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From Wilhelm Tell to Heidi to cuckoo clocks: the representation and interpretation of Switzerland in different language guidebooks

A thesis
submitted in partial fulfilment
of the requirements for the Degree of
Master of Parks, Recreation and Tourism Management

at
Lincoln University
by
Jennifer Bender

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Abstract of a thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the Degree of Master of Parks, Recreation and Tourism Management.

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Jennifer Bender

Given the selectivity involved in guidebook construction, the inevitability of a framework of interpretation imposed by the writer, the extent of power and control guidebooks can have over tourists, and the guidebooks’ role as one of the most important sources of information for tourists, the underrepresentation of the study of guidebooks in the academic literature is very surprising.

The purpose of this study was to explore what different language guidebooks on Switzerland communicate about the country, and to assess how they differ in their representations and interpretations of the tourist destination. The study was conducted on seventeen English, American, German/Swiss, Spanish and French guidebooks. Content analysis was used to identify and compare stereotypical images addressed in the guidebooks as well as any emphasises on cover photos, coverage of cantons, and common eating out, accommodation and nightlife listings. While the thesis initially aimed at investigating national stereotypes about Switzerland, as the research progressed, it became apparent that the guidebooks also frequently embody stereotypical images of their ‘home cultures’.

The study findings indicate that guidebooks contain a large number of ‘subjective’ auto- and hetero- stereotypes. Partly, wider theories on national stereotypes can be supported in that the stereotypical images in the guidebooks present contradictory images, with the most characteristic image involving its own opposite. Furthermore, intragroup similarities and intergroup differences are also accentuated in the guidebooks. The guidebook writers frequently and explicitly recognise and confess to their own ethnocentricity. However, contrary to common theoretical beliefs, the content analysis showed that the guidebook authors do not necessarily favour ‘in-groups’ (i.e., the home cultures of the guidebook
writers), but instead – in case of the guidebooks – tend to present ‘in-groups’ in a more negative light than ‘out-groups’ (i.e., the Swiss nation). The political and/or economic competitiveness of a country does not seem to be a crucial factor in terms of its positive or negative representation in guidebooks either. Moreover, national stereotypes in the guidebooks on Switzerland are not necessarily particular or ‘exotic’, but are also apparent for other countries. All these discrepancies show that the existing theories on (national) stereotypes are insufficiently nuanced with respect to stereotypes in guidebooks. These basic theories need to be extended and put into perspective when applying them to stereotypical images in guidebooks, since the processes involved in guidebook writing and reading are very complex.

Keywords: guidebooks, national stereotypes, destination images, representations, interpretations, guidebook writers, ethnocentricity, auto-stereotypes, hetero-stereotypes, content analysis
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Chapter 1
Introduction

In Italy for thirty years under the Borgias they had warfare, terror, murder, bloodshed, but they produced Michelangelo, Leonardo da Vinci and the Renaissance. In Switzerland they had brotherly love; they had 500 years of democracy and peace. And what did that produce? The cuckoo clock.

(Orson Welles as Harry Lime in The Third Man by Graham Greene (1949), cf. The Rough Guide to Switzerland, 2006, p.6)

Even though this film quote is barely accurate with regard to the extensive warfare that took place within the ‘Swiss’ borders until the country became a liberal and federal state in 1848 (Federal Department of Foreign Affairs, 2007), and the fact that the cuckoo clock is originally a German invention from the Black Forest region (Brookes, 2006), once formed, such stereotypes often stick to countries.1

Guidebooks – especially prior to and during a trip – influence how millions of tourists perceive destinations and practise their travels (Gilbert, 1999).2 Whereas “… a guidebook shapes the image of a destination through both selection of sights and providing information about them, it is the process of interpretation that is perhaps most crucial in this regard” (Bhattacharyya, 1997, p. 381). These representations and interpretations of such representations in guidebooks will be the main focus of this thesis, especially with regard to national stereotypes.

Content analyses of guidebooks already present an area of research, which has not hitherto been studied extensively. Furthermore, no studies seem to have been conducted on national stereotypes in guidebooks yet. This is quite astonishing given that guidebooks are an essential contributor to people’s formation, perception and interpretation of destination images, and contain a large number of national stereotypes.

1 It has to be noted, however, that in this case the travel writer of the Rough Guide to Switzerland noticed these ‘incorrect’ stereotypes as well.
2 They are practical, can be insightful, humourous and/or inspirational. However, many people doubt their survival in the future, since the internet and travel applications on mobile phones increasingly pose a keen competition. Nonetheless, it can be assumed that there will always be tourists who prefer guidebooks over online searches, which might even require going through useless, inadequate and uninspiring information. Moreover, bad or no internet connections at some places would rule out the use of such applications and the internet. Hence, it seems that there will still be a market for guidebooks, even if the travel books might have to find ways to be more effectively used in times of travel applications on mobile phones and the internet.
In this thesis, research on the representation of Switzerland in different language travel guidebooks will be undertaken. I hypothesise that English, American, German/Swiss, Spanish and French travel guidebooks on Switzerland show cultural differences in terms of the portrayal of the destination. Hence, I propose to look at whether there are, and what are, the different stereotypes of the “typical Swiss” in the various guidebooks (e.g., references to wine, cheese, chocolate, Heidi, Wilhelm Tell, cuckoo clocks, hospitality, nature, precision watches, bank secrecy, national pride, expensiveness, etc.). For example, it will be interesting to see whether guidebooks from different countries vary in their use of mythical images of Switzerland and whether the ‘non-Swiss’ cuckoo clocks are mentioned and the extent to which they are referred to as ‘original’ Swiss products. This comparison of the travel literature will also include looking at whether the emphasis on certain Swiss cantons, the use of cover photos, and the advice on accommodation, restaurants, nightlife and activities, differ among the selected travel guidebooks.

Switzerland is a popular European tourist destination with its top four foreign visitors coming from Germany, the USA, France and the UK (Statistik Schweiz, 2010). Spanish tourist numbers are increasing as well (Statistik Schweiz, 2010). Therefore, an analysis of German, English, American, French and Spanish guidebooks can be useful to show how a popular tourist destination is presented in its top visiting countries. Moreover, these languages are spoken by the researcher and thus are considered suitable for the guidebook analysis. The author of this thesis is fluent in German and English and has good knowledge of and fluent reading skills in French and Spanish. In addition, the language used in guidebooks is typically simple, since guidebook texts are unlike academic texts. The guidebook authors do not want to complicate things for their readers, but want them to understand what they write about.

In the following chapter, a brief background on Switzerland will be provided with respect to the country’s geography, population and tourism numbers. Furthermore, the research objectives will be stated. In Chapter 2, the wider context, in which this research is placed, will be presented by reviewing literature on destination image and image formation, the tourist and local gazes and markers, authenticity and myths, travel guidebooks and the formation, maintenance and use of national stereotypes. After that, the concept of content analysis and the methodology used in this research will be addressed in Chapter 3. Chapters 4 and 5 will present the results of the content analysis, which then will be discussed in Chapter 6 and concluded in Chapter 7.
In the literature review, the focus will be on destination image and its formation process instead of on place promotion, since the latter term refers to how a destination or country promotes, markets and sells itself. As Short, Breitbach, Buckman and Essex (2000) put it: “Place promotion involves the re-evaluation and re-presentation of place to create and market a new image for localities to enhance their competitive position in attracting or retaining resources” (cf.Avraham & Ketter, 2006, p. 116). With reference to this definition, tourism marketing agencies often present images and texts to attract tourists and by doing so give an alternative, distorted view of people and places in tourist brochures (Young, 1999). The accuracy of guidebooks regarding the assessment of a destination and provision of a more comprehensive view of attractions and the society, is usually comparatively higher (Quinlan, 2005). These, usually independent, travel guidebooks are typically neither written by marketing experts or public relations advisors working in the tourism promotion sector of the State nor by any other ‘official’ place promoters, but by travel writers, journalists (About Lonely Planet, 2010; About Rough Guides, 2010) or even by students, and hence are not geared to such marketing objectives. The world’s leading student travel guidebook series, Let’s Go, for example, is written entirely by Harvard undergraduate students (Gordon, 2009). Since destination image also includes the formation and perception of images by potential tourists through travel literature (Echtner & Ritchie, 2003; Govers, Go, & Kumar, 2007), a review of this term fits better with the proposed research than an examination of place promotion.

1.1 Background on Switzerland

Switzerland is a very small country (41,285 square kilometres (Swissworld, 2010)) located in the Western part of Europe amidst the European Alps. It is landlocked and surrounded by Germany to the north, France to the west, Italy to the south and Austria and Liechtenstein to the east. The capital city, Bern, is situated in the north west of the country. Switzerland has a population of 7.7 million people (Swissworld, 2010). It features plentiful natural landscapes, ranging from scenic lakes and rivers to rolling hills and plains in the midlands to high mountain peaks and glaciers in the Alps. The country has 26 cantons and four official languages: German (several Swiss German dialects), French, Italian and Rhaeto-Romanic. The Swiss Confederation does not form part of the European Union. It retains a neutral status and is home to many international organisations and sports federations (e.g., World Trade Organisation, UN, Red Cross, International Olympic Committee, FIFA).

Switzerland, unlike other European countries such as Italy or Spain, is not invaded by mass tourists in summer, who prefer to sunbath at the beach (Top tourist destinations in 2009: 1.
France (74.2 million international arrivals), 2. USA (54.9 million international arrivals), 3. Spain (52.2 million international arrivals), 27. Switzerland (8.3 million international arrivals) (UNWTO 2010). While winter tourism still attracts more visitors and is more important to Switzerland’s economy, people increasingly come to Switzerland in summer to hike and enjoy the scenery, to relax, to visit Mediterranean-like cities in the cantons of Valais and Ticino, or to take part in other adventurous activities such as river rafting, mountaineering or parachuting.

1.2 Research problem statement

Lonely Planet, the world’s largest publisher of travel guides, claims to sell more than 6 million guidebooks per year (Mantell, 2006). Nonetheless, so far only a limited number of researchers have analysed guidebooks and studied what information they present to tourists (Bhattacharyya, 1997; Lew, 1991; McGregor, 2000; Nishimura, Waryszak, & King, 2006; Quinlan, 2005). In particular, the interpretation of socio-cultural and environmental information on a destination is an area that has barely been researched at all (Quinlan, 2005). Given the selectivity involved in guidebook construction, the inevitability of a framework of interpretation imposed by the writer or editor, the extent of power and control guidebooks can have over tourists, and the guidebooks’ role as one of the most important sources of information for tourists, the underrepresentation of research on guidebooks in the academic literature is very surprising. The vast quantity of guidebooks and their ready availability worldwide, raise the importance of further investigating this area of tourism. An analysis of how Switzerland is represented in different language guidebooks will enable me to show if and how other countries perceive a tourist destination differently. Therefore, this research will primarily enhance our understanding of how Switzerland is presented and perceived in such travel literature. Since national differences can bring about variations in knowledge, attitudes, image formation and actions (Bowen & Clarke, 2009), it will be interesting to see if and how such national differences are to be found in the guidebooks.

That people from different countries observe different customs – not only of speaking, but of eating, sleeping, gesturing, counting change, observing boundaries of personal behaviours, tipping cab drivers, standing in lines, avoiding certain topics of conversation at dinnertime as unbearably disgusting – is a truism one probably can never be reminded of too often (Vitello, 2007).

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3 Further tourism numbers of Switzerland’s different regions will be presented in Chapter 4, the Results chapter, in connection with the coverage of cantons in the guidebooks.
This truism influences tourist behaviours, since people frequently build on truisms in host-guest (or guest-host) encounters, which in turn can lead to the development of stereotypes (Bowen & Clarke, 2009).

1.2.1 Research question

In order to better understand and describe the role travel guidebooks play in presenting and perceiving Switzerland, the proposed study will answer the following research question: How is Switzerland represented in German/Swiss, English, American, Spanish and French travel guidebooks?

1.2.2 Research objectives

- To use content analysis to evaluate what English, American, German/Swiss, Spanish and French travel guidebooks communicate about Switzerland
- To find out whether Switzerland is perceived differently in different language travel guidebooks
- To identify any stereotypical images in the guidebooks and assess their similarity
- To investigate whether the emphasis on certain locations/places, the use of certain images, and advice on accommodation, restaurants, nightlife and activities, varies among the different guidebooks
Chapter 2
Literature Review

2.1 Destination image

When describing what the term ‘destination image’ is about, most literature reviews on this topic generally refer to Crompton’s (1979) definition, which states that destination image deals with “the sum of beliefs, ideas, and impressions that a person has of a destination” (Crompton, 1979, p. 18). Parenteau (1995) defines destination/product image as “a favourable or unfavourable prejudice that the audience and distributors have of a product or destination” (cf. Gallarza, Gil, & Calderón, 2002, p. 60). More recently, Hanlan and Kelly (2005) referred to the development of destination image as “a multi-stage process, where travel consumers develop an initial image of a destination through exposure to information sources beyond the control of the DMO (destination marketing organisations)” (Hanlan & Kelly, 2005, p. 164).

The study of destination image has interested researchers for more than thirty years, mainly because of its complexity and the significant role it plays in affecting a tourist’s decision-making (Baloglu & McCleary, 1999; Echtner & Ritchie, 1991; O’Leary & Deegan, 2005). The extensive research has shown that “image is a valuable concept in understanding the destination selection process of tourists” (Baloglu & McCleary, 1999, p. 868), and is a significant aspect in the process of determining the tourist’s trust in the respective destination (Bigné, Sánchez, & Sánchez, 2001). Since the tourist’s knowledge about a destination he/she has previously not visited is usually restricted, the perceived destination image will affect the tourist’s destination choice, length of stay at the destination, post trip evaluation and his/her future choices (Beerli & Martin, 2004; Machado, Santos, & Sarmento, 2009; Yüksel & Akgül, 2007). Whereas the length of stay is usually fixed prior to the trip, the destination image can be changed through destination attributes, quality of service, etc (Machado et al., 2009).

