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The Thirty-Something Generation in Engelberg, Switzerland

By

Marius Risi

E-article

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VACATION HOME CULTURE AT 1,000 METERS

The Thirty-Something Generation in Engelberg, Switzerland

Marius Risi

Finding oneself in the regular workday evening traffic jam in the Swiss plateau – the urban sprawl around cities such as Lucerne, Zug or Zurich – one might well see an English language bumper sticker on the back of the car ahead: “Engelberg Titlis – it’s heaven.” Engelberg is a mountain community in the center of Switzerland with about 4,000 permanent residents, and it lies at the base of the Titlis mountain, whose 3,238-meter high peak is the highest in the Engelberg valley. To some Swiss who live in the more urbanized areas of the country – urban dwellers in fact constitute the majority of the population – this village and its peak are places of longing.

Engelberg established itself as a mountain resort for the urban bourgeoisie already in the late nineteenth century (Fleiner 1890; Verein “Frauen in Nidwalden und Engelberg” 2002). Since that time, the village has developed into a modern alpine resort that tourists from throughout the world come to visit both during winter and summer seasons. Advertising professionals have built on Engelberg’s name, which translates as “Angel Mountain”, to convey the image that this is a place for heavenly pleasure. You can ski on the Titlis glacier, go snowboarding in deep drifts, and sunbathe high above the “Nebelmeer”, the sea of fog that often hangs over the Swiss plateau in winter. Or you can hike or golf in the mountain air, or go paragliding above the baroque monastery. In the summer, up to thirty buses filled just with Indian tourists curve up the road to Engelberg from nearby Lucerne every day. They want to not just see the eternal snow but also touch it, which frequent-

ly turns into joyous snowball fights. At peak times during winter season, skiers and snowboarders can more than quadruple the number of residents, and temporarily swell the population to 18,000. In 2006, the hotel and para-hotel sector accounted for about 790,000 overnight stays annually.¹ Compared to other Swiss alpine destinations, Engelberg is in the midfield along with communities like Gstaad, Adelboden or Lenzerheide.

In central Switzerland, however, no other mountain destination is frequented at a level even close to that of Engelberg.² The village lives off its visitors, both for better and for worse. The presence of tourists has opened up various business segments in the service sector, and most locals – seven out of ten who work there – do indeed make their living in such tourist-oriented service sector jobs, with some even achieving considerable prosperity in the process.³ The needs of vacationers thus determine the practices and the social order in and of everyday life – a result of this “quasimonoculture” in economic orientation. Locals have to arrange their work schedules according to its changing demands, so during the season, the hardest work days are the weekends. Locals also have to cope with an above-average level of prices in Engelberg retail stores, they face a tight rental market, and nighttime disturbances are a regular occurrence.

The number of second homes in Engelberg is one indicator of the village’s status as a well-liked and much frequented holiday destination, and there are currently 2,050 holiday homes and apartments (with

a total of 9,200 beds).⁴ Of those, 1,560 are exclusively in private use. The remaining 490 are rented out by their owners to vacationers. These rentals are the outcome of a vigorous initiative started in 1990 by the tourism association of Engelberg⁵ to develop a uniform classification and booking system for holiday home rentals. It gave interested vacationers a good overview of the market, and permitted online reservations, while owners, in turn, obtained a good platform for advertising their property.⁶

The initiative had resulted from the recognition that something had to be done to address the increasingly problematic number of “cold beds” – that is, holiday homes that stand empty for the greatest part of the year.⁷ This was initially a debate at the level of village politics, and among experts in economics, architecture and tourism. A number of key tourist-oriented Swiss communities have recently introduced limitations on (or fixed contingents of) the number of new second homes – St. Moritz in 2005, Saas Fee in 2006, Crans-Montana and Zermatt in 2007 – as well as other regulations.⁸ This topic is now also being debated in the national media, and in an article in one of the major national papers, Hans-Peter Danuser, the tourism director of St. Moritz, lamented the major mistake Swiss alpine tourism regions had made: “For years we built apartments instead of renovating hotels. Instead of selling the milk, we have sold the cow.”⁹

