and public spaces, a local tone still predominating. This can also be observed by the park benches, which, in contrast to those in the city centre, are not marked by an international welcome. Whereas along the lake front, for example, benches are inscribed with "bienvenue", "willkommen" or "benvenuto", with similar messages in Chinese, Russian, Korean, Arabic, and many other languages, similar park benches outside the city centre are most often not so marked. They thus do not indicate the place as a touristic place but rather leave its semiotics open.



Figure 102: Park benches along the lake front, clearly marked for an international audience.

Nonetheless, with their red paint and traditional form, they are not very suitable for such an urban environment, as they do not fit the style of this fashionable neighbourhood, Mr. Schulthess argues: "One could actually put hiking trail signs next to it, this would fit these touristic benches for excursionists" (ibid., Pos. 71), he said, mocking the seating options in his borough.



Figure 103: Park benches denote the area by the presence or absence of a welcome tag.

The lack of a welcome message on the excursionist benches does not mean that the borough is without traditional tourists. Quite the contrary, Neustadt has several hotels and places to stay at. When we were walking past the *Hotel Astoria*, for example, a modern refurbished building by the famous Swiss architects Herzog & De Meuron, the president of the borough association said: “This is a first possible hotspot for *overtourism*, because this is where the coaches often embark their group guests, who mostly only stay for one night at the hotel [...]. But the *Hotel Astoria* is not only known for group travellers. Business travellers and individual tourists, including those from Switzerland, also spend their nights here. The hotel has several restaurants, such as a Japanese Ramen place. This is also mostly frequented by Lucerne residents and businesspeople in the neighbourhood and is not considered a tourist restaurant” (ibid., Pos. 13). Also, tourists are often loaded and unloaded from their coaches at the *Hotel Monopol*. For traffic reasons, this is not possible at the front entrance on Pilatusstrasse, so they must use the back door. “These groups probably often stay longer than just a day, as you can see from the small amounts of luggage, they have with them. Often, they also have a sticker of the Titlis cable car on their jacket, which announces the destination they are coming from”, Mr. Schulthess revealed (ibid., Pos. 45). When we were passing the *Hotel Continental Park*, we observed a bus from *Viking River Cruises* embarking passengers from the hotel, most probably to convey them to Basel to board a Rhine cruise to Amsterdam. A one- or two-day excursion to Lucerne is apparently a popular extension of a river cruise holiday.



Figure 104: A bus from Viking River Cruises loads tourists after their excursion to Lucerne

More independent tourists might not stay at these centrally located hotels, stated Mr. Schulthess: “Individual travellers often sleep in the *Ibis* or *Fox* hotels, a little outside the area. Or also in Airbnb. Often these guests walk through here: you can recognize them by their wheeled suitcases. Most of them are young couples, around 30 years old. But there are other travellers too, who are less obviously recognizable and merge quite unobtrusively into the cityscape”, Mr. Schulthess further observed (ibid., Pos. 10).

Staying with Wagner, Mozart, and Beethoven

An increasing number of tourists are staying in shared apartments, for example, through Airbnb, which is not without conflict, as Reto Burch of the city administration’s district development department stated: “One can see that tourism has increasingly grown into the boroughs over the past five years. There is thus a certain degree of competition in the housing offer in the districts from offers on Airbnb” (Interview 9, Pos. 70).

There are many independent tenants who sublet their flats or maybe a room only. This could be on a regular basis or just occasionally, for example, during the summer holidays, when one is away on one’s own travels. But there are also increasing numbers of professionals renting out furnished apartments for a short-term stay. Companies that have successfully sublet premises in Neustadt are *Hit rental* and *Keyforge*, as an article in the *Luzerner Zeitung* stated (Stäheli 2019). Schulthess remarked that the more vibrant part of Neustadt, where most of the cafés and independent retail stores are, is also the area with the most offers on Airbnb. He brought a printed map of current Airbnb options with him for our joint walk: “It shows how the offers are concentrated on the southern part around Helvetiaplatz. In the northern part, in the direction of Pilatusstrasse, there are practically no offers” (Interview 6, Pos. 55-56). This matches the statement by Reto Burch, who suggested that (new urban) tourists and local residents are looking for the same characteristics within a city. Consequently, this leads to a situation in which tenants are competing for space. And because revenues can be much higher when renting out on a daily basis, in the long run long-term tenants are excluded.



Figure 105: Markus Schulthess with a map indicating all currently available Airbnb apartments

A newly renovated house at Waldstätterstrasse raised particular concern, as most of the apartments are rented out for the short term only. “After the renovation, more and more apartments were offered for rent on the platform, so that the remaining tenants have meanwhile also moved out” Mr. Schulthess explained (Interview 6, Pos. 57). This development is observable from the outside, as balconies are left untended with no green plants, smoky grills, fussy flags, colourful Chinese lanterns,

or any other traces of human beings indicating that somebody lives behind the closed curtains. Such houses become spiritless and anonymous, which is also noticeable from their letter boxes. Names like Wagner, Mozart and Beethoven do not sound like classic neighbours of the area, but are rather easily memorized labels for short-term apartments, most probably inspired by the Lucerne Festival.



Figure 106: Living with Vivaldi V, Mozart III and Beethoven IV

Business is going well, for *Keyforge*. In an interview with *Zentralplus*, the owner Patrick Berisha explained that he employs 14 staff in his business and runs 25 apartments all over Lucerne. Most of his guests stay more than one night in Luzern, do shopping – and not primarily watches – and are using the local tourist offers. They stimulate the economy in Lucerne and the entire region (Wydler 2018). The Social Democratic Party sees this a little differently and launched a political initiative at a press conference in precisely such a short-term rental flat. By hanging out a protest banner stating “Kinderwagen statt Rollkoffer – STOPP airbnb”, literally urging more baby buggies than rolling suitcases, the initiative calls for traditional families to inhabit this living space instead of tourists who just come and go. The report the politicians presented to the press revealed the negative impact of short-term rentals on the housing market: commercial Airbnb providers are said to have destroyed living space for 630 people in Lucerne. They estimate the tax losses for the city and canton to be over CHF 3 million a year, while the providers’ profit margins are up to five times higher than the rental price (Wydler 2019), says the report, addressing the key issues.



Figure 107: Call for baby buggies instead of rolling suitcases (© Jonas Wydler, Zentralplus)

The political discussion about Airbnb regulations in Lucerne is still ongoing, and stricter rules are pending. The COVID-19 situation has clearly changed the situation, as short-term rental apartments have been put on regular leases again, renting out a 4.5-room apartment for CHF 1,990 a month instead of CHF 630 a night (see screenshot below as of April 2020).

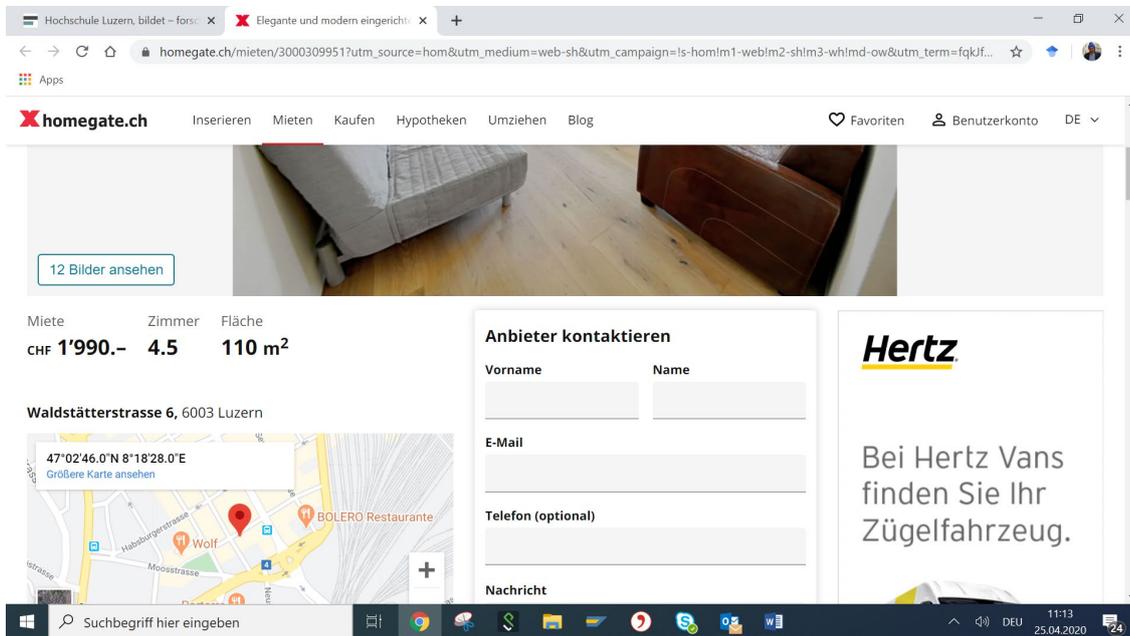


Figure 108: Former short-term lettings now on monthly leases due to the pandemic crisis.

The very same building, visited exactly a year later in spring 2021, has now turned into a regular tenants' house if one takes the doorbells as an indicator. Where formerly names such as Beethoven, Mozart and Vivaldi were written on the tags, now 'more alive' people are inhabiting the flats. What will happen, though, once tourism rebounds after the severe travel restrictions is still open to question, as the doorbells do not reveal the long-term hiring contracts of the new tenants.

Conclusion: More than just spreading the tomato sauce

We have seen that Neustadt is a borough that is highly informed, produced and connoted by an active and engaging way of 'living with tourism', and this in two different senses. First, the borough acts as a sort of haven for all those who want to avoid the city centre, where the masses of tourists are piloted through with their tour coaches, in organised guided tours, and short but tense itineraries. Neustadt evolved as an alternative place to play for many who formerly drank their coffees in the old town, shopping at Grendel when there were still ordinary department stores, and meeting friends on the banks of River Reuss or Lake Lucerne. These individuals are moving further to a borough adjoining the city centre, closely related to the inner city but simultaneously detached by traffic and further hurdles.

Secondly, this development enhances the qualities of the area, which lures all sorts of other people to Neustadt, including tourists. More and more visitors are enjoying the increased offers in new established, manager-owned and independent bars, restaurants, and retail stores. People from near and afar are mingling in the urban space, creating a place to play for many different motives, agendas, and purposes. Sometimes these interactions are mutually stimulating, as for example when Asian

tourists practice *tai chi* in the morning in a public park, giving the area an urban, international, and multifaceted touch. People in Neustadt generally praise themselves for their tolerant views and open-mindedness. Nonetheless the increasing influx of tourists is also causing new problems for the area, in particular for the housing market. The availability of renting space is already under pressure from increasing demand for people aiming to inhabit homes in the long term. In addition, short-term rentals are equally booming, which further reduces the offers and leads to increasing competition and higher rents.

This gentrification process is not only caused by tourists, but they are often blamed for it. As new actors in the field, professional short-term providers do not have a lobby, nor do their guests. It is therefore easy to point the finger at Airbnb and other intermediaries, as the Social Democratic Party did with its well-staged media campaign. However, such practices of protest and resistance successfully unveil the weak points in the free open market, where profits from renting out homes can be as high in three or four days as normally in a month. This exposes the vulnerability of existing urban housing policies, which are not (yet) adapted to the dynamics of the digital global field. At the same time, however, this neglects the great potential of such forms of co-habitation. When played out in a private, less professional, but more intimate manner, the sharing economy can develop as a valuable means of bringing different people together. And this, after all, is an ever-recurring issue in dealing with the subject of *overtourism*: the lack of engagement, the lack of interest and time, and the lack of a platform for interacting with, becoming acquainted with, and embracing tourism.

Dealing with tourism in Neustadt is therefore a complex issue, as it is in the traditional tourist centres around Löwenplatz or Schwanenplatz. However, the challenges might be different, if not the opposite. In Neustadt it is less about the masses, about the tour coaches (although they exist on the fringes too, as has been shown) or about the distant, aloof, dull ways of exploring a tourist place. In contrast, it is about increasingly fuzzy ways of visiting a place, about abandoning the classic roles of the sightseeing, shopping-frenzies tourist, about the increasingly hybrid dwelling in a place, as suggested by the idea of the new urban tourism (Füller and Michel 2014). However, these ways of travelling are no less contested, being thrown together in a political controversy in the area, in line with Massey (2012:154), where “a myriad of practices of quotidian negotiation and contestation” are continually moulding the identity, purpose and meaning of a place.

By looking at a particular Lucerne neighbourhood, it becomes clear that simply dispersing a growing number of tourists to a further-off perimeter might only seem like an easily applicable idea at first sight. Tourism in adjoining boroughs already exists in various forms, and the place is also strongly informed by tourism indirectly, as a valuable alternative to the existing business models of mass tourism. Simply spreading the tomato sauce, as an article in the *Guardian* (Giuffrida 2018) suggested, is therefore not the most recommendable strategy, but this will be discussed in more detail in the recommendation chapter to follow.

6.5 Conclusion of chapter

In this chapter, we have seen how places are produced by actively engaging people and their manifold practices. The chapter made it clear that Lucerne is not *one* place with *one* common, all-encompassing position, but a city with many nuances, disparities, and particularities. It would therefore not be appropriate to lump together the variety of sights, locations and even districts as one entity. Lucerne as a destination has to be regarded as an amalgam of different places, all constituting, together with its facets, the urban space in which people dwell.

In this chapter I have investigated three dedicated localities where aspects of tourism are of particular relevance and are interwoven densely with its urban fabric. First, we dwelt on the case of the Lion Monument, which showed that this heritage site is more than just an animal carved in stone. Because of its power of attraction, it lures not only many tourists, but also many other people trying to sell overpriced tap water, religious beliefs, or wooden carved souvenirs. At the same time, the basic needs of the visitors, such as relieving oneself on a toilet, could not always be assumed to exist as a matter of course – it needed an act of protest by an affected person to overcome a political standstill in delivering such a basic public service. Similar in intention, the people of Lucerne also want to make themselves heard. In gathering for a yearly music festival, they manifest their positions in bodily ways that are so easily overlooked in the current course of maximising on the benefits of the ever-increasing visitor flows. However, the city government has only limited understanding for such performances and does not fully comprehend their implied meanings. Because it does not take the concerns that are expressed seriously enough, the people need to articulate their frustrations in different ways. This could be in voting against tourism-related issues, such as the Inseli-Parking, or by articulating concerns in an ironic tone, as with the funny slogan from Monty Python's Flying Circus. This example draws on British humour - not the only legacy the pioneers of tourism have left behind in Lucerne.

I have also described a downtown supermarket that carefully balances its services and offers for an increasingly diverse audience. Whereas most customers use the place for their daily errands, more and more international customers use it also for touristic purposes, mainly to buy souvenirs like chocolate, milk powder and baby nutrition. These additional customer needs call for more sophisticated means of satisfying the store's clientele, though it is a tightrope act where equilibrium is easily lost. Whereas for some people it does not matter very much, others criticize the ongoing adaption and increased focus on the visitors, mainly from China. We have seen how such an everyday location like a regular shopping centre is a politically highly sensitive place where purpose, meaning and scope are controversially negotiated. In the wake of COVID-19 we have also realised that such places are anything but stable. Offers and services immediately change as soon as other demands come along. The ship is constantly being navigated on an open sea, to borrow again Sheller and Urry's analogy of the moving ship (2006:14), where cliffs must be circumvented, compasses constantly reset, and the ultimate harbour never comes in sight.

Third, I have investigated a borough that is involved with tourism in alternative ways, not only directly, but also indirectly. Many people are avoiding the centre because of the overwhelming influx of tourists and are moving to the outskirts. This gentrification process leads to attractive shops, restaurants, and public squares in which to linger, but it also curbs the housing supply and increases rents. In addition, the shift from the centre to the periphery also enhances the attractiveness of the outskirts for the tourists. More and more visitors are being lured to the fringes of the city and using them as a place in which to play and to stay overnight, mainly short-term in shared apartments. This is causing serious opposition, as it is seen as the main driver of scarce rental offers and increasingly high prices. Nevertheless, this development of a *new urban tourism* also has great potential in bringing together people with different backgrounds, cultural knowledge, and relations to place. That this process does not happen by itself but needs to be carefully orchestrated is argued by many residents, who are demanding political measures against it. Profit-seeking landlords are exploiting the lack of a legal framework and are causing market failure, an issue addressed by the Social Democratic Party, for example, through an attention-grabbing media event.

The chapter has shown that such tourism-induced transformation processes are never without conflict. Many different views and interests are interrelated, and sometimes opposed. Places are indeed on the move, as Sheller and Urry suggested, but who is at the steering wheel is a political question. In Lucerne, the debate is open, and many interest groups are articulating their right to the city, to the supermarket or to a specific site. These places are not stable but constantly evolving, changing identity, purpose and meaning. It is a process to which many people are actively contributing with their individual projects, practices, and mobilities. People are trying to take possession of certain places and marking them as their own, whether by throwing coins in a pond, labelling park benches, adapting signposts and way-markers, or simply standing in the way, like gathering at a music festival. Such little signs of affiliation impress the stamps of certain user groups, indicating the meaning of the place through practice and allocating them a dedicated use.

Places like the Lion Monument, the Migros supermarket and the borough of Neustadt are shaped by their visitors, customers, clients, short-term inhabitants, students, workers, passers-by, and perennial residents, each in their respective ways. All the individual actors contribute with their ideas, imaginaries, and interests to the coming into being and the constant evolution of these places. Places come into life through the practices and performances of their inhabitants, or as Larsen (2012:68) suggests, “[m]ost tourist places are ‘dead’ until actors take the stage and enact them: they become alive and transformed each time that new plays begin, face-to-face proximities are established, and new objects are drawn in”. This process is at the same time *political*, as power relations are in play; *social*, as individual self-concepts are informed and negotiated by relating to others; it is also *economical*, as jobs, taxes and monetary benefits are at stake; *cultural*, as different values, understandings, and background knowledge are involved; and *emotional*, as humans engage, react with, and contemplate their feelings and affections, such as pride, anxiety, jealousy, or else.

When a place is enacted, transformed, and made meaningful by the different actors involved, a complex process is revealed. It might turn into a battle, as being thrown together is never without friction, but always linked with different interests, motivations, and agendas. Tourism plays a crucial role in the process of producing place, as it is involved in many of its aspects, is interwoven in a set of distinct localities, and informs an array of different practices. This chapter has shown that such processes of co-constituting places can be of different intensities, historical backgrounds, and current interdependencies. It has shown that questions like *overtourism* are complexly place-bound must be seen in relation to time and space and unfold in nuanced ways. Above all, tourism does not stand apart from such places, comes on top of them or may be isolated from them. In contrast, tourism practices are interwoven, interrelated, and part and parcel of the urban fabric, thus co-constituting the roles, purposes, and meanings of places.