Moreover, since a destination can either be perceived positively or negatively, images are an important element for the tourism industry in terms of representing a destination before tourists choose their vacation location. Only if the positive image outplays any negative image will a potential tourist choose to travel to a certain destination (Chen & Kerstetter, 1999; Milman & Pizam, 1995). The true representation of a destination is thereby less important
than the existing image in the mind of a potential tourist (Jenkins, 1999), because the tourist cannot sample a destination before visiting.

Attributes consisting of functional characteristics (or ‘expected benefits’), and psychological characteristics (or ‘symbolic meanings’) make up the main elements that inform the associations a person holds about a particular destination or service (Echtner & Ritchie, 1993; Padgett & Allen, 1997; Tapachai & Waryszak, 2000). While the scenery, climate or costs are examples of more functional or physical attributes, the atmosphere, family friendliness, or quality of service at a destination are seen to be part of the psychological or abstract attributes (Echtner & Ritchie, 1991).

Gartner (1996) states that there are three different approaches to analysing destination image: an analysis from a cognitive point of view, from an affective perspective, and from a conative perspective. Whereas the cognitive image refers to the attributes that link with the attractions and resources which a destination has to offer (e.g., “interesting”, “monotonous”) (Beerli & Martin, 2004), the affective image is concerned with the motives in terms of how a person feels about and values an object/a destination (e.g., “pleasant”, “exciting”, “gloomy”, “relaxing”, “stressful”) (Baloglu & McCleary, 1999; Gartner, 1996). The conative image is the action or intent element and is seen as the behavioural response to the images held (Gartner, 1996). According to Vaughan (2007), these conative images are
dot essentially stereotypes of the destination, which may be positive or negative, and are crucial in the decision making by potential tourists as identified earlier. The conative response as a result of these images might be to visit, to postpone a visit to a later date or to decide not to visit (Vaughan, 2007, p. 4).

2.1.1 Destination image formation

According to Reynolds (1965, cf. Echtner & Ritchie, 1991), the formation of an image can be described as the development of a mental construct based upon a few impressions chosen from a flood of information. With regard to destination image, this flow of information can include many sources, such as promotional literature (e.g., advertising and travel brochures, posters), the opinions of others (e.g., family, friends, travel agents) and the general media (e.g., newspaper reports, magazines, television news reporting and documentaries, books, movies) (Echtner & Ritchie, 2003; Govers et al., 2007). Moreover, the actual visit to a destination affects and possibly changes the image due to the tourist’s experience on-site (Echtner & Ritchie, 2003).
Baloglu and McCleary (1999) state that image formation of a particular destination begins when a person plans the travel and only ends when he/she leaves the destination. Gunn (1972) suggests that such a tourist’s image formation process undergoes seven different stages. It starts with the accumulation of mental images of the destination (i.e., forming an organic image (person-dependent) mainly through non-touristic and non-commercial sources like newspaper reports, books, movies, opinions of others). Second is the modification of those images through research prior to the decision to travel to the destination (i.e., forming an induced image (destination dependent) through more commercial sources like travel brochures, travel agents, travel guidebooks). This stage is followed by the actual decision to take a vacation trip. The next stages include travel to the destination, participation at the destination, the return home and the modification of the image based on the actual experience at the destination (Gunn, 1972).

Based on Gunn’s (1972) typology, Gartner (1993) has set up a model of eight different image formation agents, namely ‘overt induced I and II’ (traditional forms of advertising: TV, brochures, radio, billboard, print versus information received from tour operators), ‘covert induced I and II’ (recommendations by well-known celebrities via traditional forms of advertising versus apparently unbiased reports: e.g. newspaper, travel section articles), ‘autonomous’ (new and popular culture: documentaries, reports, movies, literature, guidebooks), ‘unsolicited organic’ (information received from friends and family although not requested but offered in everyday conversation), ‘solicited organic’ (word-of-mouth advertising received from friends and family) and ‘organic’ (actual visitation) agents. These agents show a “. . . differing degree of control by destination promoters, level of market penetration and credibility to the information receivers” (Tasci & Gartner, 2007, p. 414). Gartner (1993), Tasci & Gartner (2007), Connell (2005) and Govers et al (2007) argue that promotional strategies – for instance initiated by tourism agencies – have a smaller impact on the image perception of tourists than non-promotional sources of information such as television documentaries, movies, literature or guidebooks (Connell, 2005; Gartner, 1993; Govers et al., 2007; Tasci & Gartner, 2007). Due to their high credibility and market penetration, the importance of autonomous agents becomes evident, as they “. . . may be the only image formation agents capable of changing an area’s image dramatically in a short period of time” (Gartner, 1993, p. 203). The news media in particular – e.g., when depicting the occurrence of a dramatic event at a destination – are believed to have a strong impact on image formation (Tasci & Gartner, 2007).
Phelps (1986) defines the image formed by induced, organic and autonomous sources before visiting a destination as a ‘secondary image’, and the actual experience at a destination as the ‘primary image’ (Phelps, 1986).

Beerli and Martin (2004) have developed a model of the formation of destination image consisting of Gartner’s (1993) and Phelps’ (1986) information sources (secondary and primary) and personal factors (motivations, vacation experience, socio-demographic characteristics), which both influence the perceived destination image (cognitive and affective image leading to the overall image). The secondary information sources are important for creating an image of a destination, for minimising potential risks, which a chosen destination could present, and they can be used to justify the destination choice later on (Mansfeld, 1992, cf. Beerli & Martin, 2004).

Govers et al (2007) have created a 3-gap tourism destination image formation model – with contributions from Parasuraman, Zeithaml and Berry (1985), Baloglu and McCleary (1999), Fesenmeier and MacKay (1996), Gartner (1993) and Govers and Go (2004) – which connects the important earlier findings on destination image and its formation. This model states, firstly, that any destination image or tourism promotion projected by the local tourism industry should to some extent refer to a destination’s true identity – for example, in terms of its authenticity and history, knowledge, culture and religion, or the natural environment of the destination (Govers et al., 2007). This tourism development strategy, on the one hand, results in the formation of a tourist product, including attractions, amenities, access, and ancillary services. On the other hand, it leads either to a projected tourism destination image by using marketing and communication strategies, as well as media, narratives and visuals as enablers, or to vicarious place experiences, such as the apparently unbiased popular culture (overt and covert induced agents). It has to be noted, however, that “if the tourism product and the way it is communicated are not in line with the destination’s identity, it can create a tourism development strategy gap” (Govers et al., 2007, p. 16).

Secondly, according to the 3-gap model, the perceived destination image (cognitive, affective and conative) is created by promotional images as well as secondary information sources, which are conveyed by the tourist’s identity, potential temporal environmental or situational influences (autonomous agents), and the direct or indirect interaction with other people (solicited or unsolicited organic agents). The knowledge that the potential tourist gains through these interactions leads to specific tourist expectations, which if not met at the
destination – for instance, because of unrealistic demands of the tourist – result in a second tourist demands specifications gap, and hence the perceived destination image is usually readapted with respect to the perceived reality (Govers et al., 2007).

In addition, the model shows that if a destination differs from its projected promotion and promise, it fails to deliver the expected tourism experience, and this gives rise to the third tourism delivery and supply gap. In turn, the previously perceived destination image will be affected and modified accordingly (Govers et al., 2007).

Image removed for copyright purposes: The 3-gap tourism destination image formation model (Govers et al, 2007, p. 16).

As becomes obvious from the literature review and theoretical models on destination image and image formation, guidebooks can play an important part in destination image formation and are usually either categorised among the covert induced agents or autonomous agents, probably depending on how commercially or independently the different researchers regard such travel literature to be. The high credibility of autonomous agents links with what Carter (1998), Bhattacharyya (1997), and Quinlan (2005) note about guidebooks. Carter (1998) states that lots of tourists think they can trust guidebooks written for independent travellers more than other travel literature, because the guidebooks do not only portray what places to
visit but also which ones to avoid (Carter, 1998). According to Bhattacharyya (1997),
guidebook texts claim authority by using a narrative voice (Bhattacharyya, 1997). With regard
to this, Quinlan (2005) argues that “Information is presented in an authoritative way, without
opposing arguments, insinuating that further evaluation of statements made in the guidebooks
is unnecessary” (Quinlan, 2005, p. 31).

2.2 Gazes and tourist markers

Urry’s (1990; 2002) concept of the tourist gaze refers to how tourists see their surroundings at
a destination. As the author puts it: “When we ‘go away’ we look at the environment with
interest and curiosity. It speaks to us in ways we appreciate, or at least we anticipate that it
will do so. In other words, we gaze at what we encounter” (Urry, 2002, p. 1). According to
Lee (2001), tourist brochures and guidebooks play an important part in the construction of the
tourist gaze, since it is within these travel information sources that objects are chosen and
described to be gazed upon (Lee, 2001). Similarly, Bell and Lyall (2002) note that “Lonely
Planet and Rough Guides show the way. What the tourist’s gaze rests upon is prescribed”
(Bell & Lyall, 2002, p. 145). Guidebooks can be seen as ‘markers’ because “usually, the first
contact sightseers have with a sight is not the sight itself but representations thereof”
(MacCannell, 1976, p. 110). This also conforms to Urry’s (1990) statement:

People have to learn how, when and where to ‘gaze’. Clear markers have to be
provided and in some cases the object of the gaze is merely the marker that indicates
some event or experience, which previously happened at that spot (Urry, 1990, p. 9).

Guidebooks are markers which identify a destination or an attraction as a sight (MacCannell,
1999). The sight contains an object and a marker; the marker gives meaning to the object,
provides information about it and labels it as attractive and worth spending time on
(MacCannell, 1999). In other words, this process is referred to as “sight sacralisation”
(MacCannell, 1999, p. 42). Unmarked sites – sites which are not mentioned in any
guidebooks and do not provide any attraction from the viewpoint of standardised tourism –
are not likely to be visited much by tourists (MacCannell, 1999). Therefore, visitors’ “...expectations are affected, and the markers influence on what tourists want to see and how they want to move” (Zillinger, 2006, p. 231).

Leiper (1990) refers to markers in his tourism attraction system. This system consists of three
elements, namely the tourist (human element), the sight (nucleus or central element) and the
marker (informative element) (Leiper, 1990). Leiper (1990) points out that there are three
different markers: the generating marker (information received before the tourist arrives at the
sight, e.g., guidebooks or television commercials), the transit marker (information received while en route to the sight, e.g., a roadside billboard, signpost, or tourist brochures found in a tourist information centre) and the contiguous marker at the destination which directly relates to the sight (e.g., on-site plaques, information signs, or electronic tour guides/running commentary of a tour guide at a tourist site). Guidebooks can be grouped under the generating and/or transit marker. They “. . . mark tourist attractions by naming them, providing details on their significance, and pointing them out geographically on maps” (Quinlan, 2005, p. 27).

Apart from the tourist gaze, which is directed towards the locals, another gaze is directed towards the tourists. Maoz (2006) introduces the terms ‘local gaze’ and ‘mutual gaze’. The local gaze consists of images and stereotypes about the tourist (Maoz, 2006). In contrast to the tourist gaze, which is primarily created by the media before tourists visit a destination, the local gaze is created by former and frequent encounters with tourists, and therefore may be more realistic (Maoz, 2006). However, Maoz (2006) acknowledges that the local gaze is also based on stereotypes and images, which may be linked to a colonial past. The local gaze can influence the locals’ behaviour and lead to cooperation with the tourists’ needs and demands out of fear (e.g., due to ‘aggressive’ tourists), or result in open (e.g., educational signs on business walls) or veiled resistance (e.g., using sophisticated techniques and manipulations to gain power over and profit from the tourists) (Maoz, 2006). Since the tourist gaze does not only reflect the tourists’ behaviour – which to some extent is shaped by the locals’ expectations and manipulations – but also influences the local gaze, this consequently affects and feeds the behaviour of both the locals and tourists (Maoz, 2006). The interrelation of the two gazes is therefore referred to as the ‘mutual gaze’ (Maoz, 2006). According to Maoz (2006), the mutual gaze “. . . makes both sides seem like puppets on a string, since it regulates their behaviour. It results in mutual avoidance, remoteness, and negative attitudes and behaviour. There are no defined “dominators” and “dominated,” as both groups simultaneously undergo and exercise power (Foucault 1980; Heuman 2005:413)” (Maoz, 2006, p. 225). It should be noted, however, that ‘non-followers’/opponents of Foucault might see this matter differently, and say that there is a definite power imbalance.

The basic idea of this mutual gaze can be related to my content analysis of the different language guidebooks of Switzerland. Whereas I initially set out to investigate the stereotypes of the Swiss (‘the locals’) in the guidebooks, it becomes evident – while reading and analysing the guidebooks – that the books also provide much stereotypical information on the viewers/readers themselves (‘the tourists’). Furthermore, analysing the ‘mutual’ stereotypes in
the guidebooks will allow for a more holistic picture of the authors’ views and understandings of the ‘mutual’ cultures. In one respect, however, the mutual gaze introduced by Maoz (2006), can differ fundamentally from the stereotypes to be analysed. While the outcomes of the mutual gaze – as mentioned above – are described rather negatively, neither of the mutual stereotypes in the guidebooks (for the authors and/or readers) necessarily needs to be. For instance, the Swiss might be portrayed as ‘efficient’ people, and in the same guidebook, the Spanish might come across as ‘full of life’. Critical implications thereupon are possible of course – such as that the Spanish are not regarded as as efficient people as the Swiss – and might have a slight negative touch for some people, but most likely would not be the decisive factors leading to mutual avoidance, remoteness and/or negative attitudes and behaviour by either the tourists or locals. In addition, rather than implying that tourists should avoid the hosts of a country, guidebooks can encourage tourists to approach locals and try to talk to them in the country’s official language. Nevertheless, the stereotypical perceptions of a country and its inhabitants acquired by tourists through guidebooks, and their influence on tourists’ behaviour towards locals at a destination, would need to be researched further in order to shed light on their actual interrelation.