Engelberg may be a less dramatic case than other tourist-oriented communities. The hotel industry is still quite strong and generates more than half as many overnight stays as rented holiday homes. The geographic proximity to Swiss urban centers encourages the owners of Engelberg second homes to come on weekends and not only during vacations.¹⁰ The professionally-run tourism organization further contributes to a lessening of the problem inherent to empty second homes, since their Internet platform has made renting out such homes quite attractive. The 15 percent commission it charges for all its administrative labor, from advertising and reservation to keeping accounts, is so low that two-fifths of those holiday homes and apartments that are available for rent can now be rented this way.¹¹

However, three-quarters of Engelberg holiday homes are used only privately. This points to a dominant cultural practice among owners. A second set of “one’s own four walls”,¹² located in the mountains, mainly serves as a refuge, a place to withdraw to in one’s spare time. It is here that one comes in search of peace and recuperation, here one can turn off and relax, here everyday and work life take a backseat. It is a completely protected private sphere, and this is what makes the second home one of the highest goods to its owner. Individuals not part of the family or the closed circle of friends are expected to respect the temporary withdrawal. Even a telephone call can be taken as an offense against this socially sanctioned “moratorium in contacting.”

Placing this feeling of a refuge, or an island of peace away from everything else, at the forefront can be interpreted as a strategy for avoiding conflict with locals as well. Despite the building boom in Engelberg during the postwar decades, there is no record of major tensions between locals and holiday home owners; that may have been fostered by this emphasis on a quiet life by the vacationers. However, Engelbergers already had nearly a century of experience in dealing with tourism by then, so both socially and economically, the rise of vacation-home ownership may have been readily absorbed into a relatively open mentality.¹³

No social statistics exist on Engelberg’s holiday home owners. But tourism statistics, observation and experience among permanent residents allow for a portrait: Owners generally belong to a retired generation or to the age group approaching retirement (55 and older). For the most part, they are Swiss, German or Dutch.¹⁴ They have a strong emotional connection with the apartment or house, the village and the surrounding mountains. Fredy Miller, director of the Engelberg-Titlis Tourism AG, ascertains that the typical second home owner in Engelberg demonstrates “an almost shocking fidelity” to the village.¹⁵

Many have come to Engelberg for decades and always during the same weeks of the year. This routine, as Miller states, gives them a sense of security and well-being. One of the main benefits derived from

a second home is not having to constantly plan and organize new holiday trips to different destinations. During their stay, these owners are not seeking adventure, experimentation or the thrill of the exotic, but rather dependable, familiar values such as a clear lay of the land, a feeling of security, and predictability. Most second-home owners are financially well off and enjoy some comforts, but they keep an eye on value for money and reject the open display of affluence. In recent years, there has even been a tendency among newly retired second-home owners to give up their primary residence and turn the vacation home into their primary home. The cooler summer in the mountains is an oft-mentioned reason for this step – global climate change has thus arrived at the level of everyday ways of life.

This, in short, is the social profile of the older generation as well as their pattern of usage as it can be concluded from available data. But what about the younger people who make use of a holiday home in Engelberg? What motivations predominate? Which

practices are most important to them? Thus far, no socio-economic or ethnological studies of this group exist, so the following is an attempt to make some inroads into an unknown field.

I will look at a cross-section of the “thirty-something” generation. Men and women in this age group embrace quite heterogeneous life trajectories. Depending on their level of education and training, some have worked already for a decade while others have only just entered working life. Some experiment with different forms of life and work, including taking trips around the world, opting to take time out for as much as a year, or working for longer stretches of time abroad. Others have already founded a family and strive for stability.

Andrea Chvojka, a 33-year-old kindergarten teacher, is my first interviewee.¹⁶ Her officially registered residence is Zug, but when asked where she lives, she always answers “in Zug and in Engelberg.” Together with her husband and their one-year old daughter, she spends all her winter and many of her

**This illustration has been omitted
for copyright reasons.**

Ill. 1: Off-season in Engelberg: holiday apartments with shutters closed, November 2007. (Photo by the author.)

summer and fall weekends in the three-bedroom apartment in Engelberg which she rents together with her – mostly absent – sister. Her parents own the property and make use of the second flat. They also drive up frequently. Since Andrea became a mother, all three generations meet more frequently in their joint garden, play with the little one, and barbecue together.