Part III: *Concluding, and moving further*

Chapter 07: Synthesis

7.1 Introduction: Recapitulation on how people practice place

The aim of this thesis has been to provide groundwork to better understand tourism in Lucerne. So far, the debate was mainly triggered about the discussion on visitor numbers and how to best spread them in time and space around town. This ethnographic analysis though opted for another approach. With a deep dive and a thick description of what is currently happening in Lucerne, the thesis provides empirical rationale on the reasons on how and why tourism is treated as such. The research unveils neglected conflict lines, overcomes persistent taxonomies, and sheds new light on the ‘living with tourism in Lucerne’. It proves that tourism can not be regarded as a separate issue but is entangled and interwoven with many aspects of urban life.

The dissertation shows how different *people* deal with urban space and examined who is involved in tourism issues. I have investigated the interests, values and imaginings of the protagonists involved and examined their relation to each other. By so doing, we have discovered the plurality of the people, which rendering the traditional concepts of host and guest obsolete.

Furthermore, I have examined the social, cultural, and material *practices* of the people involved and realised that they are fed and informed by different motives, different background knowledge, and varying spatial competences. I investigated mundane and extraordinary practices, tourism-related economic dealings, and ways to reflect and contemplate about touristic development critically, ironically, or even nostalgically. I have also shown how tourism is opposed by manifold practices, ranging from still protests to loud resistance. This wide array of practices indicates that it is not only the pure number of tourists which is at issue, but also the manifold ways of dealing with it.

Lastly, I have shown how the practices of people unfold in *place*. I examined three distinct localities where the protagonist’s paths intersect, and their practices accumulate. These places are all subject to controversial negotiations, as interests collide. By underscoring the distinct framework conditions, inherited roles, and diverging characteristics of these places, it has been shown that Lucerne is not a single entity in the form of a tourism destination, but a complex amalgam of individual parts, which are all connected and interrelated to each other and where tourism plays a crucial role in making them meaningful.

I shall now summarize the findings of each of these three avenues and recontextualise in more detail the empirical findings with the theoretical framework that was elaborated at the beginning of this thesis to show how a tourist place is inhabited. Then, to close this chapter and the dissertation, the limitations of this research and potential further avenues for future research are being laid out.

7.2 It’s about the quality, not merely the quantity, of the *people*

I have shown that there is a wide range of people mingle in Lucerne, who all have a different relation to the place, some of them rather loosely, some of them closer. It has also emerged that many people draw their identity concepts out of this relation to place, such as, for example, an international student who does not consider himself an outsider anymore and therefore changed his paths when strolling through the city. Other people gather as “we” and distinguish themselves from “they” (to use Schütz’s concept of in-group and out-group) by visiting (or rather not visiting) certain places, such as restaurants, shops, or other specific locations at certain times and on certain days. This temporal or

spatial relation to place is therefore important for people's senses of belonging and their individual conceptions of "self", which are far more complex than simply considering oneself as *host* or *guest*. Boundaries between these two outdated concepts are increasingly being blurring as the reduced stereotyping in one particular respect does not live up to the complexity of an interwoven, fluid, and entangled reality. People living and working in Lucerne are of various cultural backgrounds, biographies, motives, and intentions. Some of them are based in Lucerne for a short period only, for example, the time of their studies or temporary employment, while others regard Lucerne as their new hometown, where they put down roots and from where they draw their self-understanding. Others inhabit the place for generations, thus regarding the place as theirs. Such roles and concepts might overlap, depending on the situation or perspective as a commuter or a resident at the same time, an international student or a tourist, a migrant or a newcomer, and so forth. One can also switch roles and grow into different positions, losing former point of views and gaining new ones. These identity concepts are strongly rooted in place, making it a crucial aspect for distinction. However, one's relation to place has no direct impact or dependence on one's stance on tourism. Some people consider themselves pure and proud Lucerne residents, while on the same time open to foreigners and supportive of the ongoing business model, while others suggest the opposite. Some people have a rather distant reference to place but are critical of the ongoing tourism development, despite being tourists themselves or making a living in Lucerne because of tourism only (as in the example of a foreign chef and waitress). It is therefore in this interwoven field of dependencies that thinner and thicker relations emerge and form opinions on the ongoing tourism development. No clear line can be drawn, but a field with manifold characters and personalities to discover. By cherishing this range of protagonists inhabiting the place, a diverse spectrum of 'live worlds' opens up and invites closer examination. These 'live worlds' are not hanging loose in space or are separated from each other – in contrast, people mutually interact and interrelate with other people, constantly exchanging views, experiences, and standpoints, which influence and stimulate one another. The motives, background features, skills and knowledge of other people are therefore equally important as their own portfolio of learned capabilities, their own inventory of competences and incorporated characteristics over time. People therefore change in the everyday through practice, constantly relating to each other.

Accepting this nuanced, dynamic, and sometimes ambiguous notion of *people* inhabiting a place, the mere counting of visitor numbers becomes obsolete. It is rather a matter of the individual projects and fluid mobilities one relates to the place, not simply the numbers of overnights or the frequency of arrivals and departures. It is about the various forms of engagement, the diverse identity concepts one draws out in relation to the place, the stances one develops about many urban issues, which make a difference. This I call the quality of people, which must not be misinterpreted as a normative or judgemental stigmatization of human beings but as a nuanced understanding of the variety of attributes the different inhabitants of the place have.

Tourism in this context is only one of many aspects to be dealt with, even though in Lucerne it is a crucial and omnipresent one. Tourism entangles city life to a great extent, shedding a light specifically on many urban questions. It is through the perspective of tourism that many aspects of urbanity are discussed in Lucerne. But tourism is not a separate issue. It cannot be discussed in isolation from its interrelated aspects but needs to be approached in a holistic manner. Counting tourists and surveying residents therefore does not lead to an encompassing way of dealing with current challenges. By overcoming the host/guest divide, and grasping a city as performed, inhabited, and made sense of by all its people is nonetheless a promising way to look forward.

I shall now recapitulate how these many people relate to each other, how they refer to urban and tourism issues and how they enact, perform, and co-create Lucerne through their distinctive practices.

7.3 It's about the maze of *practices*, where some are more dominant than others.

People interact with each other through practices, performing and shaping the places they live in and with. Practices constitute a maze of interconnected and entangled activities, which are all embedded in a collective cognitive and symbolic structure, “in a ‘shared knowledge’ which enables a socially shared way of ascribing meaning to the world”, as Reckwitz (2002:246) elucidates. This conceptualisation is important to better understand the tourism situation in Lucerne, where different actors co-constitute their specific ways of interpreting, producing, and sharing the actual purpose, role, and characteristics of a place. According to Reckwitz, a practice is “a routinized way in which bodies are moved, objects are handled, subjects are treated, things are described, and the world is understood” (ibid.:250), whereas this research has shown that not only routinized, but many spontaneous, unique, and non-repetitive practices mutually inform tourist places too. In his conceptualising of practice theory, Reckwitz offers *body*, *mind*, *things*, *knowledge*, *discourse*, *structure/process*, and the *agent/individual* as important realms in which practices are rooted. It must be noted, though, that this is a rather individual-oriented perspective on practice theory, as Reckwitz’ approach does not focus so much on the entanglement of practices and its potential to co-create places. Nevertheless, the following paragraph will recapitulate the empirical findings gathered in the field of Lucerne and allocate them to the spheres Reckwitz has drawn out. This triangulation offers a new perspective on the empirical and underscores its relevance to practice theory. By doing so, it unveils the manifold conflicts, power relations, and fluid dependencies that inherit it.

First, we start with the aspect of the *body*. Reckwitz understands a practice as “the regular, skilful ‘performance’ of (human) bodies”, which “holds modes of handling certain objects as well as for ‘intellectual’ activities such as talking, reading, or writing” (ibid.:251). These embodied characteristics of practices have been observed in Lucerne at various levels, when physically encountering tourists or experiencing Lucerne as a tourist city in embodied fashion, such as by posing on bridges for photos or mingling in public space. Reckwitz notes that “these bodily activities then include also routinized mental and emotional activities which are – on a certain level – bodily, as well” (ibid.). Thus, frustration, anxiety and reluctance can be embodied practices, for example, by showing a warning finger to somebody photographing, smashing a basket on the floor of a supermarket, or honking a car horn (where the car acts as a sort of an extension of the body). Embodied practices are also seen when gathering physically for a concert or standing in the way of tourists to hamper their access to a sight, as in the example of the *Invictis Pax Minifestival*. And similarly, a bodily enacted performance of resistance was captured in the example of someone relieving himself in a dark corner of museum and thus silently protesting at the missing sanctuary infrastructure in Lucerne.

Second, Reckwitz notes that practices are not only sets of routinized bodily performances, “but they are at the same time sets of mental activities” (ibid.), thus addressing the *mind*. “They necessarily imply certain routinized ways of understanding the world, of desiring something, of knowing how to do something”, as Reckwitz further elaborates. That this understanding of tourism and urban space includes the capacity to understand the practices of others by interpreting the significance of symbols and connotations and reading the roles of certain places has been shown in this work. But it has also been shown that it also involves a greater understanding of the significance of tourism for a place,

its coming into being and its historical context. By understanding, for example, the aspirations Lucerne once radiated on rich and famous people as a place of longing in the early 19th century, it becomes explicable how many people have become disillusioned with the situation today, where hardly any esteem and appreciation are mutually shown and shared. This may lead to nostalgia, as has been observed in various encounters and was even dealt with by the Mayor of Lucerne in his inauguration speech at the Turner exhibition.

Third, “objects are necessary components of many practices – just as indispensable as bodily and mental activities”. Reckwitz points out the relevance of *things*: “Carrying out a practice very often means using particular things in a certain way”, for example, cameras (or better *no* cameras) around the neck, mobile phones, and maps (or rather *no* mobile phones or maps for navigating the terrain) to distinguish themselves from being a tourist (or exactly *not*). Objects and things can be regarded as enablers or extensions of practices, or as the results thereof, actively connoting and shaping the place and marking its meaning, purpose, and identity, as was seen with the ‘welcome’ benches at the lakeside. Objects can become signs of tourism and thus be politically contested, like the over-size golden pig’s trotters in front of a supermarket, affording specific practices (i.e., eating particular food) and endowing a place with unmistakable attributes that might be alien to many of its traditional users.

Fourth, “a specific social practice contains specific forms of *knowledge*” (ibid.:253, my emphasis), which is more complex than simply ‘knowing that’: “It embraces ways of understanding, knowing how, ways of wanting and of feeling that are linked to each other within a practice. In a very elementary sense, in a practice the knowledge is a particular way of ‘understanding the world’, which includes an understanding of objects (including abstract ones), of humans, of oneself” (ibid.). We have encountered such knowledge in the form of the spatial competences of certain actors, using particular accesses (like certain bridges) or shopping facilities (where the locals buy) as new options. We have also seen how Jehovah’s Witnesses understand the world, reading visitors’ flows and using mature spatial knowledge to pursue their religious goals using relevant languages. Moreover, some other people mock the lack of spatial knowledge of certain visitors, joking about their ignorance in not seeing the Chapel Bridge (even if it’s right in front of oneself) or not finding the Lion Monument (which is just around the corner from old Swiss House). The explicit display of knowledge is therefore not only an active form of distinction, but also a subversive means of expressing humour and irony.

This leads us, fifth, to *discursive practices* that “embrace different forms in which the world is meaningfully constructed in language or in other sign-systems” (ibid.: 254), such as billboard posters advertising Swiss watches with Chinese photo models, or multilingual signs pointing the way to the cashier in a supermarket. Because “a discursive practice also contains bodily patterns, routinized mental activities – forms of understanding, know-how (here including grammar and pragmatic rules of use), and motivation – and above all, objects [...] that are linked to each other” (ibid.), it becomes clear that these signs and posters are not without meaning, but have a message to tell. This is particularly the case, with political graffiti, smearing and protest banners targeting different understandings of the current touristic situation in Lucerne and pointing their fingers at the contested issues (such as the conversion of former retail space into watch and jewellery stores or turning family apartments into Airbnb short rentals, for example).

Sixth, Reckwitz emphasises *structure/process* as result of routinised practices: “[R]outines of moving the body, of understanding and wanting, of using things, interconnected in a practice. Structure is thus nothing that exists solely in the ‘head’ or in patterns of behavior: One can find it in the routine nature of action. Social fields and institutionalized complexes – from economic

organizations to the sphere of intimacy – are ‘structured’ by the routines of social practices” (ibid.:255). We have seen such structures and processes in manifold ways, where tourism flows actively shape the realm they are inhabiting. We have seen a supermarket adapting processes, systems, and organisation due to the practices of their varied visitors, coming from a far or nearby. We have also seen how public space adapts its structure, when visitor flows inscribe themselves in brick and mortar into the fabric of town, as shown by the widening of a pavement next to Löwenplatz.

As the seventh, and last point, Reckwitz cites the *agent/individual* who carries out practices: “Agents, so to speak, ‘consist in’ the performance of practices (which includes – to stress the point once more – not only bodily, but also mental routines). As carriers of a practice, they are neither autonomous nor the judgmental dopes who conform to norms: They understand the world and themselves, and use know-how and motivational knowledge, according to the particular practice” (ibid.: 256). Here an array of agents has been identified by introducing the *people* inhabiting the place and highlighting their different roles, stances and demands of the place. By so doing, the people inhabiting Lucerne can be seen as a “unique crossing point of practices” (ibid.), where the meaning, purpose and identity of a place are produced and negotiated.

This continuing contested negotiating, this constant co-production of place through practice, is the core of this dissertation. We have seen that tourism issues are dealt in highly active, aware, and rarely adventitious ways. Tourism is of high relevance to the many people inhabiting Lucerne, as is observable in body, mind, things, knowledge, discourse, structure/process, and the agent/individual. It is through their practices that people shape the realms they live in and provide meaning to their respective life worlds. But the crucial question now arises: whose practices prevail? Who dominates whom when simultaneously practicing space? Who adapts, caves in, and eludes in case of conflict? Who stimulates and enriches the other in mutual encounters when differentiated practices meet and entangle? In the end this is a political question about power relations, about taking up space and connoting the realm people are living in with different durations, intensities, purposes, and meanings. It is an ongoing “power struggle”, as Monika (Interview 2, Pos. 34) stated in her interview, or a case of “small-scale global politics”, as Admir (Interview 3, Pos. 68) described it. But at the same time, tourism is also a bridge-builder for cultural understanding, where different bodies of knowledge are shared, where interaction takes place and world views are exchanged. We have seen people travelling without moving when dining in India without leaving Lucerne (Interview 1, Pos. 38) or sharing accounts of their respective life worlds (Interview 37, Pos. 57), all fostering mutual understanding and enriching the everyday. Tourism in Lucerne is therefore a constitutive element of the place that is actively shaped, moulded and formed through an array of practices.

7.4 It’s about *place* which is constantly made and re-made

Three distinct localities within Lucerne have been used in this dissertation, carved out due to the striking accumulation of peoples’ practices. This method showed that Lucerne is not a single place, but a varied and fragmented city, where questions like *under-* or *overtourism* are made manifest in different ways. Places relate to the people who dwell it in various forms. They are negotiated locally, in specific locations and situations. Yet, these distinct places are all interrelated, interwoven and connected to each other. The district of Hirschmatt-Neustadt would not be the district of Hirschmatt-Neustadt if there were not a historic tourist centre to avoid elsewhere. The borough emerged out of a counter project, an alternative plan for a place to play. It was moulded out of the desire of a different way of ‘living with tourism’, where souvenir shops, high-end watch boutiques and Chinese billboards do not dominate and where “restaurants are more personal” (Interview 1, Pos. 19), “shops and taverns

are better” (Interview 2, Pos. 32), “different forms of living have their space” (Interview 6, Pos. 16), and “many institutions, like clubs and restaurants, are moving to” (Interview 9, Pos. 49). Places reference each other, stimulating the locally bound interests and itineraries of their inhabitants, and affording distinct practices *in situ*.

The purposes and meanings of such places are far from stable. In contrast, places are in a constant process of elaboration, movement, and development. Places can be conquered and re-conquered, for example, the supermarket which was ‘taken over’ by tourists. The Migros Schweizerhof “tries to capitalize [on Asian tourists]” (Interview 1, Pos. 30) and is so much “full of tourists” (Interview 22, Pos. 138) that some regular customers no longer want to shop there. The once conventional supermarket has adapted to new customers’ needs, providing information in German, English, and Chinese, hiring international staff, having a presence on emerging digital platforms, and providing a wider range of dedicated products, such as souvenirs, chocolate and much else. It is striking, though, how the pandemic crisis has turned things around in a few months only, when the lack of international customers restored the supermarket’s concept to its original position, eliminating foreign take-away food, dismantling the once lucrative chocolate booth, and rendering Chinese-speaking staff obsolete. This shows that the conceptions, images, and values of a place are in constant flux and are continually being renegotiated. A place is never finished but is always becoming, as meaning and purpose are rarely attributed conclusively. Tourism contributes significantly to the interpretation and re-interpretation of such places, even though places like a Migros supermarket are not ‘officially’ considered as a tourist place. It is an interplay of various actors, “a heterogeneous process where static and mobile ‘nonhumans’ as well as embodied, sensuous ‘humans’, play their part (Haldrup and Larsen 2006:279). It is through their practices and mobilities that people make sense of place and arrange and re-arrange its quality.

The reading, interpretation, and identity of place are often openly debated or even publicly fought out, as in the case of the *Invictis Pax Minifestival* in front of the Lion Monument. We have seen how discursive practices can be embodied, how resistance can be manifested in subversive tactics and have revealed the playfulness of protest when it happens in ludic events accompanied by music and beer. Even a two-hundred-year-old monument carved in solid rock is not permanent. The meaning and interpretation of the gaze at heritage are critically contemplated, artistically mediated and subjected to curated performances, such as the L21 Festival showed.