2.3 Authenticity and myths in tourism

As mentioned earlier (Section 2.1), guidebooks are regarded as ‘autonomous’ and ‘authentic’ information sources. Their assumed ‘high credibility’ can be related to the concept of authenticity in tourism. According to MacCannell (1976), Western tourists are primarily motivated to travel, because they search for authenticity. This suggests that there is a connection between ‘authentic’ guidebooks and the tourist’s quest for authenticity meaning that tourists often take to guidebooks before and during travel as a means to find authenticity. Tourists seeking authenticity can easily be manipulated by the tourism industry, for instance through the industry’s use of mythical images and an over-emphasis on tourism promotion. Hence, a distinction is drawn between true and ‘staged’ authenticity (MacCannell, 1976), referring to situations where, e.g., cultural performances are set up for tourists to appear authentic. MacCannell (1976), based on Goffman’s (1959) front and back regions, differentiates between the front stage (usually including commercial and modified performances offered to tourists) and the back stage (where the real, authentic, life of locals is carried out). Guidebooks then seem to describe ‘true’ as well as ‘staged’ authenticity, since they may refer to the ‘real’ life of the locals as well as mention, for example, cultural performances set up especially for tourists.
MacCannell (1976) notes that in their quest for authenticity, tourists search for experiences, objects and places, which allow them to recreate structures that are absent in their daily lives (MacCannell, 1976). He points out that “for moderns, reality and authenticity are thought to be elsewhere: in other historical periods and other cultures, in purer, simpler lifestyles” (MacCannell, 1976, p. 3). This links to Garcia’s (1988) finding that “... many promoted myths pre-date the tourist literature and some are rooted in films, books and romantic fiction” (cf. Schellhorn & Perkins, 2004, p. 100). This holds true for Switzerland and its representation in the general media, in guidebooks, etc.: The fictional images of the Swiss orphan girl Heidi, who originated in a novel by Johanna Spyri (1880), is reportedly the reason why many tourists come to visit the ‘Heidi country’; similarly, the folk hero Wilhelm Tell, whose existence is still doubted by critics today and whose story is re-enacted for tourists in open air theatres in Switzerland every summer; and for the supposedly ‘Swiss’ cuckoo clocks. These mythical, stereotypical images about Switzerland are still widely-used and found in the media and in guidebooks, and form part of my research objectives. They will be identified in my thesis and assessed according to the similarity of their representation in the different language guidebooks.

2.4 Travel guidebooks

“Tourist guidebooks are one of the most widely used media for travelling anywhere outside one’s familiar place, containing multiple representational styles such as maps, photos and linguistic descriptions” (Suzuki & Wakabayashi, 2005). Since tourists usually purchase the tourism product or holiday, including the experience and destination, before they arrive at a destination place, great importance is attached to guidebooks as components of the tourism infrastructure (Koshar, 1998) and to their textual representations of destinations (Fakeye & Crompton, 1991). Scott (1998) goes so far as to refer to these textual representations of destinations as “bibles” and “scripts” for the tourists (Scott, 1998, p. 89).

Guidebooks “... provide a framework for experiencing a place” (Lew, 1991, p. 126); they portray destinations through communicating the sights of a place to the tourist, and interpret what tourists perceive (Bhattacharyya, 1997). They take on the role of a tour guide, and act as a ‘mediator’, not only between the tourist and the destination but also between the host and the guest (Bhattacharyya, 1997). Bhattacharyya (1997) notes that guidebooks provide communicative mediation through their connection of the tourist to famous objects of sightseeing. In this sense, the guidebook operates as a 'culture broker', assessing places and attractions for their quality, price, service, location and 'must see' factor.
According to McGregor (2000), guidebook texts are “. . . dynamic agents . . . continually influencing, modifying and reifying the meanings, beliefs and ways of seeing, of contemporary cultural groups” (McGregor, 2000, p. 28). By facilitating and encouraging the formation of images of places for the reader without actually visiting a destination, they “. . . provide lenses for viewing the world” (McGregor, 2000, p. 47). In other words, guidebooks try to overcome the distance between the word and its object (Allen, 1996), and offer a level of pre-familiarity; a sense of place and meaning for tourists before they have experienced a destination themselves (Carter, 1998).

Guidebooks have been described as having two main functions; on the one hand, they serve to explain to tourists why they should visit a destination, and on the other hand, they provide tourists with enough details to make their travel convenient, enjoyable and instructive ("Friendly, at long last, to Foreigners," 1998, May 16). Their usefulness to tourists is also seen in their ability to catalogue, in a structured and relatively standardized form, relevant aspects of the destinations. They list accommodation (with phone numbers), attractions (with opening times), recommended bars and restaurants, and more. This standardization can make strange places feel safer to tourists by reducing their uncertainty (Brown, 2007, p. 372).

Bell and Lyall (2002) remark that “tourism is not just about the right to see other places but also the right to maximum enjoyment while doing so, and maximum value for money” (Bell & Lyall, 2002, p. 145). Given the information guidebooks provide, they incorporate all of these three aspects by presenting the sights of a country and giving advice on different entertainment, eating and accommodation options.

Zillinger (2006), referring to the German Research Foundation for Holiday and Travel (FUR (2003)), notes that for (German) tourists, guidebooks are regarded as credible and not influenced by biased tourist organisations. This conforms to Bhattacharyya’s (1997), Carter’s (1998) and Quinlan’s (2005) view on the authoritative role of guidebooks mentioned earlier. Guidebooks can be seen as tools to make independent travel easier, since this kind of travel literature usually offers advice and information worth knowing about places, attractions, accommodation, transport, eating out, nightlife, etc. These ‘tools’ assure tourists that they will not miss out on anything; they predict what tourists will see, state what they are seeing and recall what they saw (Allen, 1996). In addition, by including and omitting information, and by providing tourists with spatial and social information about tourist destinations, the books are said to excessively manipulate tourists and their decisions on what destination sites to visit.
(McGregor, 2000; Zillinger, 2006), and on what sense to make of the sites they do visit. The extent to which tourists consulting guidebooks explore a destination is considered to be limited, since an attraction or site, which is not mentioned in a guidebook, is unlikely to be visited (Lew, 1991; McGregor, 2000; Zillinger, 2006). Therefore, tourists are thought to not only be guided but controlled by guidebooks, becoming reduced to “chasers of images” (Dann, 1996, p. 83), who search for the places they have been told to see (Dann, 1996). Consequently, by “. . . separating desirable from undesirable experiences” (Zillinger, 2006, p. 231), guidebooks not only influence what is known about a destination, but also may influence tourist expectations and satisfaction accordingly (Nishimura et al., 2006). Dann (1996) emphasises the power of guidebooks to exercise social control and states that “. . . tourists are constrained and duped, they become prisoners of Baedeker, manipulated in a Machiavellian manner by their own alienation, chained by the capitalist system to an illusory freedom” (Dann, 1996, p. 83).

While guidebooks are multifunctional and flexible (accessible anytime and anywhere) (Nishimura et al., 2006), and help tourists to choose from available product options (Carter, 1998; Lew, 1991; Nishimura et al., 2006), their content and portrayal of a tourist destination are likely to differ in different guidebooks (Bhattacharyya, 1997). Whether tourists agree with the suggested views in guidebooks is subject to their travel interests and needs (Lew, 1991). Hence, different tourists may read and use guidebooks differently and be more or less influenced by them. More precisely, this means that tourists may differ regarding the type of information they seek in guidebooks (e.g., ready-to-use information or cultural/historical information), the amount of information they read in guidebooks (e.g., selective reading), the level of involvement with guidebooks (e.g., critical or non-critical/unreflective) (Therkelsen & Sorensen, 2005), and also, the choice of which guidebooks to consult.

Snepenger (1987) and Quinlan (2005) – with reference to Cohen’s (1972) four-fold tourist typology (organised mass tourist, independent mass tourist, drifter, explorer) – argue that the independent mass tourist and explorer are the most likely groups to consult guidebooks, whereas the organised mass tourist on his/her fully pre-planned trip, and the drifter, who tries to stay away from the tourism industry as much as possible, are less likely to use this kind of travel literature (Quinlan, 2005; Snepenger, 1987). Similarly, Zillinger (2006) and Ioannides and Debbage (1997) assume that guidebooks have become more important in recent years due to the increasing individualistic tourist experience (Ioannides & Debbage, 1997; Zillinger, 2006). These findings conform to Nishimura, King and Waryszak’s (2007) research results.
which indicate that people “. . . exercising greater freedom in their decision-making are significantly more likely to use guidebooks both prior to and during travel” (Nishimura, King, & Waryszak, 2007, p. 304). Nevertheless, Nishimura et al (2007) also – to some extent – contradict Snepenger’s (1987) and Quinlan’s (2005) views on which tourists use guidebooks. They found that guidebooks were popular information sources among all tourist types, and thus also tourists on fully pre-planned trips still make use of guidebooks, even though for other purposes (Nishimura et al., 2007). Moreover, apart from consulting guidebooks prior to and during travel, they may also be used in the stage after travel, for example, as a retrospective reflection of the trip or for confirmation purposes (Nishimura et al., 2006).

2.5 National stereotypes

Heaven is where the police are English, the cooks are French, the mechanics are German, the lovers are Italian and everything is organised by the Swiss. Hell is where the police are German, the cooks are English, the mechanics are French, the lovers are Swiss, and everything is organised by the Italians.

The unknown author of this joke, which is commonly circulated on the internet, comprehensively addresses the subject of national stereotypes, which play an important part in people’s perceptions of themselves and other cultures. This section of the literature review will mainly focus on national stereotypes, their formation, maintenance, accuracy and use. Such national images and aspects play the leading role in this thesis.

The study of stereotypes has a long tradition in academic research. Hinton (2000), referring to the innovative study by Lippmann (1922), who first introduced the term ‘stereotype’ in sociological literature, (re)defines stereotypes as “simplified ‘pictures in our heads’ of people and events in the world” (Hinton, 2000, p. 8).

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4 This can be related to Post-Fordism in terms of replacing mass marketing by flexible specialisation.
Jahoda, Deutsch and Cook (1951) distinguish between different kinds of national images, namely:

1. Images which vaguely and generally refer to a nation as an entity including its people, leadership and institutions (e.g., “German aggressiveness”);
2. Images which deal with the ‘typical’ or ‘average’ people of a nation (e.g., describing the ‘average’ German’s personality as aggressive compared to the personalities of average people of other nations);
3. Images which address governmental behaviour or the politics of a country (e.g., speaking of “the aggressive and militaristic policies of the German government at specific periods of history, without implying that the German people at large are aggressive as individuals”); and
4. Images which concern specific components of a population, or specific cultural or social features (e.g., “the aggressive German Junker caste”, “the aggressive German industrialists”, “aggressive themes in German literature and philosophy”) (Jahoda, Deutsch, & Cook, 1951, pp. 547-548).

Leerssen (2003) defines national stereotypes as:

. . . intertextual constructs: the conventions and commonplaces inherited from a pre-existing textual tradition fully overshadow the experience of reality. This, again, means that the historical force of national stereotypes lies more in their recognition value than in their pretended truth value. National stereotypes provoke something which in German is called an Aha!-Effekt: a commonplace (“stupid Belgians”, “proud Spaniards”) sounds familiar, and the audience confuses the sense of familiarity with a sense of validity (Leerssen, 2003).

Furthermore, Leerssen (2003) notes that national stereotypes do not describe cultural identity but cultural differences, since people’s perception of one country differs from their perception of other countries. Cross-cultural common attributes are typically taken as known and are influenced by the assumption that a nation “. . . is most itself in those aspects wherein it is most unlike the others” (Leerssen, 2003). This assumption in turn leads to the consideration of particular and ‘exotic’ characteristics only, and prevents people from understanding that cultures and humans in general are defined by all of their characteristics (Leerssen, 2003).

Lehtonen (2005), argues that national stereotypes direct people’s attention to specific characteristics, “amplify” them in their minds and provide interpretations of these observations (Lehtonen, 2005, p. 71). Hence, people see what they “. . . are taught to see” and their observations consequently “. . . confirm the stereotype” (Lehtonen, 2005, p. 71).
According to Terracciano et al (2005), national stereotypes are defined as beliefs about distinctive personality, social, physical and mental characteristics typical of members of a culture, and become cultural peculiarities conveyed by the media, hearsay, education, history and jokes. These beliefs are thought to be influenced and formed by “. . . generalizations based on observations of the personality traits of individual culture members”, “. . . inferences based on the national ethos, as revealed in socioeconomic conditions, history, customs, myths, legends, and values” and/or by “. . . comparisons or contrasts with geographically close or competing cultures” (Terracciano, Abdel-Khalek, Adam, & Adamovova, 2005, p. 96). Moreover, (national) stereotypes are seen as “oversimplified judgements”, which – in case they contain some ‘kernel of truth’ – “. . . should reflect the average emotional, interpersonal, experiential, attitudinal, and motivational styles of members of the culture” (Terracciano et al., 2005, p. 96).

2.5.1 The formation of national stereotypes

According to Oakes, Haslam & Turner (1994), the process of categorisation is crucial to the formation of stereotypes. As Hamilton and Trolier (1986) note: “The basis for all stereotyping is the differential perception of groups. Without such differentiation between groups, stereotyping cannot occur” (Hamilton & Trolier, 1986, p. 134).

The main function of categorising is to simplify complex information in order to make it manageable (Oakes, Haslam, & Turner, 1994). Oakes, Haslam & Turner (1994) argue that categorisation creates two fundamental outcomes, namely “. . . the distortion of perception such that intragroup similarity and intergroup difference are accentuated, and evaluative and behavioural discrimination favouring the ingroup” (Oakes et al., 1994, p. 37).

Stroebe and Insko (1989) address national images and their circulation in their chapter on stereotype, prejudice, and discrimination, and state that national stereotypes can be understood as “. . . culturally shared categories that transcend the individual” (Stroebe & Insko, 1989, p. 29). These categories are usually transmitted through education (parents, schools) or the mass media, although people might also alter their formerly held stereotypical beliefs due to later personal experiences (Stroebe & Insko, 1989).