The two-storied house has been a fixture in the family's history for decades. Andrea's maternal grandparents lived in the "Schwarzbubenland" area in the canton of Solothurn. In the 1950s, they sent one of their sons to a private school in Engelberg run by the local Benedictine monastery, and this led to the idea to look for land to build a house and they found an opportunity to do so in the Engelberg valley. Soon, a holiday home was built and named "Schwarzbub". The house figures already in Andrea's earliest childhood memories, as the family spent summer and winter holidays there. Andrea was on skis for the first time at age three, on the cloister's meadow near the house, and ever since then she has had an annual pass for all the ski lifts and mountain cableways. Biking, golfing, and, more recently, taking walks with the baby cart, are among her most favored activities. "Engelberg is a second *Heimat* for us," she says.

Still, there was a definite cooling off in her affection for the place during her early teens; at age 14, it seemed decidedly uncool to spend weekends in Engelberg while all her friends went to the disco in Steinhausen. "To spend Saturday evenings watching 'Wetten dass' – that was sheer horror, I hated it."¹⁷ But her distaste disappeared when, at age 18, she began at her parents' suggestion to give ski lessons to children. She met other ski teachers and slowly but surely, a far-reaching network began to take shape that is intact even today.

For outsiders, it is sometimes hard to grasp the dimensions of this network: "My colleagues in Zug say: 'Are you crazy to drive to Engelberg every weekend?' They can't imagine one would know so many people up here. But there are many who come up here on the weekend; we have many friends here." The intensity of her Engelberg social life is what distinguishes her,

from her point of view, from her parents. They too have a circle of acquaintances in Engelberg, but they are socially less visible in the village's public sphere. Andrea is quite the contrast; she even met the love of her life in Engelberg. She saw him first on a ski bus when he was up from Lucerne to practice free-riding (off-piste deep snow skiing). The church wedding took place in Zug, the civil ceremony in Engelberg.

Manuela Balbi, a 26-year-old sociology student, also talks of a break in the Engelberg tradition around age 14.¹⁸ "I didn't want to go hiking in the summer", she says by way of explaining her absences from the parental vacation home. She, too, experienced a change mostly connected with her participation in social life. "Winter sports, particularly snowboarding, became more important to me. Through the sport I made many friends and we would go out together in the evenings." Her present circle of friends mostly lives in Engelberg.

Manuela grew up in Rotkreuz (in the canton of Zug) and maintains a room in her parents' home, but she "actually doesn't know anyone there anymore." Manuela lives for about half the year, especially in the summer and winter seasons, in a three-bedroom apartment in central Engelberg; "All my clothes are up there and I'm all set up." She commutes from here to her courses at the university in Lucerne. In between, she takes jobs in Engelberg's gastronomy sector, and she says that she simply feels comfortable in the community. There is a special atmosphere, because most people are in a holiday mood, have a lot of time on their hands, and are in a relaxed state.

Having to work ever so often is thus not always easy. Some of her snowboarding friends have a hard time understanding when Manuela skips an event or has to leave early. But all in all, the close connection between work and leisure suits her. At this point in time, she can even imagine living full time in Engelberg later on – something that would have been unfathomable ten years ago. Most of the time, Manuela lives alone in the apartment, though during winter vacations and on weekends, one of her sisters and a brother join her. A second sister comes more rarely, and the parents sometimes visit. When they do, "they are our guests," Manuela says, adding

somewhat wistfully: “Guests who are occasionally busy with cleaning up.”

Despite such sporadically recurring cleaning sprees, Manuela believes her parents to be very pleased that the children use the apartment so intensively and with such joy. The youngest generation thus continues a 50-year-old family habit of spending the holiday seasons in Engelberg. Manuela’s grandparents bought the apartment in the mid-1960s, before it was even built. Previously, they regularly booked rooms in Hotel Bellevue-Terminus. This was the very time when the building of second homes entered into a boom phase.¹⁹ Later on, the second home served as a substitute home for Manuela’s parents while their house in Rotkreuz was being renovated; the family then moved for a few months to Engelberg.

The father commuted daily to work in Lucerne, and the children regularly met up with village children to play – and from that time, a lasting circle of friends and acquaintances developed. Conviviality is an integral component of Manuela’s everyday life in Engelberg, and she often cooks for friends or invites people for a TV evening. This distinguishes her from her parents who, in Manuela’s perception, mostly seek quiet and relaxation in Engelberg and appreciate not to have to nurture social contacts there. Manuela has spent all her skiing vacations except one in Engelberg and this one exception appears like a curious intermezzo in her memory. A vacation mood and Engelberg naturally go together for her. This connection was practiced early in her family and firmed up with pleasurable experiences. “At home in Rotkreuz we didn’t have a television, because we would have watched it too often. My father removed it and we had to read a lot. But here in Engelberg we always had a TV set. Hence it was a highlight. That is why I liked it here so much.” Even though Engelberg has become much more than a vacation resort for Manuela – namely an “actual home” – the place somehow always also feels a bit like being on holiday.