Thus, a certain self-understanding that is sourced out of these three localities has been examined in detail within this dissertation. The people of Lucerne derive their self-concepts and identities out of place, identify themselves with it and are sometimes proud, sometimes delighted and sometimes worried by it. These places are “contingently stabilised sources of deeply held meanings and attachments” as Baerenholdt et al. (2004:139,140) note, which “stem from networks that enable particular embodied and material performance[s] to occur”. There is thus a constant dealing with place, in which tourism plays a significant part if not the main role. But tourism is not an alien element placed on top of a pre-existing urban fabric. Tourism is part and parcel of the city in which people dwell, where all kind of different practices resonate and co-constitute place. Tourism in its various forms, relations and attributes thus is an omnipresent issue in Lucerne. It is often the first thing which comes to mind if one talks about a medieval town in central Switzerland. Tourism has been the place’s boon and bane, not for just the last couple of years, but for over two centuries. It has formed and shaped the city in bricks and mortar, but also in image and identity. Tourism is densely interwoven with the cityscape, constitutes so many tasks of its task-scape, and feeds an ongoing urban discourse for its inhabitants. Tourism stimulates the crucial questions about Lefebvre’s notion of the right to the city, asking to whom the place belongs and fuelling the debate on many political

questions, such as traffic, housing, public space and many more. Tourism is just one element among many urban conflicts, but due to its nature, it is interconnected and weaved in with most of them. One must respect the multifaceted characteristics of tourism, where isolated views fall short and relationless takes do not contribute to a solution-orientated approach. Urban space is a product of conflict and becomes political “where a wrong can be addressed and equality can be demonstrated” as Dikec (2005:171) noted. It is through the articulation of the burning issue, the embodied stance toward tourism, the meaningful inhabiting of the place, that a city like Lucerne unfolds and comes to life. It is through the manifold practices of its people that urbanity unfolds, and a place emerges. Tourism should not be seen as an alien element in this process, but as an enriching all-encompassing issue contributing to the vivid urbanity of the place. By even attributing a regenerative or restorative power to tourism, a positive driving force in place-making can be identified (Knafou, 2021; Koen 2021:34).

7.5 Overcoming some prevailing prejudices

This in-depth understanding of people, practice and place allows us to move further with the issue of tourism in Lucerne. We can now clear up some persistent prejudices, some overtaken patterns of argumentation which hinder a solution-orientated approach to the possibility of living at ease with tourism. To conclude this chapter, the five most common misconceptions will be addressed, which usually dominate the discourse on tourism in Lucerne. Fresh insights gathered by means of this research are also proposed as ways of overcoming them.

1.) It's not only about tourism. Tourism is part of urban life. It is an interdisciplinary, cross-sectional, and encompassing phenomenon. It is interwoven with housing policies, traffic issues, retail development, questions on the use of public space and much more. Addressing tourism issues detached from their contexts encourages oversimplified perspectives.

2.) It is not only about the numbers. Tourism is not only a question of visitor numbers, country of origin and length of stay, as the common tourism statistics suggest. Tourism is more than that: it is how people interact, what kinds of background knowledge they bring with them, their language skills, personal openness, motivations, and cultural understanding. In short, it is how they relate to place. This requires an integrated approach, a holistic concept that champions the practices of the people, and not only their demographic attributes.

3.) It is not only about the money. Tourism creates jobs, generates significant tax revenues, and pays many public bills, but it also uses the city as a resource, capitalizing on its features. It is therefore an economic trade in goods, whose value is, however, not easy to measure objectively. But tourism is not limited to its economic dimensions, it also encompasses many other aspects. These are often neglected by the dominance of the monetary discourse. It is also about the appreciation and esteem of a local identity, intercultural encounters, and the development of new competences. This broadens horizons and develops many important skills on the part of the inhabitants, which are needed in a globally interconnected world.

4.) It is not only about oneself. Tourism is embedded in a social realm, relating to manifold people with different needs and understandings. This calls for tolerance from all the actors included. One must accept the sometimes lack of mutual understandings due to different cultural backgrounds, motivational knowledge, and spatial competences. However, by putting oneself in the shoes of others, the perspectives of strangers can be adopted, as many people “who are tourists one week, may well be the toured the next”, as Coleman (2008:9) states (and vice versa).

5.) It is not about simple solutions. Tourism in urban spaces poses complex issues. There is no quick fix, but rather a constant balancing of different needs and interests. It involves political negotiation and dealing with controversies and ambiguities. In the end, this is what a city is all about. We must learn to live with contradictions and to arrange our lives in relation to the lives of others. This is all a constitutive part of urban dwelling and, if performed successfully, informs the “touristic capital” of a place and its inhabitants.

These concluding insights show that the term *overtourism* falls short in addressing the tourism issues Lucerne is dealing with. This is not because of the pandemic crisis, which for certain people is causing a sort of *undertourism*. The shortcoming is rather related to the notions of *over-* and *undertourism* themselves, terms that treat tourism as detached and isolated from urban issues, something of which there can be *too much* or *too little*. The concept of *overtourism* does not embed tourism issues in an entangled urban life, but rather sees the city as a container in which tourism is added in doses, whether in quantity above or below its carrying capacity. This dissertation therefore suggests a term such as *with-tourism* rather than the misleading terms *over-* or *undertourism*. Or in some cases it might rather be *a not-possible-without-tourism*.

One of the lessons of this thesis is the preference for a qualitative view of things, not reducing tourists to mere numbers, but seeing them as active, engaging, and productive actors inhabiting the place. The dissertation acknowledges the economic importance of tourism, but also sees many further aspects in it that enrich the city. There is thus a price for using city life as the principal resource of the business model.

Living with tourism in Lucerne is organised, practiced, and performed by each and every inhabitant of the town. Every city dweller has a certain responsibility as well as creative power. One must understand that tourism is not an individual privilege that is withheld from others. Roles may vary on all sides, as must the understanding of the other’s situation.

In the end, *overtourism* is not the simple issue this media-oriented and marketable term might suggest. Of course, it expresses quite clearly a certain feeling by some of the people who dwell in a tourist place, but at the same time, it reduces its complexity to a certain extent, when it starts to become misleading, tendentiously and populist. And this does not suit the scope and importance of the issue at all.

7.6 Limitations of this dissertation and avenues for future research

The ethnographic research elaborated in this dissertation has opened up new perspectives on tourism in Lucerne. It has shed light on neglected angles of the debate and contributes fresh insights into the ongoing negotiations about the kind of tourism Lucerne wants. The study was designed to offer a contemporary account of what is currently happening in the city, a ‘thick description’ of the practice of ‘living with tourism’, without knowing that this thin slice of a temporal insight would assume historical significance so quickly. The framework conditions completely changed within a few weeks in the middle of the research, when an unprecedented pandemic caused a crisis that brought a constantly growing global tourism industry to an abrupt standstill. Whereas the debate on *overtourism* has extensively dominated the local discourse, the lack of international visitors has reversed the situation. No longer were there complaints about too many tourists; rather, a complaint about empty beds filled this void. All the objects, materialities, images, and practices that have annoyed, bothered, or at least stimulated the people of Lucerne so intensively have suddenly disappeared. No more Jehovah’s Witnesses touting for fellow believers in Hindi and Mandarin, no more pig’s trotters on Chinese

herbal sauce at the Migros take-away, no more tour coaches on Schwanenplatz, no more herds of tourists crossing the street on red, no more seats being occupied in commuter's trains, no more customers yelling down the supermarket shelves – they have all completely vanished, leaving only the traces of vague memories, like waking up after an intensive dream, when things can hardly be recalled.

COVID-19 made us realize that crises are part and parcel of the tourism life cycle, where the different phases of growth and decline do not naturally succeed each other, but rather are incidentally jumbled up and arbitrarily unleashed. 'Living with tourism' is therefore not a fixed, given, or static process, but a fluid, interdependent, highly relational affair. Tourism is embedded in context, reliant on circumstances, and highly volatile. This work has carved out these various trajectories and analysed in-depth the people, practices, and places that enact, shape, and constitute this process. People, practice, and place are not seen as separate from each other within this narrative. Quite the contrary, these elements all play together and mutually inform, influence, and inspire each other, co-constituting urban life.

As central thesis of this dissertation it has come forth, that Lucerne is a contested place. Lucerne is not only negotiated between hosts and guests, but among a wide range of actors and manifold people, all equipped with different projects, identities, and relations to place. Second, the thesis postulates that it is not only the pure amount of people mingling in Lucerne that matters, but above all about their practices. It differs on how people interact with each other, what kind of knowledge and competences they bring along, what their motives and capacities are, and how they make use of it. In short, what commonly is regarded as *overtourism* needs a more differentiated and nuanced take to fully grasp what is happening in tourist places. And third, the thesis made clear that is not one sole tourism destination which is at stake, one brand which can be managed and put under one strategic umbrella. There are rather many different, sometimes opposing, sometimes corresponding place narratives, which all co-constitute the overall place that Lucerne is. It is therefore out of a multifaceted fabric, the urban is made from, which is rather informed by different mobilities than solely from tourism. Out of these central insights, the most persistent prejudices have been overcome. The thesis argues that it's not only about tourism, not only about the tourist numbers, not only about economic aspects, not only about oneself and finally not about a simple solution when the 'living together with tourism' is approached and dealt with. Hence, the dissertation derives some solution-oriented and forward-looking recommendations to better live with tourism: It urges for more fruitful encounters, more meaningful products and services, a more suitable infrastructure, greater clarity, a more open debate, and different thinking about tourism, and calls actors to jointly move forward accordingly.

Of course, this dissertation has its limitations. First, the project has applied various dedicated mobile research methods. These have proven to be worthwhile in discovering the needs and wants, desires and anxieties, hopes and prejudices of the people inhabiting Lucerne. By focusing on walking interviews, on drifting solely and on engaging actively in the discourse, the great potential on mobile methods has not been fully exploited, as there would have been many more options to discover Lucerne's social realities. Innovative research techniques such as GPS-tracking, analysing of photographs or time-space diaries have been waived. Not because they would not have contributed to interesting further insights, but because time and space of the research project was obviously limited.

A second limitation is that it was not possible to include all potential stakeholders. Interviewing the well-known exponents of the tourism industry has deliberately been waived, as this dissertation

wanted to give those people a voice, who are not that much heard in the ongoing debate and thus provide new insights for fresh approaches. As the research wanted to cover a large spectrum of ideas, voices, and attitudes, it has investigated on as many diverse people as possible until saturation of information was reached. This has been achieved to a great extent, even though the pandemic crisis prevented some last interviews, such as with organised tour groups in tour coaches or on dinner cruises.

Third, it would have been worth analysing the pandemic crisis itself more profoundly. Even though many aspects have been discussed during interviews conducted after the outbreak of the crisis and much participant observation made on empty streets and in deserted shops, the disruptive consequences of the crisis are only vaguely addressed here, as their long-term effects are yet not fully foreseeable. Nevertheless, the immediate consequences of COVID-19 on 'living with tourism' have been integrated gradually on its own into the research, while spontaneously capturing its effects in various observations and interviews. This, at the same time, opened for new trajectories of future research.

Future research thus still has a lot more to discover. First, it has proved worthwhile stepping into the shoes of the individual actors and tracing them using mobile methods. A continuation of this approach with additional protagonists is therefore suggested, reflecting on further traits of and issues with 'living with tourism' in Lucerne. There are many more neuralgic spots, contested places and arenas where ideas, practices and mobilities intersect and collide. This dissertation thus laid the floor for many more aspects to unveil, as social and material realities also develop, transform, and change over time.

Second, this research has opted for a single case study. It unfolded a portrait of Lucerne to understand the 'living with tourism' specifically in this particular city. Future research could compare these findings with research on other places that are equally inhabited by tourists, locals, commuters, passers-by, and others. It would be interesting to see how comparative findings might differ and where any common ground can be developed. It would be worthwhile investigating places with different historical, political, and economic contexts and to discuss the relevance of such framework conditions. It would be interesting to see what role the size, urban quality, and complexity of a city plays in this endeavour. It would be crucial to examine how distinct urban lifestyles are related to places, and whether these foster more tolerant and diverse understandings of living together with tourism.

Third, future research could also examine digital space. Images and imaginaries, networks and mobilities, are increasingly unfolding virtually too. The relationship with physical space and the interplay between these different life worlds could offer an interesting approach to investigate 'living with tourism' in Lucerne and beyond further. Tracing the narratives on the many social media platforms, investigating the practices of virtual interaction they cause, and unveiling the tactics and strategies that go with it would be a further promising research project.

Last but not least, the current crisis opens up new avenues for rethinking tourism. Lucerne has proven to be a place full of intersecting, meaningful and pronounced practices for over two centuries, and it is hard to imagine the current crisis ending this development for good. Quite the contrary, new avenues will develop, and tourism will play an important part in rejuvenating the city. It would be interesting to follow and scrutinize this development by examining the social, cultural, and economic power of tourism and showing how this interplays with the diverse and manifold urbanity of the place. The next months will be crucial to acquiring an understanding of what happens when a place

is reconnected to global flows again and is re-established as an international place of longing, mooring, or simply driving through.

In short, this study has revealed how a place like Lucerne is “economically, politically and culturally produced through the multiple networked mobilities of capital, persons, objects, signs and information” (Baerenholdt 2004:145). It would now be interesting to investigate how these findings resonate with other empirical work on ‘living with tourism’ in other places, life-worlds, and global health situations. This would provide further empirical support for the “new mobilities paradigm”, which Sheller and Urry (2004) developed to capture the fluid, interwoven and dynamic nature of tourism places as “places to play and places in play”.

List of interview partners

1. Miriam L. with son Fionn, Lucerne resident (old town), January 22, 2019
2. Monika S., Lucerne resident (outskirts), January 22, 2019
3. Admir Sinanovic, manager of Migros Schweizerhof, February 4, 2019
4. Amy and Vincent with son and befriended couple with son, individual tourists from Shanghai, China, February 4, 2019
5. Judith S., Lucerne resident (outskirts), February 22, 2019
6. Markus Schulthess, borough association Hirschmatt-Neustadt, May 6, 2019*
7. Marc-André Roth, borough association Hochwacht, May 21, 2019*
8. Karin Simmen, borough association Hochwacht Säli-Bruch-Obergütsch, June 18, 2019*
9. Maya von Dach and Reto Burch, district development, city of Lucerne, June 26, 2019*
10. Urs Anton Krügel, district police officer, city of Lucerne, July 23, 2019*
11. Family Surmont, camping holiday-makers, Antwerp, Belgium, July 23, 2019
12. Tobias Madörin, contemporary photographer, Zurich, Switzerland, August 8, 2019
13. Sukanya I. and Phunnawydee M., tourists from Bangkok, Thailand, October 10, 2019
14. Evelyne S. and two befriended Filipinos, Lucerne residents and US visitor, October 21, 2019
15. Zhao K. with family, individual tourists from Luxembourg and China, October 22, 2019
16. Thai couple (no names), private group tourists, Bangkok, Thailand, October 24, 2019
17. Nadine Schreiber, store manager Alnatura, Hertensteinstrasse, Lucerne, October 31, 2019
18. Flaminia and Alessandro, individual tourists from Milan, Italy, October 31, 2019
19. Dominic W., Chocolate vendor, interviewed as private person, commuter from Aargau, November 14, 2019
20. Claudio A., Chestnut vendor, Lucerne resident, November 28, 2019
21. Diverse, Various guests at art event L21, Kunsthalle Luzern, December 22, 2019
22. Marie-Therese and Heimo, horse-carriage driver with various guests, January 8, 2020
23. Diverse, various guests on guided tour at Lucerne light festival, Lilu, January 17, 2020
24. Diana and James, international students from USA and Vietnam, February 11, 2020
25. Aree, Lucerne souvenir shop-owner and people swimming in the River Reuss, May 5, 2020
26. Marc-André Roth, borough association Hochwacht, follow up interview, May 13, 2020
27. Judith S., Lucerne resident (outskirts), follow-up interview, May 14, 2020
28. Aree and Hugo, Lucerne souvenir shop-owner with husband, May 19, 2020
29. Vivienne and Peter, expats from Hungary working in tourism industry, May 27, 2020
30. Monika S., Lucerne resident (outskirts), follow-up interview, June 2, 2020

31. Andreas Gassmann, founder of VisitLocals, Lucerne tour operator, June 8, 2020
32. Christoph Fehlmann, theatre maker, June 8, 2020
33. Martina and Stefan, city train passengers (made-up names) with others, June 13, 2020
34. Urs Anton Krügel, district police officer city of Lucerne, follow-up interview, June 30, 2020
35. Christopher Bryan, boat rental manager with various guests, July 13, 2020
36. Family from Herisau (no names), Swiss family on a cycling tour, July 13, 2020
37. Pascal Aregger and Dutch family, e-tuk-tuk driver with guests, July 20, 2020
38. Urs Doggwiler, fourth-generation Lucerne butcher, August 6, 2019

(*) Interviews were conducted together with Matthias Bürgin, in the framework of an internally financed HSLU research project on tourism and urban development.

Note: To guarantee a certain anonymity only the first names of the interview partners are given, except with persons representing a company or an institution in an official role.

References

- Adey, Peter (2010): *Mobility*. London: Routledge (Key ideas in geography).
- Albrecht, Philipp. (2018): Migros' China-Feldzug kommt nicht in Fahrt: In: *Handelszeitung* of 27.07.2018, last retrieved online 27.02.2021 on <https://www.handelszeitung.ch/migros-china-feldzug-kommt-nicht-fahrt>.
- Ali, Rafat (2018): *The Genesis of Overtourism: Why We Came Up With the Term and What's Happened Since*. With Andrew Sheivachman and Greg Oates. On: skift.com of 14.08.2018, last retrieved online on 24.06.2020 at <https://skift.com/2018/08/14/the-genesis-of-overtourism-why-we-came-up-with-the-term-and-whats-happened-since>
- Arengo-Jones, Peter (2018): "Queen Victoria in der Schweiz", Ed. by Historisches Museum Luzern, Baden: Hier und Jetzt Verlag.
- Aschwanden, Erich (2018): Barcelona, Venedig, Luzern – die Angst vor dem "Overtourism" wächst. In: *Neue Zürcher Zeitung* of 02.08.2018, last retrieved online on 23.12.2019 at <https://www.nzz.ch/schweiz/barcelona-prag-luzern-in-der-innerschweiz-werden-tourismuskritische-stimmen-lauter-ld.1406105>
- Aschwanden, Erich (2019): Spektakuläre Hochzeit auf 3200 Metern über Meer – wie die Anfänge des Overtourism fromme Christen verärgerten. In: *Neue Zürcher Zeitung* of 30.12.2019, last retrieved online on 09.03.2021 at <https://www.nzz.ch/schweiz/hochzeit-auf-3200-metern-ueber-meer-wie-die-anfaenge-des-overtourism-fromme-christen-veraergerte-ld.1528053?reduced=true>
- Bærenholdt, Jørgen Ole; Haldrup, Michael; Larsen, Jonas; Urry, John (2004): *Performing tourist places*. Milton Park, Abingdon, Oxon, New York, NY: Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group (New directions in tourism analysis).
- BAK Economics (2021): *Die Bedeutung des Tourismus für die Luzerner Volkswirtschaft*. Report commissioned by Luzern Tourismus AG, Kanton Luzern, Stadt Luzern, May 2021.
- Barnett, Clive; Bridge, Gary (2013): Geographies of Radical Democracy: Agonistic Pragmatism and the Formation of Affected Interests. In: *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 103 (4), pp. 1022–1040.
- Bauman, Zygmunt (2000): *Liquid modernity*. Cambridge UK, Malden MA: Polity Press; Blackwell.
- Benjamin, Walter (1989): *Passagen-Werk*. Gesammelte Schriften V (2).
- Benjamin, Walter (1997/1973): *Charles Baudelaire. A lyric poet in the era of high capitalism: translated by Harry Zohn*. London, New York: Verso (Verso classics, 7).
- Böhme, Gernot (2014): *Atmosphäre. Essays zur neuen Ästhetik*. 2. Aufl. der 7., erw. und überarb. Aufl. Berlin: Suhrkamp (Edition Suhrkamp, 2664).
- Boissevain, Jeremy (1996): *Coping with tourists. European reactions to mass tourism*. Providence, R.I.: Berghahn Books (New directions in anthropology, 1).
- Bosselman, Fred P.; Peterson, Craig A.; McCarthy, Claire (1999): *Managing tourism growth. Issues and applications*. Washington, D.C: Island Press.
- Botton, Alain de (2002): *The art of travel*. Camberwell, Vic.: Penguin.