In-groups are typically seen as groups in which we belong (sense of identity, membership) and distinguished from groups in which we do not belong (out-groups). In addition, in-groups are often described as the dominant ethnic or racial groups whereas internal minority groups serve as out-groups. Theories on stereotypes and social identity argue that people tend to discriminate in favour of in-groups over out-groups (e.g., (Tajfel & Fraser, 1978); (Oakes et al., 1994)).
With regard to national stereotypes in the media, Jahoda et al (1951) mention that the mass media are thought to play a significant role in advertising national images, and these images may be transmitted through any means of mass communication, such as newspapers, magazines, books, radio broadcasts, films, dramas or even through the lyrics of popular songs. Although people and the government are often presented together in a general national image, the mass media sometimes distinctly differentiate between the population as a whole and the government of a country (Jahoda et al., 1951).

Wilterdink (1994), who also discusses the presentation and formation of national images, points out that national images are presumed to be based on information: either direct (social experiences with members of a nation through observational behaviour and social interaction) or indirect (written, vocal, pictures). Indirect information includes personal communication or messages in books, newspapers, magazines, etc., and may refer to fiction (films, novels, plays), facts (newspaper reports) and/or to the history or present events of a nation (Wilterdink, 1994). Moreover, indirect information can make explicit or implicit references to country-specific attributes of people, ranging from ‘simple’ and ‘popular’ (travel guidebooks) to ‘complex’ and ‘scientific’ as well as from ‘moralistic’ and ‘emotional’ (war propaganda) to ‘analytic’ and ‘detached’ (Wilterdink, 1994). As Wilterdink (1994) points out: “It is on the basis of these diverse types of information that people form national images, which serve in turn as a basis for selecting and interpreting new information” (Wilterdink, 1994, p. 49). However, Wilterdink (1994) also notes that national images cannot solely be explained through direct and indirect information, since they “...serve certain needs and have certain functions for the people who hold them”, such as helping to “order the social world”; “explain social experiences and make them comprehensible”; and helping people to “evaluate social experiences and give meaning to their own emotions” (Wilterdink, 1994, p. 50).

This review shows that national characteristics can be formed through a variety of sources in education and the media, and that guidebooks as one such source, present a good location to look for and find national images.

2.5.2 The maintenance and 'accuracy' of national stereotypes

While the media play an important role in forming national stereotypes, they can also – to some extent – be regarded as being responsible for their maintenance and memorisation, since they provide countless options to regularly come in contact with foreign cultures.
In his study on images of national character, Wilterdink (1994) takes up the topic of national characteristics, touching on the subject of stereotype maintenance in social reality. He states that:

*The notion that nations differ not only in their geographical locations, political arrangements, histories, and cultural traditions but also in the mentality or personality of their people is highly controversial and at the same time widely popular. . . . It is entertained and elaborated in travel guides, national histories, newspaper accounts, literature and drama, as well as in daily conversations. Images of national character are part and parcel of everyday social knowledge and, by implication, of social reality itself. These images can be precise or vague, based or not based on personal experiences, and marginal or central in people’s minds* (Wilterdink, 1994, p. 43).

Stereotypes “. . . have been shown to be remarkably resilient to change” (Wilson, 2006, p. 8), and it seems that people’s expectations regarding their accuracy or inaccuracy (Fiske & Taylor, 1991) may not matter. Lindsay (1997) mentions that the reflection of reality, past or present of national stereotypes is not important, but what is important is whether people are aware of and influenced by the stereotypes (Lindsay, 1997). Similarly, Leerssen (2003) points out that a stereotypical belief can be absurd but its effect might be very real. With reference to Terracciano et al (2005), the accuracy of stereotypes has been evaluated extensively in the literature which demonstrates that stereotypes can either show the truth or fiction. In addition, Wilterdink (1994) notes that not everybody reflects national stereotypes, but that their characteristics can be found in some people, and hence cannot be ascribed as completely fictional. The findings of the study on national character ratings and personality traits of culture members by Terracciano et al (2005), indicate that national stereotypes can provide information about the culture, but do not describe the people themselves.

### 2.5.3 The use of national stereotypes

According to Hilton and von Hippel (1996), the purpose of stereotyping differs depending on the context. As the authors put it:

*Sometimes stereotypes are born from self-fulfilling prophecies, while other times they have their genesis in illusory correlations and perceptions of out-group homogeneity. Similarly, sometimes stereotypes are nurtured by our tendency to assimilate events to primed categories, while other times they are maintained by our tendency to remember information selectively* (Hilton & von Hippel, 1996, p. 254).

While stereotypes can make complex information manageable for the recipient, “. . . they can also enrich perception, or help the perceiver justify a particular conclusion or behaviour” (Wilson, 2006, p. 9).
In light of the ‘uncertain’ reality of national images, the producers and analysers of national stereotypes need to be taken into consideration as well. Leerssen (2003) addresses the researchers’ and authors’ roles and attitudes concerning national stereotypes. He points out that imagologists, who study national stereotypes, are not interested in answering the question whether a certain reputation is true, but how the reputation has become observable (e.g.: “Who is saying it? What audience is the author addressing? Why is it important for this author to make this point? What are the political circumstances at the time the text was written? How does the author attempt to convince the reader of the validity of his claim? What sort of text is it?, etc.”). In terms of the authors’ opinions on a specific country, an analysis of the portrait of foreign nations is seen as having to take the authors’ views into consideration, since their nationality might influence their representation of a country (Leerssen, 2003). Leerssen (2003) refers to auto-images (the attitudes one has towards one’s own cultural values) and hetero-images (the attitude towards the other cultures), and states that authors portraying other cultures are always subjective (auto-image) to some extent, since their own values and assumptions are necessarily integrated in their confrontation with and portrayal of another culture. Similarly, Wilson (2006) points out that the perception of images by social groups is different for those people who are part of a respective group and for those who are not, and is also linked to how the importance and accuracy of the stereotypical image vary.

According to Leerssen (2003), authors tend to represent stereotypes of countries as being “. . . contradictory in a specific way” in that

. . . their most characteristic attribute always involves its own opposite. . . . the English are either tea-drinking, respectable and with a ’stiff upper lip’ (type: Miss Marple or Phileas Fogg) or else robust, no-nonsense, nonconformist and easily offended (type: Winston Churchill, John Bull). . . . Which of these two contradictory attributes is then most emphasized, depends on the political attitude of the author, on the point he (sic) is trying to make (Leerssen, 2003).

Subject to a country’s governmental situation, national stereotypes can either be positive or negative (Leerssen, 2003). They either lead to xenophobic or ‘xenophile/exotic’ descriptions of a nation, depending on the extent of its competitive position in politics and/or economics (Leerssen, 2003). Regarding the possible outcome of national stereotypes, the study by Terracciano et al (2005) reports that disadvantageous stereotypes of national or ethnic groups can result in prejudice, discrimination, or persecution. Research on the positive outcomes of stereotyping remains quite limited (Wilson, 2006). Dann (2001) mentions that tourism clichés may provide security, give people what they want, reveal unseen truths, and serve as means of memory. However, these positive attributes of clichés also have their negative counterparts,
since the assumed security may result in a “loss of freedom”; the demand which clichés
assumingly satisfy links to a “vicious circle of self-perpetuation”; the supposedly revealed
truths can be meaningless expressions; and the means of memory can result in “becoming a
linguistic prisoner of the stereotypical past” (Dann, 2001, p. 10).

With regard to clichés in travel journalism and cultural productions, Morgan and Pritchard
(1998) state that “tourism imagery continues to construct and recreate stereotypes; it certainly
does not break them down” (Morgan & Pritchard, 1998, p. 179). In terms of guidebooks,
Dann (1999) notes that whereas

\[\ldots\text{their mythical binary structure tends to employ trite contrasting epithets in order to reinforce differences, and hence a sense of moral obligation into sightseeing (Gritti, 1967), there are recent indications that the use of such language is not only being increasingly admitted by its authors, but that it is correspondingly recognized as serving a beneficial purpose (Dann, 2001, p. 7).}\]

However, the opposite may occur as well, since hosts may object to unrealistic images (Dann,
2001). The attempt to change or rebrand these images can be difficult, though (Dann, 2001).
According to Dann (2001), the Swiss, for example, have trouble changing their self-image,
which is stuck to the Sound of Music stereotypes from the past. Citing Coman (1999), Dann
(2001) mentions that Switzerland tries to overcome its traditional images of Heidi, Tell,
chocolate, watchmakers, etc., by launching an expensive campaign and using famous, modern
Swiss citizens (such as Roger Federer) to revitalise the country’s image, attempting to show
that Switzerland is “\ldots a varied and exciting place, modern and multi-cultural” (Dann, 2001,
p. 10). Nonetheless, foreigners asked to identify internationally famous Swiss people, often
fail to do so, and rather refer to the popular clichés of yodelling and cuckoo clocks (Dann,
2001).

Stereotypes are not only classified by aspects such as target groups (e.g., nation, ethnicity,
gender), direction (auto- or hetero-stereotypes) and evaluation (positive or negative
stereotypes), but also by observer groups, level and inference (Winter, 2009). Lehtonen
(2005) differentiates between idiosyncratic (held by one person) and collective (held by a
group of people) stereotypes (observer groups). In addition, he refers to four types of national
stereotypes: simple auto-stereotype (“In our opinion we [my nationality] are...”), projected
auto-stereotype (“we think that they [inhabitants of the foreign country] consider us to be...”),
projected hetero-stereotype (“we feel that they [the inhabitant of the foreign country] think

\[6\text{ This beneficial purpose of the language of clichés is seen in their ability to serve as mental souvenirs and}
\text{vehicles of memory (Dann, 2001).}\]
that they are...”) and simple hetero-stereotype (“we think that they are...”) (Lehtonen, 2005, p. 69) (level). In terms of the inference of national stereotypes, Bennett (1998) distinguishes between deductive (assuming that generalisations apply to every person in a culture) and inductive (deriving from generalisations from too small a sample) images (Bennett, 1998).

## 2.6 Conclusion

The literature review shows that guidebooks contribute much to the formation of destination images. They convey images of people and countries which ultimately can influence a tourist’s decision to visit or not visit a destination. In addition, guidebooks are often considered as independent, credible and trustworthy information sources and act as tourist markers, telling people what sights to gaze at. Furthermore, they not only portray a foreign country but also offer insights on the ‘home’ culture of the guidebook. The literature review also demonstrates that national stereotypes are (still) used widely, and it becomes evident that guidebooks also play an important part in their formation, maintenance and use. Hence, it can be concluded that guidebooks provide abundant research material for the work of content analysers in the fields of tourism and sociology.

The above mentioned findings on national stereotypes pose several questions with respect to the content analysis to be undertaken: How will the theories on national stereotypes relate to the actual stereotypical images in the guidebooks on Switzerland? Will the guidebooks reveal negative images of greedy, cold bankers, cheese- and chocolate eaters and the like, or praise the warm Swiss hospitality, workmanship, banking secrecy, multiculturalism, etc.? Considering the different nationalities of the guidebook writers, another question is whether their images of Switzerland (auto- and hetero-images) will consequently differ as well, in that e.g., the Spanish view the Swiss as punctual but the Germans do not, or do not bother to mention punctuality. This study will show that other nations still adhere to old clichés of Switzerland and that the rebranding of the Swiss image meanwhile has in the case of the guidebooks, not been successful.

In Chapter 3, the concept of content analysis will be introduced, and the methods used to identify and analyse the guidebooks will be mapped out.
Chapter 3
Methodology

In descriptive research, content analysis is a technique employed to examine information, or content, in written or symbolic form (e.g., pictures, movies, song lyrics, books, magazines, websites, etc) (Neuman, 2000). This method is considered to be among the most common approaches in geographical research on travel literature, taking into account the understanding of textual representations (Lew, 1991; Quinlan, 2005). It is regarded as unobtrusive and is used to measure, classify and evaluate the content of any type of human communication (Mehmetoglu & Dann, 2003). Such content can be analysed in two ways: either by examining the visible wording and/or explicit themes (manifest content); or by identifying the underlying meaning in communication (latent content) (Babbie, 2001). One advantage of this kind of research is that content analysis is nonreactive, and hence travel writers or journalists are not made self-conscious of being observed at the time they produce the data (Babbie, 2001; Riffe, Lacy, & Fico, 1998). Furthermore, content analysis material is relatively easy to obtain, and it is not necessary for researchers to gain ethical approval, since no fieldwork is conducted (Mehmetoglu & Dann, 2003). The fact that data obtained from content analysis cannot be subject to further experimentation, and interferences of causality are therefore speculative (Mehmetoglu & Dann, 2003), represents a weakness of this research method, however.

In terms of implementing the content analysis for this research, the guidebooks were read in their entirety and the guidebook data was evaluated and different coding schemes were generated, for example based on stereotypes mentioned in the guidebooks, the emphasis on certain locations/places and cover photos, or recommendations for accommodation, transport, activities, eating out and nightlife. The information and stereotypes in the guidebooks were categorised into different themes and compared with each other. The reported eating, accommodation and nightlife places were counted in total for each guidebook, and in the case of ten Swiss cities and resorts (Geneva, Berne, Basel, Zürich, Lausanne, St Gallen, Lucerne, Locarno, St Moritz, Zermatt), the results were compared with each other to identify consistencies.

For this documentary research, 17 different travel guidebooks on Switzerland were identified. Among the selected guidebooks are four English (Lonely Planet, Rough Guides, DK Eyewitness, Berlitz Pocket Guide), two American (Fodor’s, Let’s Go), five German/Swiss
(Baedeker, Merian, ADAC, Marco Polo, Polyglott (the Baedeker and ADAC guides were written by German journalists, the Merian and Marco Polo guides by Swiss journalists, and the Polyglott guide by a German and a Swiss journalist)), three Spanish (Guía viva, Guía total, Guía azul) and three French (Michelin Vert, Routard, Petit Futé) guidebooks. These guidebooks are categorised as English, German, Swiss, French or Spanish, depending on whether: their publishing houses are owned by companies from the respective countries; the specific guidebook editions have been commissioned in the respective countries; and/or – most importantly – the guidebooks have been written/edited by authors from these countries. They were chosen for the research study because they are among the most popular guidebooks used as information sources for Switzerland with reference to their sales figures, and among the ones with the highest availability rate in (online) bookstores (Amazon France, 2010; Amazon Germany, 2010; Amazon UK, 2010; Casa del libro, 2010; Fnac, 2010). The readership of different “language” guides, of course, is not drawn from a single country, but the writers, publishers and editors of guidebooks to a large extent write for specific audiences. This can be seen in Chapter 4 in the section on target groups (pp. 29-31) and in Chapter 5 in the discussion of Fodor’s “Ugly Americans” (p. 110). If I were to choose a travel guidebook on Switzerland, I would probably select the Baedeker, Merian or DK Eyewitness guide, since these guidebooks have a reputation of being more sophisticated and detailed (e.g., in terms of country and (socio-) cultural background information) than others. Nevertheless, I wanted to see how other guidebooks compare to those guides, and hence selected several different guides for the content analysis.