My third interviewee doesn’t have a family background that would have provided an opportunity to use an Engelberg vacation home. Johan Victorin is

35 and grew up in Örnsköldsvik in northern Sweden.²⁰ He leads a development team for ABB, a multinational electric engineering enterprise. In 1998, this passionate free-riding skier came up with a scheme. He applied for a position in the ABB subsidiary plant in Lenzburg (in the canton of Aargau) for a six-month practicum. If he liked the job, the country, and the people, then he hoped to gain more steady employment after this initial period.

He purposely chose Switzerland for this experiment, as it seemed to provide optimal conditions for his sporting passion and because he could “basically well imagine living in this country.” His plan worked out. In 1999, he settled in the Aargau with his then girlfriend and now wife, who had followed him, and they still live there. Johan still works for ABB, with an office in Turgi (Aargau). A year ago, the couple had a child and now lives in a single family home in Erlinsbach near Aarau (Aargau). On his first weekend in Switzerland, Johan went skiing in Andermatt (on the Gotthard pass), on the second in Engelberg. He remembers those excursions very well, as the whole country was in a kind of emergency state due to exceptionally heavy snowfall. That meant the danger of avalanches was very high and he had to make due without free-riding. Nonetheless, Engelberg left a lasting impression on him: “I was convinced by those mountains.” He soon made connections with the local free-rider scene: “I quickly met people who were very open toward me. I could go skiing with them and was taken in by this community.” Today this might be less possible, or so Johan surmises, as the scene has grown bigger and more heterogeneous.

In fact, there are now hundreds of young Swedes who travel to Engelberg during the winter season since the place has a reputation as a free-rider’s paradise. This resulted from a carefully planned marketing campaign by Engelberg-Titlis Tourism AG which began to ply the Swedish market in 1999 with an assortment of enticing activities.²¹ The advertising brought first results already during the 2000/2001 season, and since then the number of Swedish guests has increased every year.

When Johan showed up in Engelberg in 1999, he

was still unusual enough to have people say: “Oh, you’re a Swede. There is one more of those in the village.” In his first full Engelberg skiing season in 99/00, Johan and his girlfriend rented rooms for the weekend in affordable hotels. Swiss skiing friends then advised him to take a room in one of the apartment-sharing communities or to rent a place for the winter season with others. Unfamiliar with this form of living, Johan could not imagine choosing this option at first. But when they realized how much time they spent in Engelberg, the advantage of a holiday home became apparent. “We recognized the value added if you do not have to eat out in a restaurant every evening. And the social aspect was important to us. We find it cool to meet on the weekends at a particular place to spend leisure time together.”

So in 2000, Johan’s career as a renter of a vacation home began: Together with his girlfriend, his younger brother, who could come for the winter from Sweden, and the brother of a colleague who came for the winter from Australia, he opened a holiday apartment-sharing community. “It was something special. An older building with toilets on the staircase landing. The wind howled through the house all day long.” The apartment-sharing community lasted only a year, and then the house was torn down. The following winter, Johan and his partner took a room in an already established apartment-sharing community with two Swiss women. When one of them left, another Swedish couple who also worked and lived in the Aargau, joined them. This community continued on for five years. Living together worked well, every one was “on the same wavelength.”

Johan and his partner gave up the room in the spring of 2006, since as they were expecting a child, they could not judge whether weekly stays in Engelberg would still be possible. But only three months after the birth of their son, they signed a lease for a three-bedroom apartment, together with Johan’s second youngest brother who lives in Zurich. It wasn’t easy to find something suitable, as their expectations had changed over time. “In the beginning, we were satisfied with one hotplate and a roof over our heads. With time it became important to have an inviting living room. On Saturday evenings, we would cook

and eat together. Guests came by. The emphasis was no longer exclusively on outdoor activities but also on life inside the apartment.” Apartment-sharing life in Engelberg has stood the test, Johan says: “From the social perspective it is tops. It is simply a homey matter that is also financially doable.”