- Bourdieu, Pierre (1986): *The Forms of Capital*. In: J. G. Richardson (Ed.): *Handbook of Theory and Research for the Sociology of Education*. New York: Greenwood Press, pp. 241–258.
- Brundtland, Gro Harlem (1991): *Our common future*. 13. impr. Oxford: Univ. Press (Oxford paperbacks).
- Bucher, Philipp (2017): *25 Dienstjahre, eine Leiche und jede Menge Bier*. In: *zentralplus* of 26.03.2017, last retrieved online on 30.12.2020 at <https://www.zentralplus.ch/25-dienstjahre-eine-leiche-und-jede-quote-bier-775069>
- Buhalis, Dimitrios (2001): *Managing tourism growth: issues and applications* by F. Bosselman, C. Peterson and C. McCarthy, Island Press, Washington, DC, 1999. In: *Int. J. Tourism Res.* 3 (3), pp. 263–264.
- Bühler, Max namens der SP/JUSO-Fraktion (2015): *Gewerbevielfalt in der Luzerner Altstadt*. Interpellation Nr. 263 2012/2016. Eingang Stadtkanzlei: 20. April 2015. Stadt Luzern, Grosser Stadtrat.
- Burckhardt, Lucius; Ritter, Markus; Schmitz, Martin (Eds.) (2015): *Warum ist Landschaft schön? Die Spaziergangswissenschaft*. 4. Auflage. Berlin: Schmitz.
- Bürgi, Andreas (2016): *Eine touristische Bilderfabrik. Kommerz, Vergnügen und Belehrung am Luzerner Löwenplatz, 1850-1914*. With Philipp Flury and Claudia Hermann. Zürich: Chronos.
- Büscher, Monika (2006): *Vision in Motion*. In: *Environ Plan A* 38 (2), pp. 281–299.
- Büscher, Monika; Urry, John (2009): *Mobile Methods and the Empirical*. In: *European Journal of Social Theory* 12 (1), pp. 99–116.
- Büscher, Monika; Urry, John; Witchger, Katian (2011): *Mobile methods*. London, New York: Routledge.
- Butler, Richard W. (1980): *The Concept of a Tourist Area Life Cycle of Evolution: Implication for Management of Resources*. In: *The Canadian Geographer* 24 (1), pp. 5–12.
- Butler, Richard W. (1999): *Sustainable tourism: A state-of-the-art review*. In: *Tourism Geographies* 1 (1), pp. 7–25.
- Butler, Richard W. (2019): *Overtourism and the Tourism Area Life Cycle*. In: Rachel Dodds und Richard Butler (Eds.): *Overtourism*. Berlin, Boston: De Gruyter, pp. 76–90.
- Certau, Michel de (2005): *The practice of everyday life: “making do”: uses and tactics*. In: Gabrielle M. Spiegel (Ed.) *Practicing History, New Directions in Historical Writing after the Linguistic Turn*. New York and London: Routledge.
- Certeau, Michel de (1988): *The practice of everyday life*. 1. pbk. printing. Berkeley, Calif.: University of California Press.
- Clark, Andrew; Emmel, Nick (2008): *Walking interviews: more than walking and talking? Peripatetic Practices: a workshop on walking*. London, March 2008.
- Clifford Geertz (1973): *The Interpretation of Cultures. Selected Essays by Clifford Geertz*. New York: Basic Books, Inc., Publishers.
- Cohen, Scott A.; Cohen, Erik (2017): *New directions in the sociology of tourism*. In: *Current Issues in Tourism* 39 (1), pp. 1–20.
- Coleman, Simon (Ed.) (2008): *Tourism. Between place and performance*. Pbk. repr. New York: Berghahn Books.
- Colomb, Claire; Novy, Johannes (2017): *Urban tourism and its discontents: an introduction*. In: Claire Colomb and Johannes Novy (Eds.) *Protest and Resistance in the Tourist City*. Abingdon, New York: Routledge, pp. 1–30.

- CVP Christlichdemokratische Volkspartei (2017): Zufriedene Gäste statt leere Kassen, Plakatkampagne. Last retrieved online 14.12.2017 at <https://www.cvp-luzern.ch/>
- Debord, Guy (1958): *Théorie de la dérive*. In: *Internationale Situationniste* (2).
- Deutsche, Rosalyn (1996): Agoraphobia. In: *Eviction: Art and Spatial Politics*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, pp. 269–327.
- Diaconu, Madalina (2010): Urban Drifting as a Work Method of the Creative Class. In: *Proceedings of the European Society for Aesthetics* (2), pp. 100–112.
- Dikec, Mustafa (2005): Space, politics, and the political. *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, SAGE Publications, volume 23, pp. 171–188.
- Doxey, George (1975): A Causation Theory of Visitor–Resident Irritants: Methodology and Research Inferences. *The Impact of Tourism*. In: *The Sixth Annual Conference Proceedings*, San Diego: The Travel Research Association, pp. 195–198.
- Duncan, Tara (2012): The ‘mobilities turn’ and the geographies of tourism. In: Julie Wilson (Ed.): *The Routledge Handbook of Tourism Geographies*. Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge, pp.113–119.
- Edensor, Tim (2000): Staging tourism. In: *Annals of Tourism Research* 27 (2), pp. 322–344.
- Eggl, Florian; Huck, Lukas; Weber, Fabian; Stettler, Jürg (2019): Case study 14: Lucerne, Switzerland, In: ‘Overtourism’? Understanding and Managing Urban Tourism Growth beyond Perceptions Volume 2: Case Studies. World Tourism Organization (UNWTO); CELTH; NHTV Breda University of Applied Sciences; and NHL Stenden University of Applied Sciences, pp. 61–63.
- Eggl, Florian; Stettler, Jürg; Huck, Lukas; Weber, Fabian (2020): Overtourism am Beispiel von Luzern und der Rigi. In: Dominik Pietzcker and Christina Vaih-Baur (Eds.) *Ökonomische und soziologische Tourismustrends. Strategien und Konzepte im globalen Destinationsmarketing*. Wiesbaden: Springer Gabler, pp. 169–184.
- Eggl, Florian; Stock, Mathis (2020): Leben mit dem Tourismus in Luzern, Schweiz. In: *Zeitschrift „Berichte. Geographie und Landeskunde“*, 93 (3), Leipzig: Selbstverlag der Deutschen Akademie für Landeskunde, pp. 239–261.
- Ehrenzweig, Natalie (2018): Die etwas andere Stadtführung: So erleben chinesische Touristen Luzern, In: *Luzerner Zeitung* of 25.11.2018. Last retrieved online 21.12.2020 at <https://www.luzernerzeitung.ch/zentralschweiz/luzern/die-etwas-andere-stadtfuehrung-so-erleben-chinesische-touristen-luzern-ld.1072700>
- Emerson, Robert M.; Fretz, Rachel I.; Shaw, Linda L. (2011): *Writing ethnographic fieldnotes*. Second edition. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press (Chicago guides to writing, editing, and publishing).
- Emirbayer, Mustafa (1997): Manifesto for a Relational Sociology. In: *American Journal of Sociology* 103 (2), pp. 281–317.
- Enzensberger, Hans Magnus (1996): *A Theory of Tourism*. *New German Critique*, Spring - Summer, 1996, No. 68, Special Issue on Literature, Durham: Duke University Press, pp. 117–135.
- Evans, James; Jones, Phil (2011): The walking interview: Methodology, mobility and place. In: *Applied Geography* 31 (2), pp. 849–858.
- Federal Statistical Office of Switzerland (2018): Overnight statistics. Neuchâtel. www.statistik.admin.ch, last retrieved online 20.01.2020.

- Fetzer, Fanny (2017): Walks: In: Robert Zünd (1827 – 1909), Tobias Madörin (*1965), Bellevue. Kunstmuseum Luzern 8.7 – 15.10.2017. Zürich: Scheidegger & Spiess, pp. 43–49.
- Fincham, Benjamin; Murray, Lesley; McGuinness, Mark; Sheller, Mimi (Eds.) (2010): Mobile methodologies. ebrary, Inc. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Fischer, Peter (2019): We Are The Lion / Der Löwe sind wir. Eine Ausstellung von L21 in der Kunsthalle Luzern. FR 18. Oktober 2019 bis SO 22. Dezember 2019 [Exhibitor brochure]
- Flückiger Strelbel, Erika (2013): Tourismusgeschichte Zentralschweiz. Detailprojekt.
- Frank, Sybille (2016): Dwelling-in-motion: Indian Bollywood tourists and their hosts in the Swiss Alps. In: Cultural Studies 30 (3), pp. 506–531.
- Freytag, Tim (2010): Déjà-vu: tourist practices of repeat visitors in the city of Paris. In: Social Geography 5, pp. 49–58.
- Freytag, Tim; Bauder, Michael (2018): Bottom-up touristification and urban transformations in Paris. In: Tourism geographies 20(3), pp. 443–460.
- Füller, Henning; Michel, Boris (2014): ‘Stop Being a Tourist!’ New Dynamics of Urban Tourism in Berlin-Kreuzberg, International Journal of Urban and Regional Research, Volume 38.4, pp 1304–1318.
- Gauch, Yannik namens der SP/JUSO-Fraktion (2020): Mobile Sitzgelegenheiten und vorübergehende Begrünung von ungebrauchten Carparkplätzen. Dringliches Postulat 417, Eingang Stadtkanzlei: 13. Mai 2020, Stadt Luzern, Grosser Stadtrat.
- Geiselhart, Klaus; Winkler, Jan; Dünckmann, Florian (2019): Vom Wissen über das Tun - praxeologische Ansätze für die Geographie von der Analyse bis zur Kritik. In: Susann Schäfer und Jonathan Everts (Eds.): Handbuch Praktiken und Raum. Humangeographie nach dem Practice Turn. 1. Auflage. Bielefeld: transcript (Sozial- und Kulturgeographie, 28), pp. 21–76.
- Gemeindereform Luzern (n.d): <https://gemeindereform.lu.ch/> (last retrieved online 03.11.2020).
- Gerber, Anita; Munkhbold, Bolorchimeg; Vianello, Igor (2020): Project 3: Residents` perception of tourism in Lucerne. Applied Research Project: Final Report. Lucerne University of Applied Sciences and Arts Institute of Tourism ITW.
- Gigor, Daniela (2018): Chinesen lieben es: Migros in Luzern verkauft jetzt Schweinsfüsschen. In: 20Minuten of 26. November 2018, last retrieved online 27.02.2021 on <https://www.20min.ch/story/migros-in-luzern-verkauft-jetzt-schweinsfuesschen-458711743672>
- Giuffrida, Angela (2018): Don` t look now ... it`s the sandwich police, saving Venice from its tourists. In: The Guardian/The Observer of 14.07.2018, last retrieved online at https://www.theguardian.com/world/2018/jul/14/venice-stewards-stop-antisocial-behaviour--sandwich-poilice?CMP=share_btn_tw
- Glaus, Christian (2019): Überfüllte Züge zu Stosszeiten: Zentralbahn verärgert Pendler. In: Luzerner Zeitung of 09.10.2019, last retrieved online 06.01.2021 at <https://www.luzernerzeitung.ch/zentralschweiz/luzern/ueberfuellte-zuege-zu-stosszeiten-zentralbahn-veraergert-pendler-ld.1158473>
- Goffman, Erving (1959): The presentation of self in everyday life. New York: Doubleday.
- Goodwin, Harold (2017): The Challenge of Overtourism. Responsible Tourism Partnership Working Paper 4. October 2017.

- Graham, Steve; Marvin, Simon (2001): *Splintering Urbanism*. London: Routledge,
- Groebner, Valentin (2018): *Retroland. Geschichtstourismus und die Sehnsucht nach dem Authentischen*, Frankfurt am Main: S. Fischer.
- Grube, Nils (2018): Stadtverträglicher Tourismus in Friedrichshain-Kreuzberg - Konfliktmoderation in touristifizierten Quartieren Berlins. pp. 86–90.
- Gwa (2018): Chinesen schämen sich für rabiate Schwan-Würgerin. In: 20 Minuten of 28.09.2018, last retrieved online 07.01.2021 at <https://www.20min.ch/story/chinesen-schaemen-sich-fuer-rabiate-schwan-wuergerin-107928937815>
- Gyimóthy, Szilvia (2018): Transformations in destination texture: Curry and Bollywood romance in the Swiss Alps, *Tourist Studies*. 18(3): pp. 292–314.
- Haldrup, Michael; Larsen, Jonas (2006): Material Cultures of Tourism, *Leisure Studies*, 25:3, pp. 275–289.
- Haldrup, Michael; Larsen, Jonas (2010): *Tourism, performance and the everyday. Consuming the Orient*. London, New York: Routledge (Routledge studies in contemporary geographies of leisure, tourism, and mobility, 15).
- Hannam, Kevin; Sheller, Mimi; Urry, John (2006): Editorial: Mobilities, Immobilities and Moorings, *Mobilities*, 1:1, pp. 1–22.
- Hanser Consulting AG (2018): *Gruppentourismus in Luzern. Analyse der volkswirtschaftlichen Bedeutung. Schlussbericht*. Zürich.
- Härtling, Ralf-Christian; Reichstein, Christopher; Härtle, Nina; Stiefl, Jürgen (2017): Potentials of Digitization in the Tourism Industry – Empirical Results from German Experts. In: Witold Abramowicz (Ed.): *Business Information Systems*, Bd. 288. Cham: Springer International Publishing (Lecture Notes in Business Information Processing), pp. 165–178.
- Heidegger, Martin (2006): Buiding, dwelling, thinking. In: Joanne Morra und Marquard Smith (Eds.): *Spaces of visual culture, III*. London: Routledge.
- Historisches Museum Luzern (2018): *Queen Victoria in der Schweiz*, 29.03. – 16.09.2018, last retrieved online 10.02.2021 at https://historischesmuseum.lu.ch/ausstellungen/Archiv/Ausstellung_Queen_Victoria
- Hitchings, Russell; Jones, Verity (2004): Living with plants and the exploration of botanical encounter within human geographic research practice. In: *Ethics, Place & Environment* 7 (1-2), pp. 3–18.
- Hoppe-Seyler, Annika; Stephan, Christiane; Lahr-Kurten, Matthias (2019): *Praktikentheorie und Emotion/Affekt*. In: Susann Schäfer und Jonathan Everts (Eds.): *Handbuch Praktiken und Raum. Humangeographie nach dem Practice Turn*, Bd. 28. 1. Auflage. Bielefeld: transcript (Sozial- und Kulturgeographie, 28), pp. 273–298.
- Imbach, Pascal (2008): Quartierpolizei: Ein Polizist ist kein Polizist. In: *Luzerner Zeitung* from 06.06.2008, last retrieved online 30.12.2020 <https://www.luzernerzeitung.ch/zentralschweiz/luzern/quartierpolizei-quartierpolizei-emeinem-polizist-ist-kein-polizist-ld.30523>
- Ingold, Tim (1990): An Anthropologist Looks at Biology. In: *Man* 25 (2), pp. 208–229.
- Ingold, Tim (1993): The Temporality of the Landscape. In: *World Archaeology* 25 (2), pp. 152–174.
- Ingold, Tim (2004): Culture on the Ground. In: *Journal of Material Culture* 9 (3), pp. 315–340.
- Ingold, Tim (2011): *The perception of the environment. Essays on livelihood, dwelling and skill*. London, New York: Routledge.