Other guidebooks, such as the Lonely Planet or Michelin books in German, were not considered for this research, since those editions are primarily one-to-one translations of the English originals, and mainly use the same templates as the original guidebooks – the only difference being that information in the directory on, for instance, embassies/consulates, tourism centres, customs regulations, travel insurances/visas, or transportation to the destination, may vary according to the different languages, and hence different countries. In addition to the existence of ‘one-to-one translations’ of different language editions of the same guides (see Appendix A), many of the guidebooks have not been published in any or all of the other languages under analysis (e.g., the Lonely Planet has not been released in French or Spanish yet; the Spanish guidebooks have not been translated into any other languages). Any translations from non-English guidebooks used for the purposes of content analysis have been made by the author of this thesis.
The newest edition for each publication, as of January 2010, was purchased for the analysis (Lonely Planet, 2009; Rough Guide, 2006; DK Eyewitness, 2008; Berlitz Pocket Guide, 2009; Fodor’s, 2009; Let’s Go, 2005; Baedeker, 2008; Merian, 2008; Marco Polo, 2008; Polyglott, 2009; ADAC, 2008; Michelin, 2007; Petit Futé, 2009; Routard, 2010; Guía azul, 2007; Guía total, 2010; Guía viva, 2010). In addition to the fact that the guidebooks were published in different years, the different sizes and volumes of the guidebooks have to be taken into consideration as well, for these may indicate why the information presented in the guidebooks might be limited (Lonely Planet, 404 pages; Rough Guide, 631 pages; DK Eyewitness, 328 pages; Berlitz Pocket Guide, 192 pages; Fodor’s, 560 pages; Let’s Go, 592 pages including Austria and Munich – 248 pages on Switzerland; Baedeker, 643 pages; Merian, 390; Marco Polo, 144 pages; Polyglott, 143 pages; ADAC, 143 pages; Michelin, 480 pages; Petit Futé, 480 pages; Routard, 600 pages; Guía azul, 474 pages; Guía total, 430 pages; Guía viva, 306 pages). For simplification and clarity purposes, quotes from the guidebooks will be referenced according to guidebook names in the results and discussion chapters, e.g., (Rough Guide, p. 15), instead of authors and publishing year, e.g., (Teller, 2006, p. 15). The complete reference list of the analysed guidebooks can be found in Appendix B.

The interesting thought on auto- and hetero-images mentioned at the end of the previous chapter raises an important question: Would it make a difference as to how I as a German was going to view the different language guidebooks? It is a legitimate question to ask whether the author’s own values and assumptions, which are said to be integrated in the writer’s confrontation with other cultures, are also present in and affect the researcher’s analysis. Whereas I as a researcher might not completely be beyond the influence of my personal ethnography, I think that being aware of the possible interference of auto-images helped to approach the stereotypical images in the guidebooks in a more objective way. Even if I as a German, for instance, personally regard punctuality as normal and not as an outstanding national characteristic trait in spite of the stereotypes of German efficiency, in the role of the researcher I nevertheless tried to remain objective and consider all stereotypes in the content analysis.

While the selected guidebooks may seem to cater to partly different traveller groups – for instance, ranging from low/budget to middle and upper class (independent) travellers – it should be noted that nowadays most guidebook publishers have moved away from serving one niche only, and today try to accommodate all budget ranges (Leffel, 2006). Nevertheless, the target groups of each guidebook were addressed and if there were any emerging
differences in target groups and the image of Switzerland thereby portrayed, this was considered in the content analysis in the following chapter, Chapter 4.

In Chapters 4 and 5, I will report and compare the findings of the different guidebooks, and in Chapter 6, I will discuss and analyse the results and relate them to the literature review in Chapter 2.
Chapter 4
Results

Guidebooks typically provide information on scenery, places, attractions, accommodation, transport, eating out/cuisine, activities, events and nightlife. They also often refer to the historical background, economy, politics, culture, myths and stereotypes of a destination. For this content analysis, I will set out such common themes to be found in the selected guides to see how they are represented and interpreted by the different guidebook authors. I will also look at the target groups, cover photos, coverage of places/cantons as well as listings of accommodation, eating out and nightlife places of the guidebooks to find out if there are any common patterns. In addition, the information on the Official Swiss Tourism Web page will be used to see if the promotion of the destination Switzerland varies from that of the guidebooks. Since the content analysis is conducted on 17 different guidebooks, Chapter 4 will inevitably be a long chapter. Except for occasional observations, analysis of the data will be reserved for Chapter 5.

4.1 Target groups

Despite the fact that many guidebooks today cover more than one budget and target group, some guides – given their information and the presentation of this information – still seem to address one niche in particular. Thus, it makes sense to look more closely at the target groups of the different language guidebooks and at how they link to the rest of the findings. The target groups might, for instance, give an indication why certain stereotypes are used or why some cantons are covered in the descriptions of the guides but others are not. While some authors/editors list the main target group of the guides in the respective books themselves or, e.g., in form of quotations from the press, information about the target audience can also often be found on the guidebook publishers’ web pages or on different journalists’ web pages, respectively.

Overall, the guidebooks can be categorised into three different target market groups: young independent travellers/backpackers/students; older upscale travellers with high(er) quality demands; and low price segment guides which often address a broader target audience. Some of the guidebooks fit into more than one group.
Table 1  Target market groups in the guidebooks.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Young independent travellers/students/backpackers</th>
<th>Older upscale travellers with high(er) quality demands</th>
<th>Low price segment guides (often broader target groups)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Lonely Planet</td>
<td>DK Eyewitness</td>
<td>Berlitz Pocket Guide</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rough Guide</td>
<td>Fodor’s</td>
<td>ADAC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Let’s Go</td>
<td>Baedeker</td>
<td>Marco Polo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Routard</td>
<td>Merian</td>
<td>Polyglott</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guía azul</td>
<td>Michelin</td>
<td>(Guía viva)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guía viva</td>
<td>Petit Futé</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>(Marco Polo)</td>
<td>Guía total</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Lonely Planet)</td>
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<tr>
<td>(Routard)</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

In the past, the target audience of the *Lonely Planet* was mainly young independent low-cost backpackers, but in recent years the guidebook has broadened its target group and has started addressing more mainstream and wealthy middle-aged travellers (Bramblett, 2008; Hardman, 2007). Reasons for that might be that the initial young backpackers grew older – now have more money to spend – and that *Lonely Planet* grew with them (The *Lonely Planet* guidebook founder, Tony Wheeler, nowadays often stays in better hotels while travelling, too (Wheeler, 2010)). The purchasers of the illustrative *DK Eyewitness* guides are upscale travellers (Bramblett, 2008), and are said to be female dominated, aged 35-54, middle class, busy family orientated mums, who demand high standards (*DK Eyewitness brochure*, 2010). According to the Asbury Park Press, *Rough Guides* “target independent travelers in search of quality as well as good value” (*Rough Guide - What the press say*, 2010). The *Berlitz Pocket Guides* are “packed with all the information you need to get the most from your visit” (*Pocket Guides*, 2010). They belong to the low price segment guides and do not seem to refer to a particular target group, but rather address a broader audience, since they provide (basic) information on where to go and what to do, feature sections on art and culture, history, the local cuisine and give advises and recommendations on shopping, entertainment, restaurants and hotels (*Pocket Guides*, 2010).

According to *Fodor’s* publisher Tim Jarrell, the *Fodor’s* guide is aimed at “age 25-plus travelers who are interested in attainable luxury” (cf. Zarem, 2006). It is for people who do not mind spending a little bit more money – not necessarily for the whole trip – but for things
that will enhance their travel experiences, regardless of whether the travellers are wealthy or just have some money in their travel budget (Zarem, 2006). The Let’s Go guide, the Associated Press and New York Times point out that the Let’s Go guidebook targets independent travellers and young budget travellers (backpackers, students) (Let’s Go, cover page/p. I/ p. V).

The Baedeker guide addresses readers who are educated, have purchasing power and high quality demands (Baedeker - Zielgruppe, 2010). They like to travel and want to get to know a country and its culture comprehensively – with all its facets (Baedeker - Zielgruppe, 2010). The Merian targets demanding/sophisticated travellers who are interested in the culture and architecture of a country (Reiseführer im Test, 2010). The ADAC guide has motorists, members of the ADAC (General German Automobile Club) and ‘classic’ tourists (mass tourists?) as its target audience (Reiseführer im Test, 2010). The Marco Polo guide emphasises the young and ‘full of life’ lifestyle of its readers (Marco Polo - Zielgruppe, 2009). The readers are interested in travelling and want to get information about their destination before and during their holiday (Marco Polo - Zielgruppe, 2009). Similar to the ADAC and Marco Polo guides, the Polyglott guide belongs to the low price segment, and is regarded as a guide for everyone (Die Polyglott Verlagsgeschichte, 2010).

The Michelin guide states that it was originally created to facilitate and enrich travels, and still addresses those who like to get to know and understand what forms the identity of a region (Michelin, p. 3). Simple, clear and easy to use, the guide is also ideal for travelling with family (Michelin, p. 3). The Petit Futé does not refer to a specific target group but mentions that the majority of its readers are in the 36-46 age group (27%), followed by the 25-35 age group (25%) and 47-60 age group (20%) (Petit Futé brochure, 2010). The Routard guide mainly targeted young travellers with tight budgets in the past (the word ‘routard’ translates to backpacker tourist), but nowadays also includes information on charming and comfortable hotels, etc (Web-libre, 2007).

The Guía azul was inspired by the French Routard guide and hence is targeted at backpackers (Informacion - Guía de viaje, 2007). The Guía total is said to be a cultural guide and good travel companion for organised trips (Informacion - Guía de viaje, 2007). The Guía viva is regarded as being ideal for backpackers who want to experience life while travelling (Informacion - Guía de viaje, 2007).
4.2 Cover photos

Although some of the selected guidebooks have different target groups, it is interesting to see that a lot of the books display the same cover photo. The repeating motive on the covers of the guidebooks is the iconic Matterhorn in the canton of Valais. Except for the Polyglott guide – which shows a photo of a mountain remotely resembling the Matterhorn with a lake in the foreground, in the canton of Valais – all German/Swiss guidebooks portray the pyramidal Swiss landmark on their covers. In addition, the Fodor’s guide, the Guía viva and the Michelin guide display the Matterhorn as their cover photo as well. This extensive use of the Matterhorn as the cover photo of the different guides probably results from its ‘iconic status’ – comparable to the Eiffel Tower in Paris, the Taj Mahal in India or Mt Kilimanjaro in Tanzania.

The other guidebooks all vary in their illustrations of the cover page. The cover photo of the Lonely Planet displays a man fishing in the Göschener valley, in the canton of Uri. The cover photo of the Rough Guide shows an Alpine meadow and a hut with mountains in the background, in the canton of Berne. The cover photo of the DK Eyewitness Guide illustrates the Soglio village with mountains in the background, in the canton of Graubünden. The cover photo of the Berlitz Pocket Guide presents a traditional Swiss chalet in Gsteig, in the canton of Berne. The cover photo of the Let’s Go guide (refers to Switzerland, Austria and Munich) displays a statue of Omphale in Vienna, Austria. The Guía azul does not have a specific Swiss cover photo; a globe is illustrated on the cover instead. The Guía total pictures the celestial/armillary sphere in front of the UN headquarters in Geneva. The cover of the Routard guide shows the statue/figure of a cow in a house façade in Interlaken, in the canton of Berne. The cover of the Petit Futé guide displays a typical chalet with mountainous background in Valberg, France (!). The use of this cover photo suggests that the guidebook writers/editors assume this part of France looks like Switzerland, or they think the readers will not notice that the portrayed scenery is outside Switzerland, since mountains and chalets are typically
synonyms for Switzerland. It also shows that the ‘authentic’ guidebooks are not necessarily credible information sources.

![Matterhorn](image)

**Figure 4** Matterhorn (Photo: Jennifer Bender).

### 4.3 Coverage of Swiss cantons

Switzerland consists of 26 cantons (or 23 cantons and six so called half-cantons). These six half-cantons only have one seat in the Council of States (and a half vote in cases where a majority of cantons must approve constitutional changes in popular votes), whereas the other 23 cantons have two seats each. The six half-cantons are Nidwalden (‘Nid’ translates to ‘lower’) and Obwalden (‘Ob’ translates to ‘upper’), Basel city and Basel land, and ‘inner’ (‘IR’) and ‘outer’ (‘AR’) Appenzell.

Not all guidebooks introduce every region and canton of Switzerland (see maps below). Reasons for that could be the limited size and volume of some guidebooks, or the fact that in the eyes of the writers/editors, they are lacking attractiveness/heavy industrialised/suburbanised (and/or their role as ‘travel corridors’). After identifying the unmentioned cantons in the guidebooks, a closer look will be taken at these cantons in terms of their scenery, infrastructure and tourism revenue numbers to see whether there are any common patterns.

The *Berlitz Pocket Guide* does not mention the cantons of Glarus, Obwalden, Nidwalden, Uri and Thurgau. The *Lonely Planet*, *DK Eyewitness* and *Rough Guide* introduce every canton of Switzerland.
The *Let’s Go* guidebook does neither mention the cantons of Aargau, Jura, Thurgau, Uri and Zug, nor the half-cantons of Appenzell AR and Nidwalden. The *Fodor’s* guide does not introduce the cantons of Zug, Aargau, Solothurn and the (half-) canton of Obwalden.