Jon Brezinski is a 32-year-old IT-project manager who grew up in Minneapolis, Minnesota, but had traveled a lot during his childhood because, as he said, “I am an Air Force brat”.²² He lived in Sweden during his twenties, and traveled to Engelberg from there in 2000 for a six-week skiing holiday. “That was a cool winter. I met a lot of people during that time with whom I am still in contact.”

A year later, a Lucerne firm gave him a call. They had heard about him from his former American company, and offered him a position in product development. At first he declined, Jon remembers. But then the firm offered him a free ski weekend in Engelberg, in order to present the job opportunity to him in person. So “I had to take the job then, didn’t I?” he remembers. He moved to Lucerne in 2002 with his then girlfriend from Sweden, and lives there still.

Employers and workplaces have changed since; for a time he worked in Berne, now he works in Zug. What remained steady was his predilection for free-riding in Engelberg. Whenever his professional obligations permitted it, he traveled up for the winter weekends. First he spent the night in hotels, and later rented a room in an apartment-sharing community. He feels well taken care of in the village: “When I go shopping, I always meet someone I know. Last week I met six or seven people within an hour, went to have a beer with them.”

In five years of residence in Switzerland, Jon has experienced a great deal of professional mobility and foreign business travel. When the need arose to make an actual home for himself that would be more to him than just a place to stay temporarily, the idea of becoming an apartment owner in Engelberg came up quite naturally. In 2006, having thoroughly examined a number of options, he chose an as yet un-built apartment on a slope. He thus had the chance to give input in the planning and execution of the

interior. He asked for modern rooms with some elements characteristic of an American style: an open kitchen, an extra large refrigerator with a built-in ice maker, as well as oak-plank flooring. This type of floor is typical of American country homes, Jon explained, but it barely exists in Swiss houses. It proved very difficult to find both the material and a competent workman to install it, but having succeeded in finding both, Jon is all the more pleased with his little piece of America in the middle of the Swiss Alps: "The floor is the centerpiece of my apartment. I love it. It's perfect!" Since spring 2007, Jon's new second home was finished – or almost finished: "I still have to buy a big grill for the balcony so I can invite friends over for a barbecue," he said.

The four representatives of the "thirty-something" generation all put great stock in the social life in Engelberg. The holiday home for them is – in addition to restaurants, bars, and ski slopes – a place to meet with friends for a joint dinner, a TV evening, a barbecue or an afternoon playing with the children. Unlike the older generation, there is no demand for an exclusive, intimate use of the space that is limited to the innermost family circle.

What has also changed is the importance of ownership. For some it is a desirable goal, for others an undesirable obligation, and for yet others, ownership was realized so long ago that it is completely self-evident. Members of the post-war generation who purchased a second home during that economic boom period afforded themselves what was a luxury good at the time. The holiday home in the mountains was hard-earned, and a special, visible sign of having succeeded. By the third generation, such a home turns into a permanent and well-loved companion through all stages of life, and a constant feature in a biography.

While the focus here has been on the life-worlds of a younger generation of vacation-home users or owners, the interview answers raise issues that would be interesting to pursue. In particular, easily assumed notions of insiders and outsiders have to be set aside in a community with such a lengthy tourist history. The balance between ideals of property ownership and having enriching experiences could also prove

illuminating if further research among Engelberg's varied population were pursued.

Notes

- 1 "Parahotellerie" is a Swiss term for lodgings that are typically cheaper than hotels and that provide little or nothing by way of services. The category includes apartments, chalets, holiday apartments and homes, youth hostels, farm lodging, military barracks, sport centers, camping places, and other types of lodging that can be rented out. The figure given is broken down as follows: 354,000 in hotels, about 237,000 in private holiday homes, 109,000 in rented holiday homes, 65,000 in group lodging, and 25,000 at the camping place. This information was kindly provided via e-mail (August 2, 2007) by Adrian Barmettler, who oversees finances, computers, and administration for the Engelberg-Titlis Tourism AG.
- 2 By comparison, the two biggest alpine tourism regions of the country, the Oberengadin (St. Moritz) and the Jungfrau region (Interlaken) generate about 3 million overnight stays per year.
- 3 Using the term "locals" is problematic for this community, for it suggests a homogeneous group of people with similar ways of living (insiders) that clearly differs from all others (outsiders). That is not apparent for Engelberg, as there are diverse groups with different self-definitions and interests among those who are residents. Old families, organized within the community of burghers, might most readily qualify as "real Engelberger," and some members of such families do carry a certain amount of weight in local politics. However, they are ultimately a minority, even if they have a sense of being a "real" resident based on long local genealogy, alpine mentality, competence in dialect, and so forth. Some residents are active in voluntary associations, business and service sector networks, and then there are commuting residents who work outside the village and only spend the night there. There are retirees who have moved to Engelberg permanently. Despite the small size of the community, there is hardly a strong feeling for a common identity that would be shared by most of the residents. That may explain the lack of overt group conflict between insiders and outsiders.
- 4 The numbers were provided by Fredy Miller, chair of the Engelberg-Titlis Tourism AG (e-mail from July 20, 2007).
- 5 In 1999, this became a commercial enterprise named Engelberg-Titlis Tourism AG.
- 6 At the time, this system was new and pioneering for the Swiss market. Only the holiday community of Saas Fee had something similar (Kühn 2000: 105).