- Ingold, Tim; Vergunst, Jo Lee (Eds.) (2012): *Ways of walking. Ethnography and practice on foot*. Reprint. Farnham: Ashgate (Anthropological studies of creativity and perception).
- Jenks, Chris; Neves, Tiago (2000): A walk on the wild side: Urban ethnography meets the Flâneur. In: *Cultural Values* 4 (1), pp. 1–17.
- Jennings, Gayle R. (2012): Qualitative Research Methods. In: Larry Dwyer, Alison Gill und Neelu Seetaram (Eds.): *Handbook of Research Methods in Tourism. Quantitative and Qualitative Approaches*. Cheltenham: Edward Elgar Publishing (Elgar original reference), pp. 309–323.
- Jóhannesson, Gunnar Tor; Lund, Katrín Anna (2019): Beyond Overtourism: Studying the Entanglements of Society and Tourism in Iceland. In: Claudio Milano, Joseph M. Cheer und Marina Novelli (Eds.): *Overtourism. Excesses, discontents and measures in travel and tourism*, pp. 91–106.
- Jordan, Gabriela (2017): Tourismus: Luzerns ältester Souvenirshop in neuen Händen. In: *Luzerner Zeitung* from 14.03.2017. Last retrieved online 23.03.2021 at <https://www.luzernerzeitung.ch/zentralschweiz/luzern/tourismus-luzerns-aeltester-souvenirshop-in-neuen-haenden-ld.97246>
- JUSO (n.d): Inseli-Initiative. Am 24. September 2017: Ja zur Initiative “Für ein lebendiges Inseli statt Blechlawine” (Inseli-Initiative). Website, last retrieved online 11.03.2021 at <https://juso.lu/juso-lu/kampagnen/inseli-initiative/>
- Kleintheater Luzern (2018): Visit Pyöngyang! Eine Luzerner Tourismuskomödie in vier Teilen, last retrieved online 12.02.2021 at <https://www.kleintheater.ch/archiv>
- Knafou, Rémy (2021): *Réinventer le tourisme. Sauver nos vacances sans détruire le monde*. Clamecy: Éditions du faubourg.
- Koens, Ko (2021): Reframing Urban Tourism. Inaugural Lecture, Inholland Hogeschool.
- Koens, Ko; Postma, Albert; Papp, Bernadett (2018): Is Overtourism Overused? Understanding the Impact of Tourism in a City Context. In: *Sustainability* 10 (12), 4384, pp. 1–15.
- Kramer, Clara (2020): Die Bedeutung touristisch-urbaner Mußeräume im Zuge einer Touristifizierung von Städten. Das Beispiel Barcelona. *Berichte. Geographie und Landeskunde*, 93 (3), pp. 221–237.
- Krippendorf, Jost (1975): *Die Landschaftsfresser. Tourismus u. Erholungslandschaft - Verderben oder Segen?* Bern: Verl. Forschungsinstitut für Fremdenverkehr der Univ.
- Krippendorf, Jost (1987): *The holiday makers. Understanding the impact of leisure and travel*. Oxford [u.a.]: Butterworth-Heinemann.
- Kunstmuseum Luzern (2019): *Turner. Das Meer und die Alpen*. Publikation zur Ausstellung im Kunstmuseum Luzern vom 6. Juli – 13. Oktober 2019. München: Hirmer Verlag GmbH.
- Kusenbach, Margarethe (2003): Street Phenomenology. The go-along as ethnographic research tool. In: *Ethnography* 4 (3), pp. 455–485.
- Larsen, Jonas (2001): Tourism Mobilities and the Travel Glance: Experiences of Being on the Move, *Scandinavian Journal of Hospitality and Tourism*, 1:2, pp. 80–98.
- Larsen, Jonas (2008): De-exoticizing Tourist Travel: Everyday Life and Sociality on the Move, *Leisure Studies*, 27:1, pp. 21–34.
- Larsen, Jonas (2012): Performance, space and tourism. In: Julie Wilson (Ed.): *The Routledge Handbook of Tourism Geographies*. Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge, pp. 67–73.

- Löfgren, Orvar (2002): *On Holiday. A History of Vacationing*. California Studies in Critical Human Geography, Berkley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press.
- Lorimer, Hayden (2010): *Walking: New Forms and Spaces for Studies of Pedestrianism*. In: Tim Cresswell and Peter Merriman (Eds.): *Geographies of mobilities. Practices, spaces, subjects*. Farnham: Ashgate Pub. Co, pp. 19–34.
- Lucerne City Council (Stadt Luzern, Stadtrat) (2014): *Wirtschaftsbericht der Stadt Luzern. Bericht und Antrag an den Grossen Stadtrat von Luzern vom 9. Juli 2014 (StB 533)*.
- Lucerne City Council (Stadt Luzern, Stadtrat) (2019): *Tourismus und Carregime. Bericht und Antrag an den Grossen Stadtrat von Luzern vom 28. August 2019 (StB 516)*.
- Lussault, Michel (2007): *L'Homme Spatial. La Construction Sociale de l'Espace Humain*. Paris: Seuil.
- Lussault, Michel (2009): *De la Lutte des Classes à la Lutte des Places*. Paris: Grasset.
- Lussault, Michel; Stock, Mathis (2010): "Doing with space": towards a pragmatics of space. In: *Soc. Geogr.* 5 (1), pp. 11–19.
- LUSTAT (2019): *Tourismus im Kanton Luzern 2018: Chinesische Gäste häufig auf Stippvisite in Luzern*. Last retrieved online 18.01.2021 <https://www.lustat.ch/mobile-app/publikationen/tourismus-2019>
- LUSTAT (2020): https://www.lustat.ch/files_ftp/daten/kt/0003/w103_003g_kt0003_zz_d_0000.html
- Luzern Tourismus AG (2016): *Businessplan Luzern Tourismus AG, 2017 bis 2020 – Kurzversion*.
- Luzern Tourismus AG (2019): *Exklusiv nur für Luzerner: Nicht daheim und doch zu hause*. Website last retrieved online on 19.01.2021 at <https://nichtdaheim.luzern.one/>
- Luzern Tourismus AG (n.d.,a): *Über Luzern Tourismus*. Website last retrieved online on 10.03.2021 at <https://www.luzern.com/de/ueber-uns/ueber-luzern-tourismus/>
- Luzern Tourismus AG (n.d.,b): *Hirschmatt-Neustadt - Luzerns Trendquartier zum Entdecken*. Websit last retrieved online on 19.07.2021 at <https://www.luzern.com/de/highlights/die-stadt/hirschmatt-neustadt/>
- Luzerner Theater (2020): *Souvenir*. <https://www.luzernertheater.ch/souvenir>
- MacCannell, Dean (1976): *The Tourist: A New Theory of the Leisure Class*. New York: Schocken Books.
- Maclean, Marie (1988): *Narrative as performance. The Baudelairean experiment*. London: Routledge.
- Madörin, Tobias (2003): *Ein fotografisches Portfolio. Suchbild Venedig*. In: *DU, Die Zeitschrift der Kultur*, 4/2003. Venedig. Baustelle Kunst. Zürich: TA Media, pp. 45-75.
- Maitland, Robert (2010): *Everyday life as a creative experience in cities*. *International Journal of Culture, Tourism and Hospitality Research* 4.3, 176–185
- Maitland, Robert, Newman, Peter (2004): *Developing Metropolitan Tourism on the Fringe of Central London*. *International Journal of Tourism Research*, 6(5), pp. 339–348.
- Mansilla José A.; Milano, Claudio (2019): *Becoming centre: tourismplacemaking and space production in two neighborhoods in Barcelona*, *Tourism Geographies*, pp. 1–24.
- Massey, Doreen B. (2012): *For space*. Reprinted. Los Angeles, Calif.: Sage.
- McCarthy, Simone (2018): *Chinese-speaking tourists attack swan by Swiss lake 'over missed photo' Widely shared video shows woman teasing bird then grabbing it by the head and neck*. In: *South China Morning Post* from 26.09.2018, last retrieved online on 28.01.2021

<https://www.scmp.com/news/china/society/article/2165811/chinese-speaking-tourists-attack-swan-swiss-lake-over-missed>

- McNay, Lois (2004): Agency and experience: gender as a lived relation. In: *The Sociological Review* 2 (2), pp. 173–190.
- Messent, Peter (2004): Tramps and Tourists: Europe in Mark Twain's 'A Tramp Abroad'. In: *The Yearbook of English Studies*, Vol. 34, Nineteenth-Century Travel Writing, Modern Humanities Research Association, pp. 138–154.
- Messmer, Kurt (2020): Luzern – Stadt am Wasser. Vom KKL zur Hofkirche – Bauten erzählen Geschichte. Stadt Luzern.
- Mjm (2000): „Mister Lucerne“ tritt in den Ruhestand: In: NZZ of 27. August 2000, last retrieved online 03.03.2021 on https://www.nzz.ch/mister_lucerne_tritt_in_den_ruhestand-1.8471830?reduced=true
- Mme (2018): Touristin geht einem Schwan an die Gurgel. In: 20 Minuten of 24.09.2018, last retrieved online on 07.01.2021 at <https://www.20min.ch/story/touristin-geht-einem-schwan-an-die-gurgel-637095565257>
- Monty Python (1971): And Now for Something Completely Different. An anthology of the best sketches from the first and second seasons of Monty Python's Flying Circus. Movie document.
- Mordue, Tom (2005): Tourism, Performance and Social Exclusion in “Olde York”. In: *Annals of Tourism Research* 32 (1), pp. 179–198.
- Müller, Martin (2012): Mittendrin statt nur dabei: Ethnographie als Methodologie in der Humangeographie. In: *Geographica Helvetica* 67 (4), pp. 179–184.
- Novy, Johannes (2019): Konfliktgegenstand Stadttourismus. Overdosed, underplanned, or what? Keynote lecture at Conference “Touristifizierung urbaner Räume. Gemeinsame Tagung des AK Stadtzukünfte und des AK Tourismusforschung from May 22. - 24. 2019 at the University of Freiburg.
- Paulos, Eric; Goodman, Elizabeth (2004): The familiar stranger. In: Elizabeth Dykstra-Erickson und Manfred Tscheligi (Eds.): *Proceedings of the 2004 conference on Human factors in computing systems - CHI '04. the 2004 conference. Vienna, Austria, 24.04.2004 - 29.04.2004. New York, New York, USA: ACM Press, pp. 223–230.*
- Quinn, Bernadette (2007): Performing Tourism Venetian Residents in Focus. In: *Annals of Tourism Research* 34 (2), pp. 458–476.
- Ragaz, Stefan (n.d.): Neustadt-Walking-Route. History of the borough. Last retrieved online on 24.05.2021 at <https://www.hirschmatt-neustadt.ch/de/geschichte-quartier-hirschmatt-neustadt-luzern/>
- Reckwitz, Andreas (2002): Toward a Theory of Social Practices. A Development in Culturalist Theorizing. In: *European Journal of Social Theory* 5 (2), pp. 243–263.
- Reckwitz, Andreas (2012): Affective spaces: a praxeological outlook. In: *Rethinking History* 16 (2), pp. 241–258.
- Reckwitz, Andreas (2016): *Kreativität und soziale Praxis. Studien zur Sozial- und Gesellschaftstheorie. Bielefeld: transcript (Sozialtheorie).*
- Reed, Adam (2002): City of Details: Interpreting the Personality of London. In: *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* 8 (1), pp. 127–141.
- Rosa, Hartmut (2019): *Resonanz. Eine Soziologie der Weltbeziehung. Berlin: Suhrkamp.*

- Rotz, Judith von (2018): Pfarrei St. Karl, Zu Gast bei den Filiponos. In: Pfarreiblatt Katholische Kirche Stadt Luzern 6/2018, p.10, last retrieved online on 20.12.2020 at https://www.kathluzern.ch/fileadmin/user_upload/Files/Dokumente/Pfarreiblatt_2018/Pfarreiblatt_Stadt_Luzern_06_2018.pdf
- Ruckli, Stoph (2016): Lokales vor dem Löwen. In: 041 Das Kulturmagazin of 07.08.2016 last retrieved online on 19.07.2021 at <https://www.null41.ch/tags/invictis-pax>.
- Sager, Urban; Hofstetter, Peter (2019): Wie verändere ich die Stadt Luzern? Unterrichtsheft zur politischen Bildung anhand lokalpolitischer Themen der Stadt Luzern. Edited by the city of Lucerne and the university of teacher education Lucerne.
- Schatzki, Theodore R. (1996): *Social practices. A Wittgensteinian approach to human activity and the social*. Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press.
- Schatzki, Theodore R. (2015): "Space of Practices and of Large Social Phenomena", *EspacesTemps.net*, Traverses.
- Schatzki, Theodore R. (2016): Keeping Track of Large Phenomena. In: *Geographische Zeitschrift* 104 (1), pp. 4–24.
- Schatzki, Theodore R. (2019): Social Change in a Material World: A Précis. In: Susann Schäfer und Jonathan Everts (Eds.): *Handbuch Praktiken und Raum. Humangeographie nach dem Practice Turn*. 1. Auflage. Bielefeld: transcript (Sozial- und Kulturgeographie, 28), pp. 77–92.
- Schatzki, Theodore R. (Ed.) (2006): *The practice turn in contemporary theory. Conference "Practices and Social Order"*. Transferred to digital print. London: Routledge.
- Schläpfer, Dave (2013): Löwendenkmal: Die Stadt baut ein neues Touristen-WC. In: *Luzerner Zeitung* from 12.07.2013, last retrieved online 23.03.2021 at <https://www.luzernerzeitung.ch/zentralschweiz/luzern/loewendenkmal-die-stadt-baut-ein-neues-touristen-wc-ld.14493>
- Schumacher, Beatrice (2016): *Kleine Geschichte der Stadt Luzern, Luzern im Wandel der Zeiten*. Zürich: Hier und Jetzt, Verlag für Kultur und Geschichte.
- Schütz, Alfred (2020): *Strukturen der Lebenswelt. Alfred Schütz Werkausgabe, IX*. Edited by Martin Endress and Sebastian Klimasch. Köln: Halem.
- Schweingruber, Alan (2013): Kot im Museum: Luzerns WC-Problem artet aus. In *Zentralplus* of 13.06.2013, last retrieved online on 19.07.2021 at <https://www.zentralplus.ch/kot-im-museum-luzerns-wc-problem-artet-aus-672037/>
- Sheller, Mimi; Urry, John (2006): The New Mobilities Paradigm. In: *Environ Plan A* 38 (2), pp. 207–226.
- Sheller, Mimi; Urry, John (Ed.) (2004): *Tourism mobilities. Places to play, places in play*. 1. ed. London: Routledge.
- Shipp, Diana (1993): *Loving them to death? Sustainable tourism in Europe's Nature and National Parks*. Grafenau: FNNPE.
- Simas, Tarciso Binoti; Oliveira, Sônia Azevedo Le Cocq de; Cano-Hila, Ana Belén (2021): Tourismophobia or touristification? An analysis of the impacts of tourism in Poblenu, Barcelona. *Ambiente Construído*, Porto Alegre, v. 21, n. 3, pp. 117–131.

- Simmel, Georg (1995/1903): Die Großstädte und das Geistesleben. In: Otthein Rammstedt (Ed). Georg Simmel: Gesamtausgabe. Band 7: Aufsätze und Abhandlungen. 1901-1908. Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, pp. 116–131.
- Sommer, Christoph (2018): What Begins at the End of Urban Tourism, As We Know It? In: EuropeNow. Contemporary Urban Research in the European City. New York: Council for European Studies, Columbia University, pp. 1–12.
- Sommer, Christoph (2019): Weniger Marketing, mehr Stadtentwicklung. *Bauwelt* 13, pp. 46–49.
- Stadt Luzern (n.d.): Wirtschaftsfragen. Animationsfilm Wirtschaft. Website last retrieved 6.10.2021 at <https://www.stadtluzern.ch/dienstleistungeninformation/80>
- Stadtführungen Luzern (n.d.) Chinesische Touristen verstehen. Essen alle Chinesen Hunde und Katzen? Website last retrieved 19.07.2021 at <https://xn--stadtfhruungen-luzern-uec.ch/essen-alle-chinesen-hunde-und-katzen-chinesische-touristen-verstehen/>
- Stäheli, Chiara (2019): Kommerzielle Airbnb-Anbieter in Luzern wehren sich gegen Kritik: “Wir tragen dazu bei, dass weniger Wohnungen leer stehen”. In: Luzerner Zeitung of 08.08.2019, last retrieved online on 19.07.2021 at <https://www.luzernerzeitung.ch/zentralschweiz/luzern/kommerzielle-airbnb-anbieter-in-luzern-wehren-sich-gegen-kritik-wir-tragen-dazu-bei-dass-weniger-wohnungen-leer-stehen-ld.1141397>
- Steinle, Bernd (2017): Falsche Freunde im echten Hallstatt. Chinesen kopieren Alpendorf. In: Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung of 28.09.2017, last retrieved online 12.02.2021 at <https://www.faz.net/aktuell/stil/drinnen-draussen/hallstatt-kopie-china-eroeffnet-nachbau-eines-oesterreichischen-dorfs-15205080.html>
- Stettler, Jürg; Hüsser, Andreas; Huck, Lukas (2021): Tourismusbewusstsein der Luzerner Stadtbevölkerung. Ergebnisse einer bevölkerungsrepräsentativen Umfrage. In: Thomas Bieger, Pietro Beritelli und Christian Laesser (Eds.): Schweizer Jahrbuch für Tourismus 2020/2021 Krisenmanagement und Zukunftsstrategien für den alpinen Tourismus, Berlin: Erich Schmidt Verlag, pp. 181–196.
- Stettler, Jürg; Weber, Fabian; Egli, Florian; Huck, Lukas (2019): Tourismusentwicklung von Stadt und Kanton Luzern, Folgestudie zum Aspekt Tagestourismus. Institut für Tourismuswirtschaft, Hochschule Luzern.
- Stock, Mathis (2007): European Cities: Towards a Recreational Turn? In: Hagar. *Studies in Culture, Polity and Identity* 7 (1), pp. 115–134.
- Stock, Mathis (2014): “Touristisch wohnt der Mensch”. Zu einer kulturwissenschaftlichen Theorie der mobilen Lebensweisen. In: Johanna Rolshoven, Hasso Spode, Dunja Sporrer und Johanna Stadlbauer (Eds.): *Mobilitäten!* Berlin: Metropol (Voyage, 10), pp. 186–201.
- Stock, Mathis (2015): “Spatial practices, theoretical implications.”, *EspacesTemps.net*, Works, <https://www.espacestems.net/en/articles/spatial-practices-theoretical-implications/>
- Stock, Mathis (2019): Inhabiting the city as tourist. Issues for urban and tourism theory. In: Thomas Frisch, Christoph Sommer, Luise Stoltenberg und Natalie Stors (Eds.): *Tourism and everyday life in the contemporary city*. London, New York: Routledge (Routledge studies in urbanism and the city).
- Sutherland, Amber (2010): Walk this way, NYers . In: New York Post of May 20, 2010. Last retrieved online 15.02.2021 from <https://nypost.com/2010/05/20/walk-this-way-nyers/>
- Swissinfo (2013): Lucerne starting to choke on too many visitors. In: Swissinfo of 25.08.2013, last retrieved online 07.01.2021 from https://www.swissinfo.ch/eng/bottleneck_lucerne-starting-to-choke-on-too-many-visitors/36743900