The *Marco Polo* guide does not mention the cantons of Glarus, Uri, and the half-canton of Nidwalden. The *Polyglott* guide leaves out the cantons of Thurgau, Uri, and the half-canton of Nidwalden. The *ADAC* guide does not describe the cantons of Thurgau and the half-cantons of Obwalden and Nidwalden. The *Merian* guide does not refer to the half-cantons of Obwalden and Nidwalden either. The *Baedeker* guide refers to every canton and provides the most comprehensive descriptions.

In the *Guía viva*, the cantons of Uri, Obwalden and Nidwalden are completely left out. The *Guía azul* and *Guía total* introduce every canton of Switzerland.

In terms of the French guidebooks, the canton of Thurgau in the Northeast of the country is completely left out in the *Michelin* and *Routard* guides. The *Petit Futé* refers to every canton in Switzerland.

![Map of Switzerland with canton labels](image)

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**Figure 5**  Unmentioned cantons in the guidebooks (Adapted from (Tschubby, 2007)).
The map shows that cantons in the north (north-west and north-east) and central part of Switzerland especially are left out in the descriptions of the guidebooks. Apart from the French-speaking canton of Jura, all other unmentioned cantons are Swiss-German. It can also be noted that many of the unmentioned cantons are small in size compared to the bigger cantons in the east, south and west of the country.

On the one hand, the cantons of Thurgau, Aargau, Glarus and Solothurn are heavily industrial; on the other hand these cantons also feature scenic lakes, mountains and/or medieval castles. They also offer numerous recreational opportunities, e.g., cycling, hiking, inline skating, horse-riding, climbing or paragliding. The cantons of Solothurn and Uri are important traffic corridors – the canton of Solothurn has many railway and autobahn intersections: Basel-Berne-Lötschberg, Basel-Lucerne-Gotthard, Zürich-Berne-Geneva, etc.; the canton of Uri provides access to five mountain passes and the Gotthard tunnel on the North-South main traffic route. The North-South main traffic route also passes through or runs close-by the cantons of Aargau, Zug and the half-cantons of Obwalden and Nidwalden. The cantons of Uri, Zug and the half-cantons of Obwalden and Nidwalden also feature scenic lakes, mountains, castles, monuments and/or heritage listed villages (Wilhelm Tell is said to have been born in the canton of Uri and a famous monument of him and his son can be found in the village of Altdorf; the popular ski resort Engelberg is located in Obwalden), and provide good infrastructure. Tourism has not been heavily developed in the canton of Uri yet (however, a major holiday resort is being planned by an Egyptian multi billionaire in Andermatt). The *Merian* guide notes that only few tourists stop in the canton of Uri, as the main valley appears to be ‘rugged’ and ‘forbidding’, but that there are some ‘enchanting’ landscapes and a welcoming and friendly population (*Merian*, p. 246). The half-canton of Appenzell AR provides numerous hiking tracks and offers a rich cultural life (traditions, folk music, peasant/contemporary arts, museums). There is no autobahn and no service by the Federal Swiss Railways. The canton of Jura is known for its Jura Mountains and horse breeding. In terms of its economy, Jura is one of the weakest cantons of Switzerland.

With respect to the amount of overnight stays in Swiss hotels in 2009, the unmentioned cantons rank in mid-field and at the bottom of the listings of Swiss tourism numbers. The canton of Aargau is listed in 11th place (0.7 million overnight stays; 45% utilised room capacities), followed by Obwalden in 13th (0.6 million overnight stays; 45.8% utilised room capacities), Thurgau in 15th (0.4 million overnight stays; 41% utilised room capacities), Solothurn in 16th (0.4 million overnight stays; 44.4% utilised room capacities), Uri in 17th (0.3 million overnight stays; 44.4% utilised room capacities), Zug in 18th (0.3 million overnight stays; 44.4% utilised room capacities).
stays; 56.4% utilised room capacities), Nidwalden in 21st (0.2 million overnight stays; 39% utilised room capacities), Appenzell AR in 23rd (0.2 million overnight stays; 31.8% utilised room capacities), Glarus in 24th (0.1 million overnight stays; 32.3% utilised room capacities) and Jura in 26th place (0.1 million overnight stays; 21.9% utilised room capacities) (Schweizer Tourismus in Zahlen, 2009). In comparison, the canton of Graubünden ranked first with 5.9 million overnight stays and 55.9% of utilised room capacities; the canton of Zürich was fourth with 4.0 million overnight stays and 63.1% of utilised room capacities. In terms of Swiss farm stays, camping and overnight stays in youth hostels in 2009, the data is categorised into different regions (central Switzerland, eastern Switzerland, etc.) (Schweizer Tourismus in Zahlen, 2009), which makes it impossible to find out the specific numbers for each canton. However, most of the respective regions rank in mid-field and at the bottom of these listings, too. Since the unmentioned cantons all feature certain attractions – scenic landscapes, recreational activities, castles, heritage listed villages, Swiss culture – but have comparably less overnight stays by tourists, this indicates that their level of attractiveness is not yet widely known inside/outside Switzerland and that they are perhaps less promoted than other regions.

Figure 6 Unmentioned cantons in the ADAC guide.
Figure 7  Unmentioned cantons in the *Marco Polo* guide.

Figure 8  Unmentioned cantons in the *Merian* guide.
Figure 9  Unmentioned cantons in the *Polyglott* guide.

Figure 10  Unmentioned cantons in the *Michelin* guide.
Figure 11  Unmentioned cantons in the *Routard* guide.

Figure 12  Unmentioned cantons in the *Let’s Go* guide.
Figure 13  Unmentioned cantons in the *Fodor’s* guide.

Figure 14  Unmentioned cantons in the *Berlitz Pocket Guide*.
Figure 15  Unmentioned cantons in the *Guía viva* guide.

Table 2  Cantons ignored in the guidebooks.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ignored cantons</th>
<th>Number of guidebooks</th>
<th>Guidebooks</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nidwalden</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>ADAC, Marco Polo, Merian, Polyglott, Let’s Go, Berlitz Pocket Guide, <em>Guía viva</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thurgau</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>ADAC, Polyglott, Michelin, Let’s Go, Routard, Berlitz Pocket Guide</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uri</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>Marco Polo, Polyglott, Let’s Go, Berlitz Pocket Guide, <em>Guía viva</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Obwalden</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>ADAC, Merian, Fodor’s, <em>Guía viva</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Glarus</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Marco Polo, Berlitz Pocket Guide</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aargau</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Let’s Go, Fodor’s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zug</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Let’s Go, Fodor’s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jura</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Let’s Go</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Appenzell AR</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Let’s Go</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Solothurn</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Fodor’s</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
These ignored cantons are also only mentioned briefly in several other guidebooks. In addition, the canton of Schwyz and the half-canton of Appenzell IR are only referred to briefly in several guidebooks, too.

Inspection of Table 4.2 reveals that mainly the ‘thinner’ low price segment guides (ADAC, Polyglott, Marco Polo, Berlitz Pocket Guide, Guía viva) ignore the (half-) cantons of Nidwalden, Thurgau, Uri, Obwalden and Glarus. The American guides especially do not mention the cantons of Aargau and Zug, Jura, Appenzell AR and Solothurn. The Let’s Go guide ignores the most cantons (7). Some of the ‘upscale’ guides do not refer to the (half-) cantons of Nidwalden, Obwalden and Thurgau. Some of the ‘backpacker’ guides do not describe the (half-) cantons of Uri, Thurgau and Nidwalden. However, the numbers of these guides are rather irrelevant in terms of target group patterns as both groups do not mention the same cantons (Nidwalden, Thurgau). Both ‘Swiss’ guides and two German guides do not mention the half-canton of Nidwalden. This suggests the region is neither promoted very much in Switzerland itself nor in Germany, or the guidebook authors do not perceive the region as a place where tourists would want to go. Since the tourist numbers for these cantons are significantly lower, this could indicate that the guidebook authors assume that the places lack attractiveness and that their target audiences might not be interested in visiting them. Similarly, in case of the French guides this holds true for the canton of Thurgau, and in case of the American guides especially for the cantons of Aargau and Zug. However, it could also possibly be a self-fulfilling prophecy – if people are guided by guidebooks in their choice of travel destinations and the guides do not mention/promote certain places, then tourists are unlikely to visit these locations, which in turn results in lower tourist numbers.

4.4 Accommodation, eating out and nightlife listings

Guidebooks usually give advice on where to eat, sleep and go in the evening/at night. They often list several options for readers to choose from, for instance, varying from cheap to affordable to expensive places.

In light of the described accommodation, eating and nightlife places in the guides, some differences in terms of quantity and quality of the respective descriptions can be found in the different language guidebooks. However, the different amount, volume and sizes for each group of language guidebooks have to be taken into consideration since this makes it impossible to compare the language groups and guides one-to-one. The font sizes used in the guides vary, as do the layouts for restaurant, hotel and nightlife listings (different line spacing) and the sizes of the books (different heights (ranging from 15 - 24.5 cm) and widths
(ranging from 1 - 3.5 cm)). For instance, the *Michelin* guide uses a significantly smaller font than the *Guía azul*, has more pages (480) than the Spanish guide (474), and different size measurements (*Michelin*: height: ~24.5 cm, width: ~2cm; *Guía azul*: height: ~21cm, width: ~3cm). Moreover, some guides list restaurant descriptions in the main text whereas other guides have specific and separate sections for such listings. A rough estimate of the number of pages of eating out listings compared to size of guide shows that the *Routard* guide of 600 pages provides 89 pages on eating out listings, whereas the *Merian* guide of 390 pages provides 15 pages, the *Guía azul* of 474 pages provides 42 pages, the *Lonely Planet* of 404 pages provides 22 pages and the *Fodor’s* guide of 560 pages provides 48 pages on eating out listings. While the results of these guides suggest that eating is more important for the French, the other two French guidebooks differ significantly in this respect. The *Michelin* guide of 480 pages provides 12 pages on eating out listings and the *Petit Futé* of 480 pages provides 21 pages. Similar to this, the *Guía total* of 430 pages provides 4 pages on eating out listings and the *Polyglott* guide of 143 pages provides 4 pages as well. Therefore, a comparison of the number of pages of eating out, accommodation and nightlife listings with the size of the guidebooks is not suitable to find out if one guidebook provides more detail on such listings than other guidebooks. Instead, a comparison of the total number of listings in the different guides as well as an analysis of what information the eating out, accommodation and nightlife descriptions contain seems more useful to give an indication on how important the guidebook authors regard accommodation, food and entertainment. Furthermore, an analysis of ten specific places in Switzerland in terms of their similarity of accommodation, food and nightlife recommendations in each guidebook can provide a more meaningful comparison.

**Table 3  Number of eating, accommodation and nightlife places in German/Swiss guides.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>German/Swiss guides</th>
<th>Baedeker</th>
<th>ADAC</th>
<th>Polyglott</th>
<th>Merian</th>
<th>Marco Polo</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td># of eating places</td>
<td>181</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>88</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>414</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td># of accommodation places</td>
<td>197</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>104</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>457</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td># of nightlife places</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 4  Number of eating, accommodation and nightlife places in English guides.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English guides</th>
<th>Lonely Planet</th>
<th>Rough Guide</th>
<th>DK Eyewitness</th>
<th>Berlitz Pocket Guide</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td># of eating places</td>
<td>315</td>
<td>438</td>
<td>182</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>966</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td># of accommodation places</td>
<td>382</td>
<td>556</td>
<td>182</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>1170</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td># of nightlife places</td>
<td>200</td>
<td>186</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>433</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5  Number of eating, accommodation and nightlife places in Spanish guides.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Spanish guides</th>
<th>Guía viva</th>
<th>Guía azul</th>
<th>Guía total</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td># of eating places</td>
<td>176</td>
<td>332</td>
<td>147</td>
<td>655</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td># of accommodation places</td>
<td>163</td>
<td>445</td>
<td>515</td>
<td>1123</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td># of nightlife places</td>
<td>261</td>
<td>285</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>546</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 6  Number of eating, accommodation and nightlife places in French guides.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>French guides</th>
<th>Routard</th>
<th>Michelin</th>
<th>Petit Futé</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td># of eating places</td>
<td>470</td>
<td>157</td>
<td>160</td>
<td>787</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td># of accommodation places</td>
<td>620</td>
<td>189</td>
<td>331</td>
<td>1140</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td># of nightlife places</td>
<td>186</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>328</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 7  Number of eating, accommodation and nightlife places in American guides.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>American guides</th>
<th>Fodor’s</th>
<th>Let’s Go</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td># of eating places</td>
<td>205</td>
<td>212</td>
<td>417</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td># of accommodation places</td>
<td>260</td>
<td>208</td>
<td>468</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td># of nightlife places</td>
<td>213</td>
<td>125</td>
<td>338</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Overall, the English guides, closely followed by the French and Spanish guides, list the most accommodation places (see Tables 4.3 – 4.7). The German/Swiss guides, followed by the American guides, list the least accommodation places. With regard to restaurants (and cafés in some guides), the English guides list the most, followed by the French, Spanish, American
and German/Swiss guides. The most nightlife listings can be found in the Spanish guides, followed by the English, American, French and German/Swiss guides.

In terms of restaurant descriptions, the French and Spanish guides (Guía viva and Guía azul) as well as the Fodor’s guide provide the most detailed information (location, prices, opening hours, decor, cuisine, specialities, atmosphere) (see Appendix C). The French guides often are even more informative and make statements on the quality of food more frequently than the Spanish guides or Fodor’s. The hotel descriptions are generally most detailed in the French and Spanish guides (Guía viva and Guía azul) (location, atmosphere, decor, prices, quality), but this also holds true in some cases for the American, English and German/Swiss guides. The nightlife descriptions are most detailed in the French and Spanish guides (Guía viva and Guía azul) as well (location, opening hours, music styles, atmosphere, decor, quality).