- 7 The “cold bed” problem is not confined to Engelberg alone, but is nationwide. It has grown more acute during the last years due to the massive increase in second homes, at least in some regions, and the simultaneous decrease in the number of still-operating hotels. An ongoing study at St. Gallen University (“Hot Beds – overcoming socio-economic barriers in renting out second homes in Swiss tourism regions”) shows that on average, Swiss vacation homes stand empty 315 out of 365 days. Local service sector industries suffer particularly in this situation, as there is a lack of clientele between seasons. Local tax payers are forced to finance and maintain an infrastructure intended for a population size which only manifests itself during peak season (Bieger et al. 2006).
- 8 Such new regulations are all the result of popular votes in the respective communities. Additional solutions are already either a reality or being seriously discussed: Taxation on second homes, setting a quota for the permissible proportion of second homes (following the example of Austrian Tyrol), forced rental of second homes that are insufficiently utilized (following the example of the Canadian ski resort Whistler), having the community itself buy land, and giving building rights only to primary residences (already practiced in Engelberg and planned to be introduced in a further community).
- 9 *Neue Zürcher Zeitung am Sonntag*, January 7, 2007, p. 20.
- 10 Engelberg can be reached by car in 30 minutes from Lucerne, 55 from Zug, 80 from Zurich and 100 from Basel.
- 11 490 holiday homes are available for rental, and of them, 190 work with the Engelberg-Titlis Tourism AG. Its chairman Fredy Miller admits that the organization earns hardly anything through this internet platform, but he regards the pay-off in terms of increasing the visibility of Engelberg can be seen as an added value (personal communication, July 19, 2007).
- 12 Translator’s note: To be in “den eigenen vier Wänden” – “one’s own four walls” – is an idiomatic German expression for a feeling of being at home as well as a sense of privacy. The materiality of these walls is generally positively connoted, though one also uses the expression for a sense of being enclosed or confined. In the present piece, however, the positive connotation is intended.
- 13 There are records of earlier tensions whose resolution may have contributed to a calm and circumspect handling of an ever-changing tourist economy. Around 1900, peasants trying to keep tourists from walking willy-nilly through their land dug and hid ditches (one might call them the first variants of literal “tourist traps”...!). A local association resolved the problem by laying out well-demarcated walking and hiking paths in the landscape.
- 14 The Swiss owners have their primary residence primarily in in the cantons of Lucerne, Zug, Aargau, Solothurn, Zurich, and Basel (Kühn 2000: 106).
- 15 Personal conversation on July 19, 2007, in the Twiny Café, Engelberg.
- 16 Interview on August 1, 2007, Restaurant Treff Ramada in Engelberg.
- 17 Translator’s note: This is an institution in German-speaking Europe, a popular television variety/competition show hosted by Thomas Gottschalk and aired live, that has been broadcast for decades.
- 18 Interview on July 29, 2007, at Restaurant Treff Ramada, Engelberg.
- 19 Between 1961 and 1964, the Acheregg-bridge near Stansstad was built which contributed to this boom. Thanks to this bridge, the freeway extended to within as close as 20 kilometers to Engelberg and the already existing Engelberg trainline to Stansstad could be prolonged all the way to Lucerne.
- 20 Interview on August 4, 2007, in Erlinsbach.
- 21 Cf. personal conversation with Fredy Miller. A specially produced freerider film shown to select journalists in a Stockholm cinema was a part of the campaign.
- 22 Phone interview, July 26, 2007.

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