- Swissinfo (2019): Record-breaking Chinese tourist party descends on Switzerland. In: Swissinfo auf May 14 (Matthew Allen and Ying Zhang), last retrieved online 18.01.2021 https://www.swissinfo.ch/eng/12-000-strong_record-breaking-chinese-tourist-party-descends-on-switzerland-/44961444
- Thibaud, Jean-Paul (2001): Les parcours commentés. In: Michèle Grosjean und Jean-Paul Thibaud (Eds.): *L' espace urbain en méthodes*. Marseille: Éd. Parenthèses (Collection Eupalinos Série Architecture et urbanisme), pp. 79–99.
- Tucker, Hazel (2016): Empathy and tourism: Limits and possibilities. In: *Annals of Tourism Research* 57, pp. 31–43.
- Twain, Mark (Clemens, S. L.) (1880): Chapter XXVI: The Nest of the Cuckoo-Clock. In: *A Tramp Abroad*, Hartford Connecticut, London: American Publishing Company, Chatto and Windus.
- Tyler, Duncan; Guerrier, Yvonne; Robertson, Martin (Eds.) (1999): *Managing tourism in cities. Policy, process, and practice*. Repr. Chichester: J. Wiley.
- UNWTO (2017): *Penetrating the Chinese Outbound Tourism Market. Successful Practices and Solutions*. Madrid: World Tourism Organization.
- UNWTO (2018): 'Overtourism'? – Understanding and Managing Urban Tourism Growth beyond Perceptions: World Tourism Organization (UNWTO).
- UNWTO (2019): 'Overtourism'? – Understanding and Managing Urban Tourism Growth beyond Perceptions, Volume 2: Case Studies. World Tourism Organization (UNWTO).
- Urbain, Jean-Didier (1991): *L'idiot du voyage : histoires de touristes*, éditions Payot,
- Urry, John (1990): *The tourist gaze*. First edition. London: Sage.
- Urry, John (2002): *The tourist gaze*. Second edition. London: Sage.
- Urry, John (2007): *Mobilities*. Cambridge, Malden, Mass.: Polity Press.
- Urry, John; Larsen, Jonas (2011): *The tourist gaze 3.0*. London: Sage.
- VisitLocals (n.d.) Genuinely local experiences. Sightseeing was yesterday. Last retrieved online 15.01.2021 from <https://www.visitlocals.ch/en>
- Walker, Ian (2010): In-vivo Sampling of Naive Drivers: Benefits, Practicalities and Ethical Considerations. In: Benjamin Fincham, Lesley Murray, Mark McGuinness und Mimi Sheller (Eds.): *Mobile methodologies*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, pp. 43–52.
- Weber, Fabian; Egli, Florian; Meier-Crameri, Ursina; Stettler, Jürg (2019): *Measuring Overtourism: Indicators for overtourism: Challenges and opportunities*. Report for the World Tourism Forum Lucerne.
- Weber, Fabian; Egli, Florian; Ohnmacht, Timo; Stettler, Jürg (2019): *Lucerne and the impact of Asian group tours*. In: Rachel Dodds und Richard Butler (Eds.): *Overtourism*. Berlin, Boston: De Gruyter, pp. 169–184.
- Weber, Fabian; Stettler, Juerg; Priskin, Julianna (2017): *Tourism destinations under pressure. Challenges and innovative solutions*. Report for the World Tourism Forum Lucerne (WTFL).
- Weltoffenes Luzern: *Gutscheinbuch 2019/2020* (2019): *Unser Dank an Sie!* Printed booklet, also accessible online at www.weltoffenesluzern.ch.
- Wirth, Louis (1938): Urbanism as a way of life. In: *The American Journal of Sociology*, pp. 1–24.
- Wolcott, Harry F. (2008): *Ethnography. A Way of Seeing*. 2nd ed. Lanham: AltaMira Press.

- World Travel & Tourism Council WTTC and McKinsey&Company (2017): Coping With Success - Managing Overcrowding in Tourism Destinations 2017.
- Wunder von Luzern (2018): Das Wunder von Luzern, das Musical. Last retrieved online 28.6.2019 at <https://www.wundervonluzern.ch>
- Wydler, Jonas (2018): Luzerner Geschäftsmann wehrt sich gegen Verbote. Airbnb-Anbieter: “Wir treiben die Mietzinsen nicht in die Höhe” In: Zentralplus of 23.07.2018 on <https://www.zentralplus.ch/airbnb-anbieter-wir-treiben-die-mietzinsen-nicht-in-die-hoehe-846091/>
- Wydler, Jonas (2019): Exorbitante Gewinne auf Kosten der Mieter? In Luzern droht jetzt die Anti-Airbnb-Initiative. In: Zentralplus of 06.08.2019 last retrieved online 11.04.2021 on <https://www.zentralplus.ch/in-luzern-droht-jetzt-die-anti-airbnb-initiative-1583795/>
- Xiang, Zheng (2018): From digitization to the age of acceleration: On information technology and tourism. In: Tourism Management Perspectives 25, pp. 147–150.
- Züsli, Beat (2020): Begrüssung, Turner - das Meer und die Alpen. Opening speech of the President of the City Government at the vernissage of 5.7.2019. Official transcript provided by the city administration.

Annex I: Overview of walking interviews

N°	Name (age) of interviewee and date of interview	Form of encounter and area covered while walking/interviewing	Role and relation to place <i>(with illustrative quote)</i>	Stance towards tourism <i>(with illustrative quote)</i>
1	Miriam L. (33) with Fionn (0.5) on 22.01.2019	On appointment in front of Lucerne Theatre with walk (with baby buggy) over Seebrücke to Schwanenplatz, Hertensteinstrasse (and return).	Young mother, born and raised in Lucerne. Strong emotional ties to the city. Lives in the historic centre and recalls from her own travels in Asia: <i>“What I like is that the whole world knows Lucerne. Not only the Asians, also other tourists in Asia (such as Australians or New Zealanders) know the city. That makes me proud”</i> (Pos. 23).	Rather critical of mass tourism but a frequent traveller herself. Not opposed to all forms of tourism, as she makes clear: <i>“It is not the individual tourists who disturb, but the large groups. These behave like sheep and do not think for themselves. One tells, the other listens. Or they just stand in the way and have no sense of the surrounding area”</i> (Pos. 11).
2	Monika S. (~ 55) on 22.01.2019	On appointment at bus stop Schwanenplatz with walk along right riverbank and Kleinstadt (and coffee at Krienbrückli).	Grew up and still lives in the agglomeration of Lucerne (Kriens) but is very proud of being a Lucerne citizen: <i>“I’m rooted here, the city is beautiful, it has a homely atmosphere. The city gives you the feeling that we belong there”</i> (Pos. 21).	Very critical of tourism in general, as she stated at the beginning of the interview: <i>“To me the tourists are a nuisance, more and more come every year. Soon it will no longer be bearable”</i> (Pos. 6). In specific she complains about mass-tourism from Asia.
3	Admir Sinanovic (~45) on 04.02.2019	On appointment at customer service of Migros Schweizerhof with visit to supermarket (incl. take away restaurant).	Store manager of a Migros supermarket at a central location, which cares intensively also for tourists needs. Not much understanding for the critical stance of many of his co-habitants: <i>“We’re somehow doing global politics on a small scale”</i> (Pos. 68).	Positive stance towards tourism, which is not only rooted in the economic benefits, but the range of offers, amelioration of infrastructure, etc: <i>“I think it’s an enrichment for the city: we have better shopping, better gastronomy and benefit from tourism in many other ways”</i> (Pos.12).
4	Vincent (~40) and Amy (43) with son (11) and befriended couple (~40)	Spontaneous encounter in front of Migros Schweizerhof with walk to Lion Monument and	Individual Chinese tourists (FIT) from Shanghai, travelling with a befriended Chinese couple from Italy to France by train. They loved Switzerland and in particular the snow which has covered Lucerne: <i>“Our</i>	No particular comments on tourism, also no active distinction from group tourists or denial of own tourist role. Seem to accept their position as Chinese FIT and are happy with it.

	with son (12) on 04.02.2019	Musegg Wall (with bobsledding on the snowy hill).	<i>son is sledding for the first time – a really special moment”</i> (Pos. 44).	
5	Judith S. (~ 45) on 22.02.2019	On appointment in front of tea shop “L’Art du thé” with walk in Kleinstadt, Chapel Bridge, Schwanenplatz, right riverbank, Rathaussteg (and return).	Lucerne mother of two, works in a tea store at a central location in the old town and lives in the outskirts in Adligeswil. Grew up at the foot of Mount Pilatus, where she was constantly photographed as a child: <i>“I’m already a burned child. I grew up in Kriens, under the Pilatusbahn. I was always photographed there, it had an impact on me, it wasn’t always pleasant”</i> (Pos. 49).	Critical view, specifically of Asian mass tourism, which accelerated in the last decade: <i>“I used to stop and give them a smile: today this is no longer possible. There are just too many. It’s actually a shame that it no longer works”</i> (Pos. 21).
6	Markus Schulthess (~ 55) on 06.05.2019*	On appointment at the web consulting & design agency mesch.ch with walk in Hirschmatt Neustadt borough.	Very engaged head of the borough association fostering the development and promotion of his trendy quarter. Enjoys its open urban character: <i>“The Hirschmatt borough is an urban and therefore tolerant quarter, there is room for different ways of life. Despite the tolerant attitude, many of the city’s residents are irritated by developments on Schwanenplatz [...] It is an unhealthy monoculture”</i> (Pos. 16-17).	Differentiated view, as not all forms of tourism can be treated similarly: <i>“For me, it is mostly about the group tourists who only stay briefly in Lucerne and visibly take up a lot of space. Individual travellers who are here longer work differently. If tourism is really supposed to grow by 30 percent in the next few years, which is what is forecast, one could simply do without group travellers. It would be much better to focus on guests who stay longer in Lucerne”</i> (Pos. 10-11).
7	Marc-André Roth (~ 65) 21.05.2019*	On appointment in front of Bourbaki at Löwenplatz with walk in Hochwacht borough.	Left-wing politician, head of the borough association of Hochwacht. Born and raised in Lucerne and strongly connected to the place and its people. Was constantly greeted on our walk. Thinks Lucerne is worth more than a quick stop: <i>“That’s a reduction that I don’t like, Lucerne has more to offer”</i> (Pos. 46).	Critical of the negative effects of tourism, such as rental apartments, but acknowledges at the same time the dynamics of a place where purposes might change over time. <i>“For us, tourism in the quarter is more something we are surprised about than upset about”</i> (Pos. 73).
8	Karin Simmen (~50) on 18.06.2019*	On appointment at Pilatusplatz with walk in Säli-Bruch-Obergütsch borough (while pushing her bike along).	Board member of the Säli-Bruch-Obergütsch borough association, where she is responsible for construction and transport issues. She advises the neighbourhood and represents it with the authorities. She works as an architect and renovates houses in the gentrified district. <i>“A lot has been invested in renovating the houses in</i>	Privately she also hosts tourists in an idyllic baroque house located in her garden. <i>“I also rent AirBnB myself, mostly to Americans, but also to Australians and New Zealanders. Why this origin I can’t say, they probably just like the offer”</i> (Pos. 11). She is not critical of tourism and does not see any conflict in

			<i>recent years. Often these were completely black with soot, today whole rows of houses have been renovated and upgraded. This benefits the attractiveness of the entire quarter”</i> (Pos. 17).	short-term rental in her area: <i>“There is more Airbnb here in the classic sense, as was originally intended. So not entire residential buildings that are withdrawn from the housing market, but only rooms to sublet, where the main tenant still lives. That is actually a good idea, as you come into contact with guests from all over the world. That’s also the beauty of tourism”</i> (Pos. 27-28).
9	Maya von Dach (~45) and Reto Burch (~40) on 26.06.2019*	On appointment at the office of the district development department of the city of Lucerne (no walk).	Civil servants working for the district development of the city of Lucerne. The aim of the department is to use the subsidiarity principle to strengthen small-scale structures and increase the quality of life for all residents in the immediate vicinity.	Both interview partners have a differentiated view of tourism, whereas Reto Burch seems to be more critical than Maya von Dach. But: <i>In principle, tourism is not weighted highly in the development of the district. It is not identified as an urgent matter”</i> (Pos. 36).
10	Urs Anton Krügel (~50) on 23.07.2019*	On appointment at the police office at Hirschengraben 17a with a walk to Kleinstadt and old town.	He is considered a ‘city original’ who strongly identifies himself with Lucerne. He writes his own crime novels based in the city, brews local beer and has plenty of Lucerne pictures, old street signs and historic maps hanging on the wall of his office at the police station: <i>“Basically, I am proud that Lucerne is such a popular city”</i> (Pos. 14).	Ambiguous stance. On one side understanding of criticism: <i>“Especially older people complain about tourism. I can understand that the change is sometimes frightening. With all the foreign cultures, many are not used to that”</i> (Pos. 22). However, also claims that many residents have a naïve view and criticizes the lack of adequate infrastructure for tourists.
11	Family Surmont (~40 with kids ~6 and ~8) on 23.07.2019	Spontaneous encounter at the Lion Monument with walk to Löwenplatz, Coop supermarket and Musegg children playground (to have lunch).	Family from Antwerp on a one-week hiking holiday in Disentis. On their way back to Belgium, they spent three days at the campsite in Horw (just outside Lucerne) and are visiting the city for a day by public transport. <i>“We like it a lot here, but the many Asian tourists are clearly noticeable”</i> (Pos. 11), And: <i>“I don’t know what Lucerne is like in the evening, as we have only just arrived, but the impression is that it is very touristy”</i> (Pos. 13).	Aware of current discourse on <i>overtourism</i> , in particular with examples from Venice. Refers to a book by Ilja Leonard Pfeijffer (Grand Hotel Europa), which claims that European cities are increasingly turning into museums. <i>“One has the feeling Europe is living in the past, the future belongs to the Asians”</i> (Pos. 12). But one has to live with tourism: <i>“But you can’t do anything about it, we live in a capitalist system, so everyone is free to do what they want”</i> (Pos. 14).
12	Tobias Madörin (49) on 08.08.2019	On appointment in front of artist’s studio in Basel with drive to	Swiss photographer from Basel who works intensively with architecture, cities, and landscapes. In 2017 he juxtaposed the paintings of Lucerne artist Robert Zünd	Not disturbed by tourism, as he never goes to such places: <i>“In Lucerne, to be honest, I don’t even notice that there are a lot of tourists. There are also those in</i>

		Lucerne by car. Visit by car to several photo points in his work for the Kunstmuseum Luzern.	(1827 - 1909) with his contemporary photographs and visited the city and its region intensively to capture similar views: <i>"I went to places that were not particularly touristy. I photographed Lucerne from a completely different perspective"</i> (Pos. 31-32).	<i>Interlaken. But of course, I don't go to the spots where the tourists go either. I'm not interested in that. I actually never stop there"</i> (Pos. 30).
13	Sukanya Inthasory (~30) and Phunnawydee Maknantapisit (~30) on 10.10.2019	Spontaneous encounter on Seebrücke. Talking while stopping there. Only short walk to the railway station car parking next to the bridge.	Two individual tourists (FIT) from Thailand traveling by rental car in Switzerland (Jungfrau, Grindelwald, Interlaken, Zermatt) on their way to Zurich, where they return their car at the airport before flying back to Bangkok. Mainly use Lucerne as a backdrop for their selfies/pictures, as they did an extensive photo shooting on the Seebrücke.	No specific comments on tourism, but their extensive photography practice show a relaxed view of being a tourist. Have visited friends and relatives in Munich and travelled to Switzerland before, but did not distinguish themselves from other travellers. Bought winter shoes in a regular department store to take back to Thailand.
14	Evelyne S. and two befriended Filipinos (~ 50, 60, 70) on 21.10.2019	Spontaneous encounter in front of Lucerne Theatre and walk to Bahnhofstrasse, railway station (underground shopping) and Pilatusstrasse to catch the public bus to Kriens.	Woman of Filipino origin married to a Swiss citizen who has raised four children (and 9 grandchildren), all living in Switzerland. Acts as a sort of <i>"mother"</i> (Pos. 14) to the Filipino community and coordinates the Filipino parish in Lucerne. Strong ties to Lucerne. Serves as a first point of contact not only for migrants or expats, but also for acquaintances travelling to Europe, such as Amelia, a Filipino friend living in the USA.	Does not feel there has been a significant change in the development of Lucerne in the last 45 years: <i>"Lucerne stayed basically the same"</i> (Pos. 22). But sees differences in style of travelling between Chinese tourists and others: <i>"They are often very uneducated people who travel here in groups. They got the vacation as a 'free trip' because they worked hard. Chinese society is structured very hierarchically (many classes), the rich already know how to behave, but the poorer lack the appropriate knowledge and awareness. There is often a lack of 'cultural understanding'"</i> (Pos. 43).
15	Zhao Kui (~30) with cousin Jan Hui, mother Ba Zhen and her friend Carry with daughter Phoebe on 22.10.2019	Spontaneous encounter at Mühlenplatz with walk through old town toward restaurant on right riverbank.	Zhao is originally from Xiangzhou in the south of China and only arrived in Lucerne that morning. The group is traveling by rental car from Munich via Zurich. Zhao works as a data engineer in Luxembourg and earlier studied in Stockholm and Grenoble. He is leading a group of friends and relatives visiting him from China: his mother, his cousin, and a friend of his mother with her daughter. They like Lucerne very much: <i>"It is calm, clean and beautiful here"</i> (Pos. 12).	No particular comments on tourism, but at ease in travelling by themselves with the help of google, as they navigated through the old town guided by GPS and found their preferred place to eat by google recommendations. No need for personal advice. No active distinction from other forms of travel, such as group tourism.