Table 8 Overall number of eating out, accommodation and nightlife places for the ten Swiss cities/resorts compared to the number of common eating out, accommodation and nightlife listings for these places in each language guidebook group.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Guidebooks</th>
<th>Eating out</th>
<th>Accommodation</th>
<th>Nightlife</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>German/Swiss</td>
<td>143 – 21</td>
<td>137 – 27</td>
<td>47 – 7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English</td>
<td>413 – 57</td>
<td>344 – 88</td>
<td>289 – 52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spanish</td>
<td>393 – 41</td>
<td>448 – 94</td>
<td>334 – 19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>American</td>
<td>166 – 2</td>
<td>167 – 8</td>
<td>217 – 25</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The analysis of the ten Swiss cities/resorts (for the German/Swiss, French, Spanish, American and English guides) shows that the listing order of nightlife places in terms of their quantity is the same as in the overall calculations. With respect to the described accommodation and eating places, the French guides list considerably less places for the ten cities/resorts than their overall quantity would assume. This can be traced back to the Routard guide, which lists more eating and accommodation places for other, smaller Swiss cities. Similarly, the Rough Guide and Lonely Planet list comparably more accommodation options for other, smaller Swiss cities as well.

The results of the analysed ten Swiss cities/resorts (see Appendix C) show that the number of listings of same accommodation, eating or nightlife places both among guides of the same and different language groups is relatively low (compared to the overall quantity of accommodation, eating out and nightlife listings for the ten Swiss cities/resorts). In terms of accommodation and nightlife listings, guidebooks of the same language group have more
accommodation and nightlife places in common than guidebooks of different language groups (however, the differences are rather insignificantly low). In terms of eating out places, the *Rough Guide* has more places in common with the *Guía azul* than with an English guidebook.

Concerning the comparison of the different language guidebooks, most guides with the highest numbers of common eating out, accommodation and nightlife places have the same target audience (young independent budget travellers) – e.g., *Guía azul* and *Rough Guide* (46 common eating out places), *Guía viva* and *Rough Guide* (33 common eating out places; 41 common nightlife places), *Routard* and *Rough Guide* (32 common eating out places; 54 common accommodation places), *Routard* and *Guía azul* (32 common eating out places; 51 common accommodation places), *Routard* and *Guía viva* (42 common accommodation places; 32 common nightlife places), *Lonely Planet* and *Guía viva* (28 common nightlife places) or *Let’s Go* and *Guía viva* (26 common nightlife places). Similarly, some of the ‘upscale’ guidebooks have a higher number of common place listings as well – e.g., *Fodor’s* and *Guía total* (43 common accommodation places), *Lonely Planet* (fits into two target groups) and *Fodor’s* (37 common nightlife places) or *Michelin* and *Fodor’s* (27 common nightlife places).

However, there are also guides of different target groups with high numbers of common place listings. Most noticeably, these include the *Rough Guide* and *Fodor’s* (60 common accommodation places, 30 common eating out places, 26 common nightlife places) and *Fodor’s* and *Guía azul* (48 common accommodation places, 27 common eating out places).

This indicates/emphasises that (some) guidebooks do not focus solely on one target group but address a broader target audience by listing eating out, accommodation and nightlife places for small and large(r) budgets.

In addition, it has to be kept in mind that some guidebooks list more eating out, accommodation and nightlife places for the ten Swiss cities/resorts than others, and that this can affect the quantity of common place listings. Guidebooks with higher overall numbers are likely to have more places in common with other guides. For instance, the *Rough Guide* (556) and *Guía azul* (445) list considerably more accommodation options than the *Fodor’s* guide (260). Interestingly, the *Routard* guide, which lists the most accommodation options (620), does not have that many common accommodation listings with the *Fodor’s* guide (22). This
is probably due to the Routard’s high number of listings of places in other, smaller Swiss cities.

The German/Swiss guides neither have many places in common with each other nor with other guides. In addition, the American guides do not have many place listings in common with each other, and the Berlitz Pocket Guide as well as the Michelin and Petit Futé mainly do not have many common place listings with other guides. This could be due to the overall lower quantity of place listings in these guides, significant variation in publishing years (in case of the American guides from 2005 and 2009) or different target audiences (backpacker guides versus guides for upscale travellers).

With reference to the different eating out, accommodation and nightlife descriptions in the guidebooks, there is no indication that particular places appeal to particular nationalities, for instance, in terms of quality and price of the food, times of opening or friendliness to children. Often, the same most popular places for each city are listed in most guidebooks. For example, guidebooks such as the Lonely Planet and Rough Guide often have the same places in common as do the Guía viva and Guía azul, or Michelin and DK Eyewitness. The only noticeable difference/pattern in accommodation, eating out and nightlife listings is that no specific references are made to camping and youth hostels in the Fodor’s, Michelin, Baedeker, Merian, ADAC, Polyglott, DK Eyewitness and Berlitz Pocket Guide (e.g., some of these guides only briefly refer to general Swiss camping or youth hostel web pages for more information); no specific references to restaurants of supermarket chains are given in the Guía total, Baedeker, Merian, Polyglott, ADAC, Michelin and Berlitz Pocket Guide; and no specific references to discos, clubs or many bars, but mostly to theatres, operas, cinemas and/or festivals/events are provided in the DK Eyewitness, Michelin, Baedeker or Merian. For most of the guidebooks, this can be explained by looking at their target audience. Middle-aged upscale travellers are unlikely to sleep at camping places, in youth hostels, dine in restaurants of supermarket chains or go clubbing. An additional reason could be that the authors, for instance, do not regard their fellow countrymen to be very much attracted to camping, either due to other preferences or inconvenience (especially for travellers from the USA with respect to bringing along their camping van and/or camping equipment). In the case of Germans, for instance, camping is not a very popular way to spend the holidays, whereas the Dutch have a reputation in Germany as being fond campers.
4.5 Swiss sumptuousness

4.5.1 English guidebooks

The English guidebooks differ somewhat in their perception of costs in Switzerland. The Lonely Planet states that Switzerland overall is ‘pricey’ (primarily referring to: long distance public transport, accommodation and eating out) and that compared to other European tourists, visitors from Australia and North America will notice this the most. In addition, travellers from the UK and Scandinavia are also said to feel the price difference, although it is claimed this has decreased in the last few years. The Lonely Planet mentions that petrol prices, however, are lower in Switzerland than in its neighbouring countries. The Rough Guide points out that Swiss accommodation is relatively expensive but ranks among the best in the world, with scrupulously managed and hospitable hotels as well as very high standards of service and facilities across all categories and price ranges, which greatly exceed those in other countries. Furthermore, it claims that in opposition to the ‘stereotypical belief’, travelling in Switzerland is not more costly than it is in parts of Germany, Italy or England and that “. . . the country’s reputation for expensiveness is misleading: value for money is the national motto, and in most situations you get what you pay for” (Rough Guide, p. 38). The DK Eyewitness guidebook also remarks that Swiss accommodation prices tend to be relatively high but the hotels offer high quality and a good price-quality ratio across all budgets. The Berlitz Pocket Guide reports that Switzerland has a reputation as a costly country and adds that: “Given the strength of its currency and the extensive development of its tourism industry, prices are generally comparable to those in major tourist destinations elsewhere in Europe” (Berlitz Pocket Guide, p. 152). In addition, it states that many common products may seem expensive but their quality is seldom in doubt.

With regard to eating out, the Rough Guide and DK Eyewitness guide reveal that restaurant meals in Switzerland are usually relatively expensive (“. . . can knock a hole in your budget”); “the key to avoiding excessive expense is to make lunch your main meal and to always plump for the ‘menu’, or dish of the day” (Rough Guide, p. 56)), but acknowledge that inexpensive meals of excellent quality are offered in self-service buffets of chain supermarkets (“. . . the often surprisingly good and always packed self-service restaurants of chain department stores in town centres nationwide” (Rough Guide, p. 56)). The Lonely Planet reports that these self-service restaurants are a good choice for budget travellers. The Berlitz Pocket Guide notes that there is good food for every budget in Switzerland.
Despite these statements on costly accommodation, food or travel in Switzerland, all of the English guidebooks point out that vacationing in the Alpine state does not have to result in high spending, since there are options for all purses and tastes, and various ways to cut down costs are mentioned. All UK guidebooks mention that cheaper accommodation options are available, such as: camping sites, hostels, guesthouses, mountain inns, self-catered chalets or sleeping in straw (in barns) during farm stays. Low season and special weekend rates are addressed as well. The *Lonely Planet* and *Rough Guide* also note that hiking, walking or cycling instead of using cable cars or public transport, can cut down costs. In addition, the *Lonely Planet* states that costs can be reduced by purchasing travel passes for trains, skipping alcohol with meals, staying in one place, or limiting sightseeing to inexpensive sights. It also notes that the return for one’s expense is big (“. . . smooth, straight-forward, famously reliable travel, generally well organised and free of bad surprises” (*Lonely Planet*, p. 17)).

### 4.5.2 American guidebooks

The American guidebooks both address Swiss sumptuousness as well. The *Fodor’s* guide regards Switzerland as very expensive and states that:

*Despite increased competition across Europe, the recent decrease in the Swiss franc’s value against other currencies, and the negligible inflation rate over the past several years, Switzerland remains one of the most expensive countries on the continent for travellers, and you may find yourself shocked by the price of a light lunch or generic hotel room* (*Fodor’s*, pp. 544/545).

Furthermore, the guidebook notes that prices across all categories can be ‘lofty’ and that no other European country demands as high prices for minimal comfort as does Switzerland (*Fodor’s*, p. 12). However, the *Fodor’s* guide also reports that the Swiss standards in hospitality are extremely high and that rooms are very clean, well maintained, and furniture and comfort range from simple to deluxe. The *Let’s Go* guide mentions that Switzerland is “. . . not known for being affordable”, but “. . . budget travelers can generally find bargains, especially since many of the best attractions (like sunsets over mountain peaks) cost nothing” (*Let’s Go*, p. 313). The guidebook also points out that accommodation and food in Switzerland are of “consistently high quality” (*Let’s Go*, p. 313). In both American guidebooks, readers are advised that accommodation in resorts is more expensive and scarcer in winter than in low season (May to June, September to October), whereas in the “most sophisticated cities” (*Fodor’s*, p. 545) prices are higher in summer and rooms can be hard to find without reservations (*Let’s Go*, p. 313). The *Let’s Go* guide mentions the complete ‘shut down’ of accommodations in many mountain towns during May and June. Several accommodation options are listed and described in both guidebooks, such as: hotels (“crisply-
made Swiss hotel beds” (Let’s Go, p. 406)); backpackers/hostels/bed and breakfasts (“immaculate hostels” (Let’s Go, p. 406)); home stays/private rooms (“a widespread option for experiencing Swiss hospitality” (Let’s Go, p. 3)); guesthouses/pensions/mountain inns; university dorms; home exchanges; hospitality clubs; farm stays/sleeping in Swiss barns (“as well-tendered and hygienic as everything else in Switzerland”; “bring bug spray to combat mosquitoes and a thick jacket to ward off any pre-dawn alpine chill” (Let’s Go, p. 406)); and camping. The Let’s Go guidebook mentions that wild/freedom camping – in contrast to the United States – is almost never allowed and may result in fines (Let’s Go, p. 46).

With regard to saving money, the Let’s Go guide advises its readers to search for free entertainment options; to share accommodation and food costs with “trustworthy fellow travelers” (Let’s Go, p. 14); to buy food in supermarkets instead of eating out; to bring a sleeping bag for hostels in order to avoid charges on sheets; and to do one’s laundry in the sink (Let’s Go, pp. 14/15). The Fodor’s guide notes that one can eat good food at the self-service buffets of chain supermarkets or order the comparably cheaper ‘dish of the day’ in restaurants.

4.5.3 German/Swiss guidebooks

The German/Swiss guidebooks make different comments about Swiss costliness. The Marco Polo guide notes that Switzerland is a ‘pricey’ place and that medical treatment expenses are ‘horrendous’ (Marco Polo, p. 111). However, the guidebook also reports that the common price descriptions in both Swiss Francs and Euros are supposed to show that the country is not a shockingly expensive tourist destination (Marco Polo, p. 112). The Polyglott guide does not explicitly report that Switzerland is an expensive country. It mentions that Swiss hotel standards are high and that many hotels offer cheap package deals (Polyglott, p. 21).7 The ADAC guidebook states that Swiss hotels are known for their high standards and perfect service, but that the prices in bigger cities and popular resorts lie above the European average (ADAC, p. 138). The Baedeker guide mentions that Switzerland is an expensive tourist destination mainly due to the unrealistic currency rate of the Swiss Franc in relation to the Euro (Baedeker, p. 106). Visitors should be prepared for the fact that their holidays cost 30 - 40% more than in Germany (Baedeker, p. 106). The guidebook notices the high quality and standard of the Swiss hotel sector and states that even cheaper hotels usually provide flawless facilities and service (Baedeker, p. 111). Moreover, it reports that hotels offer discounts for a minimum stay of three days and that package deals exist (Baedeker, p. 107). The Baedeker

7 Perhaps the Polyglott guide is writing for a different target audience than the Marco Polo guide after all.
The Merian guide notices that Swiss luxury hotels are relatively cheap. It refers to the economic journal ‘Bilanz’, which tested international hotels, and states that some Swiss 5-star luxury hotels are considerably cheaper than other international luxury hotels (Merian, p. 137). A luxury hotel in the resort of Zermatt – in contrast to twice as expensive comparable international hotels – is used as an example. Luxury hotels in Swiss cities are said to be as expensive as most of their counterparts in other European countries (only Germany and Austria provide somewhat cheaper luxury hotels) (Merian, p. 137). The reasons for these cheap prices are seen in the ‘lack of self-confidence’ of the Swiss hotel industry and the fact that lots of visitors come from the ‘price sensitive Germany’ or are internal tourists from Switzerland (Merian, p. 137). Despite these statements, the Merian guide notes that Switzerland, the ‘expensive tourist destination’, with its good price-quality ratio in luxury hotels, experiences a ‘structural problem’, since most hotels are too small to be cost-efficient, and traditional hotels only focus on offering overnight stays instead of providing wellness, sport and cultural activities or renowned restaurants, as is common in the luxury establishments (Merian, p. 138). Hospitality is regarded as the most important skill in the hotel industry, and the Merian guide reveals that a study by ‘Hotelleriesuisse’ shows that guests mainly express a demand for “quality, customer service and comprehensive hospitality concepts” (Merian, p. 138). According to the guidebook, many mid-range hotels are not innovative enough, have fixed breakfast hours and are too expensive for their average facilities (Merian, p. 138); cheap hostels and hotels are booming, and the hotels offer good service as well (“A lot of the service staff is from Eastern Germany and is well trained, motivated and brought a breath of fresh air to the restaurants/hotels” (Merian, p. 139)). The Merian guide also refers to holiday chalets and camping. In addition, it states that groceries are generally more expensive than in Germany or Austria, and that even the excellent and popular pasta and coffee products sold in Switzerland are no longer better than in Germany or Austria (Merian, p. 151).