16	Thai couple (~45) on 24.10.2019	Spontaneous encounter at Löwenplatz with walk to bus stop and bus ride to railway station to catch train to Basel (and then on to Paris).	The two come from Bangkok, Thailand, and were in Lucerne for five days staying in a furnished flat. From here they went on excursions to Interlaken, Rigi, Berne and the Rhine Falls. They are very fond of Switzerland: <i>“Everything is very convenient”</i> (Pos. 7), in particular the <i>“public transport”</i> . It is their third time in Lucerne. In particular they like its cleanliness, not only in the city of Lucerne, but throughout Switzerland: <i>“The cleanliness is a good example to the whole world; look at the water in the lake, for example”</i> (Pos. 10).	Remarks on the significant growth of Chinese tourists since their last visit about ten years ago. But: <i>“Chinese tourists are everywhere, also in Thailand. Chinese people are very different from other Asians. Their culture makes them noisier”</i> (Pos. 21). But during their travels there are no interactions with Chinese travellers: <i>“No, we are very apart from each other. We didn’t get in touch with any Chinese tourists at all”</i> (Pos. 24).
17	Nadine Schreiber (~ 30) on 31.10.2019	Spontaneous encounter at Alnatura Bio supermarket at Hertensteinstrasse. Walk within the grocery store.	Store manager of the newly opened organic supermarket Alnatura. Native Lucerne person. No explicit comments on relation to place, but chalk-drawings of the iconic Lucerne sights on the wall indicate a positive connectivity. <i>“I have chosen these subjects, as I wanted to bring in the lake with the ships on Lake Lucerne and the quay”</i> (Pos. 45).	About 30% of the supermarket’s customers are tourists, for whom some adaptations (signs etc.) are made. Sometimes conflicts occur, in particular with Chinese tourists in the cash-out area: <i>“The Chinese just can’t stand in line. They wrestle with other customers who just want to enter the PIN code. This has nothing to do with decency”</i> (Pos. 33).
18	Alessandro (27) and Flaminia (27) on 31.10.2019	Spontaneous encounter in Löwenplatz with walk through town (route recommended by Lucerne Tourism). Parked their car for 65.00 CHF/day)	The two are from Milan and for the first time in Lucerne. They arrived by car last night and stayed in an Airbnb apartment served by a hotel. They only stay for one day and are heading further to Colmar in the evening. They love Lucerne and think the place fulfills the Swiss cliché: <i>“The lake, the houses with the gables, that it is not noisy, that everything is neat, the chocolate and all the water”</i> (Pos. 30-31).	No agreement on current tourism development. Flaminia sees a general adaptation of the offer to the new customer needs of the tourists (<i>“Kitsch and Bling Bling”</i>), while Alessandro thinks this is a normal procedure and <i>“one must go with the times”</i> . But they don’t think there is <i>overtourism</i> in Lucerne <i>“The square is totally empty ... there are a lot more people in Milan at this time of day!”</i> (Pos 28) they state in unison.
19	Dominic W. (~50) on 14.11,2019	On appointment at booth of Chocolat Frey at Migros Schweizerhof with talk at self-service bistro in lunch break (no walk).	Salesperson at a dedicated chocolate booth at the entrance to Migros supermarket. Interviewed as a private person. Has lived for over 20 years in China and is fluent in Mandarin. Lives in the Canton of Aargau and therefore commutes to Lucerne every working day. In his experience the Swiss (and also Lucerne) people are missing the sensitivity for other cultures, in	Doesn’t understand the opposition to tourism. <i>“Over 20% of the GDP in Lucerne comes from tourism. It is therefore the most important source of income”</i> (Pos 10). But tourism is not treated accordingly in Lucerne. <i>“The Swiss are just doing too well compared with the rest of Europe. This simply means that we are not flexible enough. We have become lazy. But here at</i>

			particular the emerging countries in Asia: <i>“Anyway, the Swiss are always so negative”</i> (Pos. 76) and further: <i>“We Swiss make the mistake and lump everyone together. That is not right”</i> (Pos. 25).	<i>Migros, for example, we’re trying to do something. But then it always means: We do everything for the Chinese, we do nothing for the Swiss. Lucerne people should contribute more to this: after all, we live from tourism”</i> (Pos. 68-71).
20	Claudio A. (~30) on 28.11.2019	On appointment at chestnut booth at Seebrücke with joint lunch and walk to Kasernenplatz (where he lives and runs his own art gallery) and return to the chestnut booth.	Young Lucerne businessman, who for six years has run a chestnut booth in a central location (third generation). He not only sells warm chestnuts, but a wider range of further related products (which the city allows him to sell). He showed me an old picture of the booth hanging on the wall: <i>“This is my grandfather’s stand, or rather my aunt’s; even then he had a lot of products standing around, you can see that here. It’s a tradition with us”</i> (Pos. 129).	Thinks that Lucerne is too critical of tourism: <i>“Well, I think the city government has a far too negative attitude towards tourism, and [also] the media are treating the topic far too critically. For example, I often listen to Radio 3Fach, and it’s often about the ‘bad tourist’”</i> (Pos. 40-41). Adapts his booth to tourists needs by using Chinese and Korean language signs, but at the same time jokes about unknowledgeable Indian tourists and fleeces them.
21	Diverse (Kunsthalle Luzern, Finissage L21) on 22.12.2019	Spontaneous encounters with artists, curators, and various guests at Kunsthalle Luzern in Bourbaki (no walks)	Many different interview partners with various relations to place. Andrea, the artist is from Basel, for example, states: <i>I perceive Lucerne to be very small and fragmented. The people know each other, as I noticed during the table discussions. Or during the walks, people often greet one another. You have the feeling that the people here all know each other. And they also take time to chat, which is actually very nice”</i> (Pos. 62-63).	According to Andrea, tourism happens apart from the daily life: <i>“Lucerne as basically an open and cosmopolitan city. But tourism is more of a parallel world. I can understand when someone complains about density stress at Schwanenplatz. Sometimes there are hundreds of tourists and countless cars [...] And the normal shops are also disappearing. There are practically only watch shops in town. Tourism should communicate more everyday matters. Not just shopping and sightseeing. That would bring tourism closer to the people again. And traveling takes time. It’s just a bad development when a place is only visited in an hour or two. That does not work”</i> (Pos. 57-61).
22	Marie-Therese and Heimo plus diverse guests (fondue	On appointment at private home in Wesmelin and drive in horse carriage to Kornhausplatz (on the	Two retired Lucerne citizens, catering for tourists with their horse carriages. In summer they drive around in an open chaise, in winter in a fondue wagon. Marie-Therese is a former world traveler, having lived and worked all over the place. She is open-minded and used	Both welcome tourists from all parts of the world and are at ease in building bridges with foreign cultures (in particular through their horses). But they have a certain understanding about the current excesses in tourism, which lead to a standardized and

	carriage) on 08.01.2020	coach box) followed by a tour through town (in the carriage).	to hosting tourists as guests in her house. In Lucerne there is more a “next to each other” than a togetherness with tourism: <i>“Well, there is always a situation where you come into contact with guests, but it is often more of a coexistence. I think it depends a lot on the people, the guests and the locals”</i> (Pos 80).	interchangeable tourism industry: <i>“What I sometimes miss about tourism in the city is the personal aspect. [...] It’s all about personal exchange. Some guests tell us that it was the highlight of their trip, how we do the tours with the exchange and so on”</i> (Pos. 81-82).
23	Diverse (guided tour Lilu) on 17.01.2020	Spontaneous encounters with various participants in an organised guided tour to the Lilu light festival through Kleinstadt and old town.	Mostly people are from around Lucerne. The tour was held in Swiss German, with many different participants (colleagues from work, single visitors, couples). One person stated that she appreciates a new view on their own place: <i>“It’s great to see the city from a different perspective. The Lilu sheds new light on the familiar”</i> (Pos. 26).	Even though the participants are part of a guided tour, they do not feel like tourists: <i>“That feels good, but I don’t have the feeling that I’m a tourist or anything”</i> (Pos. 27). Also, she did not feel that she might disturb others when moving as a group through the city (as potentially others do) <i>“No, definitely not. That would never have occurred to me”</i> (Pos. 29), even though she is aware that Asian tour groups are accused of doing exactly that.
24	Diana (32) and James (27) on 11.02.2020	On appointment at a reception for an international private school, B.H.M.S., with a walk to Bruch borough, old town and Hochwacht.	Diana is a US citizen with Korean roots, and James is from Vietnam. Both are studying for master’s degrees in Lucerne and hence staying for more than a year in Switzerland. They both like it here, and James states, that <i>“foreign students have no difficulties whatsoever. The longer you are here, the less tourist you are. But after 6 months, there is no more progress, it’s like after the ‘honeymoon phase’. You can tell by the people whether they are only here for a short time or for a long time”</i> (Pos. 148-150).	Both distinguish themselves clearly from being tourists, in particular James, who does not practice urban space like a foreigner anymore: <i>“In the past we always went over the Spreuer Bridge or the Chapel Bridge when we wanted to go to the old town. Today we also take other crossings, because there are often too many tourists on the historic wooden bridges. And we’re no longer tourists”</i> (Pos. 80).
25	Aree (~55) and two people swimming in the River Reuss on 05.05.2020	Spontaneous encounter with Aree on Rathaussteg with appointment for following week. Later observation and spontaneous	Aree will be treated below (see Interview 28). The two river divers are from Lucerne and have no special mission: <i>“We’re doing this just for fun, we’re not looking for anything in particular”</i> , they called out from the water; <i>“we are just having a look at what’s going on here”</i> (Pos. 71-72). They had bought their neoprene shoes and wetsuits only recently and were getting a new perspective on their hometown from	No particular stance towards tourism, but when interrogated on the issue, they claimed: <i>“Yes, by chance we just found something touristy”</i> , showing me a brochure in English about the Hofkirche. But there are no particular other signs of tourism: <i>“No, not specially, rather from Carnival”</i> says the second diver and shows me some confetti that he just fished up. Also, they couldn’t assess any difference in water

		encounter with two river divers.	below the water. Their diving attracted quite a lot of attention from passers-by, as I was not the only spectator watching them diving in the River Reuss around the Chapel Bridge.	quality pre- and post-corona lock-down, as in Venice, where apparently dolphins were spotted in the lagoon: <i>“No, I didn’t notice that. It has more to do with the weather. It has rained a lot in the last few days, so the water is cloudy, and you can hardly see anything. But the fact that the ships are not going could have an influence, they also stir up the bed very much”</i> (Pos 83-87).
26	Marc-André Roth (Interview 2) on 13.05.2020	On appointment in front of Bourbaki (as the first time) and similar walk in Hochwacht borough.	See also first interview (Interview 7). Has not changed his relation to place, even though he has quit his post as head of the borough association in the meantime. Crises have always been part of Lucerne’s development, including with regard with tourism: <i>“There have always been tourists in Lucerne. I grew up on Rütligasse, which is right next to Pfistergasse. Tour buses already had that in my childhood, back then from the English. Then came the Americans in the 1960s, when the pound was no longer worth that much. And now you have the feeling that you have hit the jackpot with the Asians. But it is not so clever to be dependent on only one market”</i> (Pos. 59-60).	Also, his stance towards tourism has not changed since: <i>“Of course, the first thing is that everything slowly recovers. But with a vaccination at the latest, everything is back to normal. The point now is how you can set it up again. The city must definitely continue to work on the concepts, such as the car regime. The crisis must also be used, it must also be seen as an opportunity”</i> (Pos. 37-39). In the end he states <i>“I can’t imagine the city without tourists, they simply belong to Lucerne. Also, I have never been against tourism, just against the excesses of mass tourism”</i> (Pos. 50).
27	Judith S. (Interview 2) on 14.05.2020	On appointment in front of Lucerne Theatre and walk through old town.	See also first interview (Interview 5). Does not work in the tea store anymore but is now self-employed distributing natural cosmetics (this change of position is not related to the pandemic). Lives outside in Adligeswil and has not been in the city in the last few months: <i>“The last time I was in town I was close to the lock-down for my son’s 18th birthday. I can remember that well. It was already very quiet in the city, with no tourists [...]. That time was super-relaxed, just to have the city to yourself again. That had something. I was out there with my husband, I remember well, and I told him, take a look at that! It’s a real breather, such a city without tourists. I don’t mean the city without tourists,</i>	Seems to be a bit more differentiated than in the first interview, when she was blaming different sorts of tourists more explicitly. Seems to be more ‘mindful’ and ‘relaxed’, which might also be related to her training in quantum healing and not only because of the change of setting due to corona: <i>“I used to be a lot more annoyed about the tourists, sometimes I came home loaded like a gun, completely angry. But that is the wrong energy. You must change attitudes, find a different mindset. You can achieve a lot with your thoughts, whether a day will be good or not. Much is up to you. I recently heard a meditation that also led to social distancing, but in the sense of distancing</i>

			<i>but simply without mass tourists. I have nothing against individual tourists. I also like to travel”</i> (Pos. 16-22).	<i>thoughts. That you must distance yourself from negative thoughts such as fear, crisis and all the measures”</i> (Pos. 107-109).
28	Aree (~55) and Hugo (~65) on 19.05.2020	On appointment in front of church St. Leodegar with walk to Aree souvenir shop at the Lion Monument.	Aree is a Thai woman who has been living in Switzerland for a long time. She first worked in a souvenir store next to the Lion Monument before starting her own souvenir business. Today she runs her own store, and by collaborating closely with Thai tour operator she mainly deals with Thai visitors. Her husband Hugo is a Swiss citizen who used to work as a butler but is now retired. They live together with their two Wiener dogs in an apartment next to the souvenir store: <i>“This is where we live, upstairs in the SUVA building. A two-room apartment with a large garden. That’s perfect, so I can always look at the shop and go down for a moment if I need to”</i> (Pos. 106).	Both are very supportive of tourism. Hugo, for example, states: <i>“It doesn’t work without tourists. It’s like the weather, sometimes it’s too hot and sometimes too cold. But we need the tourists here in Lucerne”</i> (Pos. 57). And further he thinks that <i>“the city must become more tolerant. For example, the colored windows of the Hotel Schweizerhof, which were also banned at first. It’s a stubborn bureaucracy here, we should be more open-minded, like in Thailand, for example, where far more is possible and where people do not complain so much,”</i> he adds, and wishes former tourism director Kurt H. Illi, who campaigned like none other for tourism in Lucerne, would come back (Pos. 159-161).
29	Vivienne and Peter (both ~30) on 27.05.2020	Spontaneous encounter in front of Davidoff cigar shop at Schwanenplatz and walk through old town.	Young couple from Hungary, both employed in the tourism industry. He is a chef, having worked in Berne for five years and now at the Grand Hotel National in Lucerne for two years. She is a waitress in the Restaurant of the Grand Casino Lucerne (which is next to the National) also for two years. They love the city of Lucerne, even though due to coronavirus not many activities are possible right now: <i>“Yes, we wanted to go to the mountains, but the railways are closed. We also wanted to do wellness, but that is not possible, but you can do enough here. Lucerne has a lot to offer. For example, we also like to be in the city”</i> Peter said (Pos. 51), and Vivienne agreed: <i>“Yes, walking around the city is nice”</i> (Pos. 52).	Despite being economically dependent on tourism, they are both highly critical of its excesses: <i>“It’s better the way it is now,”</i> says Vivienne, <i>“but of course there are two sides to it, we’re tipping a lot less now. We have more space in the city for this. I also want to stroll in the city, that was almost impossible in the past”</i> Vivienne makes signs with both elbows, indicating the crowd. <i>“Yes, the buses are difficult”</i> agreed Peter. <i>“It is also difficult to understand”</i> , said Vivienne, <i>“how such people travel. Five people buy a scoop of ice cream together to save money, but at the same time they buy a watch for CHF 40,000”</i> (Pos. 38-41).
30	Monika S. (Interview 2) on 02.06.2020	On appointment in front of Krienbruggli with walk to	See also first interview (Interview 2). Has not changed role and relation to place in the meantime. She still loves her city and thinks it’s the most beautiful of all (Pos. 124) <i>“Lucerne people are incredibly fond of their</i>	Also, her stance towards tourism has not changed since our last interview pre-corona. In contrast, she hasn’t missed the tourists at all: <i>“I even took photos on High Thursday in the streets, they were so</i>

		Kleinstadt and old town.	<i>city</i> ”, she told me, to which I replied that everyone loves his own place, also the people of Basel, Zurich, and Berne... - <i>“But Lucerne’s more”</i> , Monika assured me (Pos. 119).	<i>beautifully empty. That was really fantastic”</i> she told me. She is not worried about the economic loss of the many businesses formerly involved in tourism: <i>“It will hit some hard, but there is much money which is now being pumped into the economy ... so the welfare state is still working fine here”</i> (Pos. 57-60).
31	Andreas Gassmann (~ 40) on 08.06.2020	On appointment at office of VisitLovers (now VisitLocals) at Kasimir-Pfyffer-Strasse (no walk)	Former outsider, originally from the Canton of Aargau, has been living in Lucerne for some years already. Strong tourism background (Engadin St. Moritz, Pilatus-Railway and Lucerne based RailAway) with now sound network in the local business community (i.e., Chamber of Commerce, which backed his business idea). Needed some time to become local himself: <i>“People of Lucerne easily call you a stranger. Here you get quickly labeled as a Zurich person. The people of Lucerne are very proud of their own city and identity. But I also find that exciting. And others are, in principle, welcomed”</i> (Pos. 30-31).	Founder of VisitLovers (now VisitLocals), a start-up tour company (supported by governmental funds) which shows the hidden gems of Lucerne: <i>“So here in central Switzerland there are so many exciting offers where nobody goes. And the whole overtourism debate is the worst thing that can happen to Lucerne. But instead of pointing the finger at others, I wanted to contribute something myself and earn money in the process. And this with a lot of passion”</i> (Pos. 59).
32	Christoph Fehlmann (~ 45) on 08.06.2020	On appointment at Alpineum with walk to Lion Monument and old town to railway station.	Local theater maker, author of the satirical piece ‘Visit Pyöngyang’, a tourism comedy about Lucerne. Thinks that Lucerne people are lacking in appreciation of tourism: <i>“In my opinion, the reason for the aversion to tourism lies more in a narcissistic insult. The people of Lucerne feel that tourists are more interested in watches than they are in them”</i> (Pos. 84).	He also speaks for himself when stating that the cultural scene has a rather ironic relationship to tourism: <i>“Ultimately, you are not confronted with tourism in Lucerne at all. This takes place in very isolated places in the old town around Schwanenplatz - and most of the cultural workers live in Neustadt. For most of them, tourism is no issue at all. Also, the debate on overtourism took rather place in the media. Nobody understands what the Chinese are about, why they are here. But nobody gets really upset”</i> (Pos. 21-25).
33	Martina and Stefan (~45), city train passengers (made-up names) with	Spontaneous encounter at city train terminal at Schwanenplatz with joint train ride through city.	Couple from Zurich, visiting Lucerne for the day. Went to Glasi in Hergiswil (traditional glass manufacturer outside Lucerne) earlier and are now making a tour on the city train. Have been to Lucerne several times before but never to the Lion Monument. They rather enjoy the old town and do some shopping. He said:	They have a relaxed attitude towards tourism. Other visitors do not disturb them. <i>“Sometimes there are a lot of tourists in Lucerne, but that doesn’t bother us. That’s no problem at all”</i> he said. <i>“The acceptance of tourism seems to very high in Lucerne”</i> thinks the woman, whereas the man disagrees: <i>“I think there</i>

	others on 13.06.2020		<i>“The lake is beautiful, and the mountains. And we also like the historic buildings”</i> . She said: <i>“In addition, there are still many small shops here that no longer exist in Zurich. It’s nice to buy something here when you walk in”</i> (Pos. 26-27)	<i>may also be criticism, but now that the damage is visible, it is probably no longer as firm”</i> (Pos. 38-41), speaking about the consequences of the pandemic crisis.
34	Urs Anton Krügel (Interview 2) and later Micha E. und Janine R. on 30.06.2020	Spontaneous encounter with Mr. Krügel in front of Lucerne Theatre with short walk on Bahnhofstrasse. Later spontaneous encounter with two female Lucerne residents at Löwenplatz.	See first interview (Interview 10) for place relation of Mr. Krügel. The two women encountered on Löwenplatz in the latter part of the interview (Micha and Janine) run a communications agency for text and photos (www.scharfsinn.ch) which also covers aspects of tourism in a dedicated online-blog: <i>“We also have a section on our website called authentic travel. We present formats which we like. Not only in Lucerne, especially internationally. For example, beach cleaning and other sensible things”</i> (Pos. 95).	Micha and Janine are both dissatisfied with the current approach to tourism. They believe that Lucerne people are venal and are interested in the tourists’ money rather than in the tourists themselves: <i>“Tourism should be interested in the encounters, not in the rip-offs. I don’t think it’s fair to take it out on tourists, because they aren’t responsible for it. Rather, it is the politics and the companies that actively recruit tourists, they should be made responsible, not the guests”</i> (Pos. 93-94).
35	Christopher Bryan (~ 45) and guests on 13.07.2020	Spontaneous encounter at boat rental station of SNG in front of Hotel National (no walk)	Local person, working on the boat rental SNG at the bay. Rents out pedalos and boats with and without permits. Is himself a ‘product of tourism’: <i>“My parents wouldn’t have met without tourism either. My father is originally from England and worked in a watch shop, my mother also worked in tourism. There is tourism everywhere, not just in Lucerne. In Rimini it is the Germans and the Dutch who disturb things. Elsewhere it is the Russians. Too much of something is never good, it’s always about the right amount”</i> (Pos. 37-39)	States first that he has no particular stance towards tourism but reveals a very supportive opinion during the talk: <i>“Tourism and Lucerne have always existed. That’s nothing new”</i> (Pos. 36). Calls for tolerance and mutual understanding: <i>“People are people, everyone has a right to be in this world. We also go on vacation and bring money to other countries. So other countries should also be allowed to come to us [...] You should never prejudge other people”</i> (Pos. 83-86). He also thinks it is good that Lucerne is such a vibrant place: <i>“And a city has to live, I don’t think it’s bad that it has many people”</i> (Pos. 79).
36	Swiss family from Herisau on bike tour on 13.07.2020	Spontaneous encounter at park benches in front of Hotel National (no walk).	The family consists of a father and a mother (both ~50) and three children: an older son (~17), a middle daughter (~15) and a youngest son (~12). They are on a bicycle tour through Switzerland and are picnicking on a park bench at the lakeside: <i>“We just bought a picnic at the Heini bakery and are now taking a short break here</i>	Relaxed stance towards tourism: <i>“We don’t see any tourist groups, but that wouldn’t necessarily bother us”</i> (Pos. 13) the said the mother. <i>“But it’s true, Lucerne is considered a tourist city, but the tourists are well distributed around town”</i> remarked the oldest son. <i>“We don’t have to queue up in the watch shops,</i>

			<i>by the lake. It feels good to be in Lucerne: everything is well marked and there are good bike paths, even in the city itself” (Pos. 4-9). They have been in Lucerne before, mainly for athletic competitions and for a concert at KKL: “So we know the city from sport and culture”, the mother sums up; “We are not really interested in just shopping” (Pos. 28-29).</i>	<i>we can avoid tourism OK”, added the father (Pos. 32-33).</i>
37	Pascal Aregger and Dutch guests on 20.07.2020	On appointment at KKL for e-tuk tuk round trip through Hochwacht, old town and Kleinstadt.	Pascal is in his mid-forties and has quit his job as controller in the Hirslanden Clinic to found his own start-up business. He now tours the city in his e-tuk-tuk and gives guests a private view of his beloved city with many personal anecdotes. He is a native Lucerne resident, lives next to the Nöliturm (at the Musegg-Wall) and is fond of his town, which is very much related to tourism: <i>“Tourism is an important part of the economy. We depend on the added value of tourism” (Pos. 110).</i>	He personally enjoys living in a tourist city but has a certain understanding for the criticism of it: <i>“I have never found tourism to be a nuisance. But it’s true, you often hear that the Chinese create a disturbance. I can understand it to a certain extent, I have had also such experiences, but I can deal with them” (Pos. 91-93).</i> And on a more general level: <i>“I think most people in Lucerne are bothered by the crowd, not by the people themselves” (Pos. 98).</i>
38	Urs Doggwiler (butcher) on 06.08.2019	Spontaneous encounter at butcher’s shop. Small talk, no walk.	Urs Doggwiler runs a local butcher’s shop (fourth generation) and supports tourism by ending his face to the campaign ‘tourism creates employment’. He is one of the last butchers in town and serves tourists only indirectly: <i>“We deliver to several hotels and restaurants. This is good for us; our products stay fresh through regular turnover” (Pos. 5).</i> Direct clients, however, are rare: <i>“We serve mainly locals; how do tourists want to cook meat anyways?” (Pos 3), he asked rhetorically.</i>	Sees tourism as an important economic pillar for Lucerne: <i>“Companies such as Bucherer pay a lot of taxes, which is for the benefit of all of us. We all are all profiting, including indirectly” (Pos. 8-9).</i> Strongly opposed the Inseli-Initiative in 2017: <i>“This was one of the stupidest ideas. I got involved in the campaign there too, as there is no alternative solution in sight. Also, we Lucerne people use the Inseli for school trips, excursions for carnival groups, etc.” (Pos. 6-7).</i>

(*) Interviews were conducted together with Matthias Bürgin, within the framework of an internally financed HSLU research project on tourism and urban development.

Annex II: Applied recommendations

Based on the insights and lessons learned out of this study, the following recommendations can be derived. This research has not treated tourism for its economic dimension alone, nor does it regard it solely as a matter of the ‘enchantment of the world’. The understanding of tourism developed in this thesis rather unearths its social problems while addressing the manifold aspects of urban life. These applied recommendations therefore concern all the actors involved in ‘living with tourism’ in Lucerne and do not only target political decision-makers, tourism entrepreneurs or the city administration. Tourism involves all sorts of different city dwellers, from the general public to various kinds of visitors, service providers as well as official and unofficial institutions. The herewith outlined recommendations are addressing manifold ideas, measures, and initiatives to “better live with tourism”, whereas “better” remains a subjective notion depending on one’s personal stance and opinion.

This chapter suggests that a “better living with tourism” calls for more fruitful encounters, more meaningful products and services, a more suitable infrastructure, greater clarity, a more open debate, and different thinking about tourism, and urges all actors to move forward jointly accordingly. The following paragraphs will set out in detail what is meant by these catchphrases by citing passages from the interviews or providing other evidence for what is needed to ‘better live with tourism’ in Lucerne.

(1) A “better living with tourism” calls for more fruitful encounters

- *It calls for more possibilities to enter into relationships with one another.* People from both near and afar urge fruitful encounters and spontaneous interactions between different life worlds. Examples are the cases of Miriam, who has been on holiday without flying when dining in an Indian restaurant in Lucerne (Interview 1, Pos. 38), or Vincent and Amy’s son, who was tobogganing with unfamiliar children on Lucerne’s snowy hills (Interview 4, Pos. 44-53), or the woman in the city train who was engaging with the visiting couple from Zurich (Interview 33, Pos. 69ff). These are all encounters which enrich the mundane and at the same time generate extraordinary experiences.
- *It calls for overcoming the primacy of the economy and discover the many further benefits of tourism.* It needs to be overcome what Christoph calls “dealing with tourism from a concept of service, not from passion” (Interview 32, Pos. 87). Common ground needs to be developed, as in the case of Marie-Therese and Heimo’s horses and create “the personal exchange which is the essence of travelling” (Interview 22, Pos. 82). The different sorts of visitors need to connect with one another to prevent guests just remaining in their different bubbles, as in the case of the Thai couple (Interview 16, Pos. 24). This would stimulate another discourse about tourism which goes beyond its monetary benefits to bring other enrichments to the fore.

- *It calls for bridging intercultural misunderstandings, enhance mutual appraisal, and meet on a level playing field.* Derogatory ways of thinking need to be overcome, of the sort Dominic observed against Chinese tourists (Interview 19, Pos. 101) and James against people working in the tourism industry (Interview 24, Pos. 210). Racism and xenophobia need to be tackled too. Cultural and language barriers need to be accepted and to be worked around them. It should be made better use of low-threshold concepts like, for example, the draughts and chess squares at Bahnhofstrasse (Interview 34, Pos. 55) or Vögeligärtli (Interview 6, Pos. 28), which can be played and understood internationally without many words. These small bits and pieces could lay the basis for fruitful and meaningful encounters.

(2) A “better living with tourism” calls for meaningful tourism products and services

- *It calls for making use of digitisation and unfold its potential in a meaningful way.* Airbnb and their likes must not be condemned but their negative aspects conquered to exploit their benefits and bring people together. Interactive platforms for joint dinners (i.e. www.supperclubapp.com), shared accommodation (i.e. www.couchsurfing.com), unconventional touring (i.e. getyourguide.com) and various experiences (i.e. www.airbnb.com/experiences) are low-threshold concepts that connect people who do not know each other. Tech companies must not take the lead, but instead itineraries, schedules, and contents must be controlled locally. The newly established Visitor Card Lucerne (www.luzern.com/en/services/visitor-card-lucerne/) is a promising beginning designed to actively engage, support, and interact with the many people who roam around Lucerne. But we must be prudent with offers off the beaten track, as some areas also urge calm and remoteness, as Christoph mentioned (Interview 32, Pos. 105).
- *It calls for innovative tangible products and services.* Unconventional offers, where people from all walks of life can gather and experience Lucerne from a fresh perspective are needed. We have seen suitable examples with ‘All Chinese eat cats and dogs’, VisitLocals and Lilu (see Ch. 5.3), or evening cruises on Lake Lucerne (Interview 02, Pos. 51), where different people meet and interact. An active engagement with different interest groups is needed, as evoked by the ‘Nicht daheim und doch zu hause’ initiative, where local residents benefit from reduced hotel room rates (Luzern Tourismus AG 2019). The plurality of tourism, which goes beyond sightseeing and shopping, must be better understood. By further establishing sensible products, like concerts at KKL, art performances in public space and various kinds of exhibitions, tourism products can go beyond consumerism but add meaning to local life. And they could extend the duration of the stay, just as Monika noted: “Guests need to take a little more time again, should enjoy the surroundings and nature, people should come here on holiday again. These are other brand values, not cheap and mass” (Interview 2, Pos. 53).
- *It calls for adapting prices and conditions to avoid selling out and wrongfulness.* One must not sell oneself below the price and wrongly privilege certain actors. “Tourism just has to cost something again”, as Monika (ibid.) stated when complaining that Lucerne is selling its soul. Different terms and conditions are increasing people’s jealousy, as in traffic, where tourist buses are privileged over private cars (Interview 5, Pos. 38), or in queuing on mountain railways, where groups can jump the queue (Interview 22, Pos. 139), mostly not even paying the full price due to unsustainable discounts. Also, for restaurants

serving the masses, the business model is not lucrative anymore (Interview 28, Pos. 144). Focus must be put on tourists paying both the price and attention, treasuring Lucerne's true value. This will provide the resonance that is widely wished for and expected by the various people who inhabit Lucerne.

(3) A “better living with tourism” calls for more suitable infrastructure

- *It calls for a sufficient catering of the basic needs.* The necessary infrastructure to meet the requirements of the many inhabitants must be put in place. It needs sufficient garbage bins for increased take-away consumption in public spaces (Interview 85, Pos. 31), public toilets for mobile citizens (Interview 32, Pos. 66), shelter for people waiting for a public bus or tour coach (Interview 7, Pos. 31). Traffic lights could be regulated that also larger groups may cross the streets without hurrying over or without crossing on red (Interview 23, Pos. 47). Even when these measures seem obvious or neglectable, it is often because of such details that conflicts erupt. By adapting and enhancing basic infrastructure, the basis for a smoother kind of ‘living with tourism’ can be laid.
- *It calls for balancing the different claims satisfactorily.* One must not unilaterally target a specific audience while excluding others. Instead, the broader significance when addressing people in English, Korean, Japanese, and Chinese must be considered, which might alienate a non-international clientele. But at the same time, the necessary information to make people feel welcome must be provided. There is a tightrope between measures that are perceived as too much and too little (Interview 3, Pos. 40), which are always coming too late (Interview 22, Pos. 35). There is a careful balance between the different needs to be kept and to avoid all sorts of monoculture.
- *It calls for developing the potential of tourism.* Competition in the housing market, traffic issues and public spaces must be understood as constitutive elements of urbanity, also present in non-touristic places. Instead of blaming tourism as scapegoat, rather its potential must be exploited to overcome certain shortcomings and nuisances. As in the heyday of tourism, when new technologies, unconventional concepts of living and modern values churned the traditional settings, today tourism could contribute to progress and the advance of city life, as well as to the renewal of its infrastructure.

(4) A “better living with tourism” calls for clarity

- *It calls for tackling persistent prejudices.* Even though the relevance of tourism is high and provides many jobs and lots of incomes, it is not the only industry in Lucerne. Tourism covers only 7.1% of the city's GDP (BAK Economics 2021:25). There might be large benefits for some individual stakeholders, but these most probably do not achieve public estimation (Interview 1, Pos. 15). Instead of blurred campaigns on the importance of tourism, concrete support of matters of general concern (sport, culture, social life, etc.) could be of long-term benefit for both sponsors and sponsored. By opening

the books and establishing greater transparency, the big players who are often the target of criticism could build trust and create confidence, resulting in better understanding of and support for their industry.

- *It calls for enlarging the focus.* Tourism should not be treated solely as an economic affair and be defended by its monetary benefits. Rather, it should be highlighted that tourism makes Lucerne known around the world (Interview 1, Pos. 23), stimulates the city as a vibrant place to live in (Interview 10, Pos. 81) and attracts international students (Interview 9, Pos. 35). One-sided championing of business interests and constantly threatening with financial loss falls short in contributing to the debate and apparently does not win over critical minds.
- *It calls for clear and fair rules.* Equal framework conditions are needed for all involved stakeholders with regard to opening hours, hospitality taxes, parking prices, traffic regulations and more. Applying different standards creates further gaps between the big and the small (Interview 7, Pos. 40), are perceived as unfair, and create jealousy (Interview 5, Pos. 41). This would provide a good basis for a more balanced debate, as “equal opportunities for all the players involved are key” (Interview 6, Pos. 59).

(5) A “better living with tourism” calls for an open debate

- *It calls for an all-embracing debate.* A democratic and holistic discourse that includes all relevant stakeholders is needed. The respective opinions from civil society, academia, arts and culture, various interest groups, and associations (with their respective veto rights) must be identified, and all people should be giving a voice, including the less powerful and those who are only visiting for a short time. Not all stakeholders have knowledge about the processes, rights, institutions, and democratic procedures in Switzerland, but they could nevertheless contribute constructive ideas to the debate. Examples are James from Vietnam, who lived for a year in Lucerne as an international student and made some thoughtful comments on intercultural misunderstandings (Interview 24, Pos. 134), or Vivienne and Peter, two hospitality workers from Hungary, who added a fresh outside perspective from the inside (Interview 29, Pos. 103). This knowledge must be used, and such viewpoints embraced as part of the democratic process for which Switzerland is famous.
- *It calls for a transparent process.* People want to be informed, included, and accepted onboard in the debate. There is a need for publicly accessible goals, milestones, and measures. City dwellers need to know not only about the next big step, but also the detours, deadlocks, and interim stages in it. This process must be characterized by transparency and needs to address the unpleasant challenges frankly. The official political process started by “Tourism Vision 2030” (initiated by the Green Party; see Ch. 1.4) offers great potential for such an inclusive, transparent, and forward-looking public debate.
- *It calls for taking the warning signs seriously.* Time will not be solving the problems, as discontent will not disappear automatically. Even though the pandemic crisis alleviated many urgent problems, they had not been systematically resolved. “Use it as a pause to think, not as a pause from thinking”, as Marc-André aptly put it (Interview 26, Pos. 110). And do tackle the issues at their roots, as Urs Anton Krügel suggested: “It is like with painkillers when

you have a physical condition. This reduces the symptoms but does not fight the causes” (Interview 10: Pos. 81-82). There is no need for cosmetic surgery, but a profound analysis of the relevant driving forces and an equally profound tackling of its root causes.

(6) A “better living with tourism” calls for thinking about tourism differently

- *It calls for another discourse about tourism.* Another understanding of tourism, one that goes beyond the distinctions between day visitor and overnight stayer, or group and individual traveller, is needed. The reality is far more nuanced, as tourism practices are performed equally by residents, commuters, international students, and passers-by. A new way of grasping the issue is needed: Fresh words and innovative concepts to describe a phenomenon which is far from exotic, but part and parcel of the everyday. A tourism which resonates in space and mutually enhances the lives of all actors involved is urged for.
- *It calls for another connotation of urbanity.* Tourism must be thought of as an accelerator of cosmopolitan urban life, as an enabler of diversity, one that brings the colours, tastes, and feelings of a multifaceted world to central Switzerland. Lucerne without tourism would be far less attractive to live in, not as vivid and therefore would not develop its full potential. Urbanity must be re-designated as way of life that is worth striving for and conservative thinking must be left behind.
- *It calls for exploiting the regenerative force of tourism.* Cities must not be protected from the harm of tourism by mitigating its negative effects, as suggested in relation to concepts of sustainable development. Rather the force of tourism must be used to rebuild cultural life, social bonds and increasing economic outlooks, which are all suffering due to the pandemic crisis. Tourism must be rethought differently to revitalise our cities with lessons learnt from the *overtourism* debate and the knowledge gained from it.

(7) A “better living with tourism” calls for moving forward

- *It calls for accepting differences and using them for the own good.* Conflicts are a constitutive part of tourism and of urban life and can be used productively. Conflicts and misunderstandings have always been part of tourism and urban development and must be dealt with openly and proactively. Intercultural differences can be used as a productive learning field for much needed competences in an increasingly globalised world.
- *It calls not lose the important stakeholders, namely the general public.* Tourism without the people of Lucerne is simple not possible. Critical voices must be taken seriously and must not be responded with warm words only. The public needs to be compensated for the energy they put into tourism, which does

not always seem to be the case (Interview 3, Pos. 13). Voucher booklets are a good start, but to win people in the long term much more must be done (Interview 6, Pos. 61).

- *It calls to not scapegoating tourism but use it as an integral element to enrich our city.* Lucerne would be not such an international, vibrant, and sought-after place without tourism. The manifold use of city space must be appreciated as an enriching element and Lucerne must be thought as being entangled with tourism rather than as separated from it. Visitors need to be targeted who integrate well in local life and bridges, paths, and realms to interact and to move forward together need to be built.