The Polyglott, Marco Polo, ADAC and Baedeker guides, all make references to several cheaper accommodation options such as: youth hostels/bed and breakfasts/backpacker hostels,
camping/caravanning (the Swiss camping places are said to rank among the most beautiful ones in Europe (Marco Polo, p. 110)); wild/freedom camping (which is forbidden and violators can be fined (Marco Polo; Merian; Baedeker)); relatively cheap holiday chalets (ADAC, p. 138; Polyglott); home stays/farm stays or sleeping in barns or igloos (Polyglott).

4.5.4 Spanish guidebooks

The Guía viva and Guía azul address the costliness of Switzerland in the hotel sector. The Guía azul acknowledges that the high prices ensure quality, and that in general every accommodation guarantees a pleasant and comfortable stay. It states that Swiss hotels are among the best in the world. However, despite the satisfactory price-quality ratio, mid-range prices are regarded as quite elevated (Guía azul, p. 54). Furthermore, cheaper hotel rates are mentioned in connection with seasonality, availability, as well as specific hotel and room categories. The Guía viva notes that it could be true that the Swiss are very hospitable, but the high prices result in guests thinking that any good treatment is minimal. The Guía total refers to an excellent quality-price ratio in Swiss hotels.

All three Spanish guidebooks make references to alternative accommodation options, such as youth hostels, camping places or farm/home stays. The Guía azul lists the disadvantages of these establishments, such as distance from the city centre, little privacy or dependence on capacity. Moreover, it also mentions that eating out in Switzerland is expensive, although at the same time it is admitted that options for every palate and purse exist (e.g., economic university restaurants, restaurants of supermarket chains; ‘dishes of the day’ which are comparably cheaper than dishes from the menu). The Guía total notes that wine served in restaurants is quite expensive (Guía total, p. 390).

4.5.5 French guidebooks

All three of the French guidebooks mention that Switzerland holds a reputation of being costly (“Even if the Euro has rebalanced the strength of the Swiss Franc and improved the purchasing power of EU travellers, Switzerland remains expensive, especially if you decide to spend your family holiday here” (Michelin, p. 18)), and that its accommodation in particular, especially hotels, is (very) expensive (“Hotel costs are two times higher than in France. Staying in hotels in Switzerland is expensive but the hotels are very well kept and of good quality” (Petit Futé, p. 467); “The Swiss hotel sector remains expensive, even in the most simple establishments” (Michelin, p. 25)). The Petit Futé notes that tourists will be scared by prices for meat, fruits and vegetables, but that prices for fish, petrol or electronics are lower.
Despite the several comments on Switzerland’s costliness, each of the French guidebooks acknowledges that Swiss salaries and the living standard are higher than elsewhere and that it is possible to spend less money while vacationing in the country:

*Regardless of what the people responsible for Swiss tourism say, Switzerland is expensive. The strong currency, elevated salaries and long-established luxury tourism are to blame. You won't spend the cheapest holidays of your life here. Luckily, for lack of finding cheap addresses, we found the most affordable ones and especially those with the best price-performance ratio. This proves one can finally stay in Switzerland like in the French Provence (excluding Geneva, Zürich, Lucerne and the very snobby places)* (Routard, p. 34).

In terms of winter sports and accommodation, the *Michelin* guide mentions a study by the French Ministry of Tourism in 2005 which reports that winter prices for chalets and apartments in Switzerland are on average 30 - 50 % cheaper than in France (*Michelin*, p. 18). The *Michelin* guide notes that Switzerland has a long tradition in the hotel business with certain establishments dating back more than 100 years, and that hotels are usually run by private persons who offer a personalised reception and an impeccable service.

The three French guidebooks name options of how to save money for hotel accommodation (e.g., booking in advance; better rates on weekends and in summer) and also advise their readers of cheaper options like camping, youth hostels, budget hotels, as well as farm or home stays. In this context, the *Routard* guide also addresses cheap eating out in Switzerland and notes that:

*No doubt one can eat in Switzerland without the need to spend too much, but this simply risks lacking in originality. Restaurants of the food store chains Migros, Coop and Manora are especially cheap and usually flawless, but the menu bluntly lacks charm* (Routard, p. 53).

### 4.6 Swiss opening hours and eating times

#### 4.6.1 English guidebooks

The *Lonely Planet* points out that the Swiss – in particular in the German cantons and mountain resorts – eat as early as 6.30 pm and that it is difficult to get dinner after 9.30 pm in these places. It also mentions that these opening hours differ from those of restaurants in the cities, where many places in the German cantons stay open from 11 am to 11 pm. The *Rough Guide* notes that evening meals are usually served between 6 pm and 10 pm. The *DK Eyewitness* guide states that lunch is the main meal for many Swiss and that dinner in restaurants is served from 6.30 pm to 9 pm, depending on the region. Expensive restaurants in large towns are said to stay open until 10 pm or later. The *Berlitz Pocket Guide* only makes references to opening hours of shops, banks and offices.
4.6.2 American guidebooks

The *Fodor’s* and *Let’s Go* guides address the commercial opening hours in Switzerland. In addition, the *Fodor’s* guide mentions that travellers should consider that it might be difficult to find restaurants serving dinner past 9 or 10 pm in isolated regions.

4.6.3 German/Swiss guidebooks

The German/Swiss guidebooks all list the commercial opening hours in Switzerland. The *Merian* guide additionally mentions that restaurants usually serve dinner from 5 pm to 10 pm.

4.6.4 Spanish guidebooks

In terms of opening hours and eating times, the Spanish guidebooks implicitly report a lot about the ‘home culture’ of the tourists themselves. Concerning the statements on (commercial) opening hours in Switzerland, the *Guía viva* and the *Guía azul* notice that the opening hours differ much from those in Spain – that is, everything closes earlier in the Swiss Federation (“. . . and is often matched to the rhythm of early lunches and dinners – especially in smaller cities – but this is not the reason the Swiss have less working hours or pay less attention to the public than we do” (*Guía viva*, p. 36)). The *Guía viva* mentions this cultural difference thrice in the guidebook (in the sections on commercial hours, local customs and Basel nightlife). It points out that restaurants usually serve dinner until 10 pm only, and that it is not easy to find restaurants which serve dinner later than 11 pm – not even in bigger cities (“The Swiss are as awestruck with their opening hours as with any other thing” (*Guía viva*, p. 50); “It’s difficult to believe but everybody eats between 7 and 9 pm, leaving the streets deserted. Afterwards the city centres immediately turn to life with people with full stomachs and make up, who want to drink, chat or dance” (*Guía viva*, p. 68)). Nevertheless, the guidebook also mentions that some restaurants – keeping in mind Spanish tourists – only close their kitchens at 11.30 pm (*Guía viva*, p. 37). Furthermore, the guidebook reports that lunch and dinner usually do not last longer than an hour. The typical Swiss opening hours for shops are also listed in the *Guía total*. The *Guía total* and *Guía azul* make no specific references to Swiss eating habits.

4.6.5 French guidebooks

The French guidebooks show that the two cultures also interact. A common factor in the French guidebooks is recognition that the Swiss generally eat very early and that French visitors to Switzerland should be aware that many restaurants close their kitchens by 9.30 or 10 pm (“Mostly, no orders are accepted anymore after 9.30 pm! However, Italian restaurants
often are an exception” (*Routard*, p. 53)). The *Michelin* guide notes, however, that the early closure of restaurants mainly holds true for places which are not very touristic (*Michelin*, p. 27). In addition, it reports that in Swiss restaurants waiters often fill up a guest’s glass of wine less fully than in France. The *Petit Futé* notes that the service in Swiss restaurants is often slow (*Petit Futé*, p. 55).

### 4.7 Swiss cuisine

#### 4.7.1 English guidebooks

All of the English guidebooks point out the culinary influence of the adjoining countries on Switzerland’s cuisine. The *Lonely Planet* regards Switzerland as the “land of hearty” (*Lonely Planet*, p. 42) and remarks that there is more to the country than its famous chocolate, cheese and Rösti. The opportunity of excellent and varied dining is acknowledged and credited to the influence of Switzerland’s neighbouring countries France, Italy, Germany and Austria rather than Swiss indigenous cuisine. The *Rough Guide* also points out that:

> *Switzerland is overshadowed by its neighbours when it comes to food and drink, and yet the country nurtures a wide range of local cuisines, absorbing influences and styles from the diversity of French, German and Italian cooking while sticking close to its rural and Alpine roots. Extreme cultural decentralization means that if you dig below the surface of the national staples, you’ll consistently come across delicious regional dishes relying on local ingredients and idiosyncratic styles of preparation that are unknown in the next canton, let alone elsewhere in Europe* (*Rough Guide*, p. 55).

Furthermore, the Swiss’ fondness for communal eating and family atmosphere during meals is mentioned. The guidebook states that – as is the case with the French and the Italians – eating is also an expression of local culture for the Swiss, and that many people do not have the “. . . time or patience for foreign cuisine” (*Rough Guide*, p. 55). The basic ingredients for Swiss cooking are seen in dairy products of top-quality. The *DK Eyewitness* guide refers to the great variety and diversity of restaurants in Switzerland, from top-class restaurants with international cuisine to small, family-run businesses, which provide healthy, filling dishes made from local farm products (*DK Eyewitness*, p. 260). The guidebook reckons that simple Swiss dishes like Fondue, Raclette or Birchermüsli are eaten every day by the Swiss and are loved by millions of tourists (*DK Eyewitness*, p. 262). Moreover, it states that the Swiss regard eating out as family occasions, when small children also dine in restaurants, even late at night. The *Berlitz Pocket Guide* also points out the different specialities in each Swiss region, which are said to offer enough choices to satisfy any taste (*Berlitz Pocket Guide*, p. 8

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8 This somewhat contradicts what was said earlier about the opening hours of restaurants in the *DK Eyewitness* guide (depending on how the guidebook authors define ‘late at night’ in that case). It may be a comment on the time of day British children eat.
The English guidebooks also refer to beer and the sausage varieties of Switzerland (“Beer flows famously freely in German-speaking Switzerland, but it is lovers of wine whose taste buds get the biggest kick” (Lonely Planet, p. 42).

### 4.7.2 American guidebooks

The two American guidebooks also refer to the culinary influence of Switzerland’s neighbouring countries. The Let’s Go guide notes that: “Switzerland retains much of the customs and cuisines of the nations it borders, yet recreates and combines them with a flavour that is uniquely Swiss” (Let’s Go, p. 313). The Guide points out that Swiss dishes vary from region to region and relate to the language that is spoken in the respective regions (Let’s Go, p. 320). It refers to “Switzerland’s hearty peasant cooking” (Let’s Go, p. 320); the extensive use of dairy products (“Switzerland is not for the lactose intolerant. The Swiss are serious about dairy products, from rich and varied cheeses to decadent milk chocolate. Even the major Swiss soft drink is a dairy-based beverage, rivella” (Let’s Go, p. 319)); and Swiss “divine bovine goodies” (Let’s Go, p. 319). Similarly, according to the Fodor’s guide, Swiss food originated from an “earthy” and “peasant” cuisine (Fodor’s, p. 12). Due to this cuisine – “ . . . the kind Heidi enjoyed” (Fodor’s, p. 12) with “ . . . ribsticking mainstays . . . often served from chaffing dishes with portions large enough for two healthy farm boys” (Fodor’s, p. 12) – the Fodor’s guide points out that “it must have been all that hiking that kept little Heidi slim and trim” (Fodor’s, p. 12), and that nowadays “ . . . most Swiss natives also get a boost from trendier kitchens that offer light seasonal recipes” (Fodor’s, p. 12).\(^9\)

The Fodor’s guide also notes that in Switzerland “ . . . a bevy of superstar chefs has begun to strike a diplomatic balance between . . . ” the culinary trends of Italy, France and Germany (Fodor’s, p. 22). In addition, it reports that the Italian canton of Ticino “ . . . can be the most pleasurable in which to eat, as the stylish and simple cuisine of Italy has been adopted virtually intact” (Fodor’s, p. 163). Swiss beer and spirits are introduced in the Fodor’s guide as well. The Let’s Go guide remarks that “the Swiss are adept at the art of confectionery”; have a variety of sausages, and that each canton has its own local beer (“ . . . a popular beverage in German-speaking Switzerland”; “Beer is relatively cheap, often less expensive than Coca-Cola\(^{10}\)” (Let’s Go, p. 320)).

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\(^9\) These reflective comments might have been prompted by the ‘SuperSize me’ nature of U.S. bought meals and concerns about Americans’ obesity.

\(^{10}\) This reference is a telling cross-cultural comment – not only about the American but the Swiss lifestyle as well.
4.7.3 German/Swiss guidebooks

The *Marco Polo* and *ADAC* guides mention the culinary influences from Switzerland’s neighbour countries – which resulted in “an impressive variety of culinary products” (*Marco Polo*, p. 24). The *Marco Polo* addresses the big variety and high quality of food. The guidebook states that the Swiss like simple and down-to-earth food, which has to fill the stomach, be easy to prepare and not too expensive (*Marco Polo*, p. 25). References are also made to great desserts and sausages. The *Polyglott* guide reports that Swiss chefs have a high reputation in international ‘gourmet circles’ and are very appreciated in Switzerland as well (*Polyglott*, p. 34). In terms of Swiss gastronomy, the *ADAC* guide also notes that the traditional Swiss cuisine is “down-to-earth” and “peasant” – based on the products of the country – and the *ADAC* and *Baedeker* guides both remark that nowadays one can find ‘culinary joys’ of the highest quality, even in simple village inns (*ADAC*, p. 132; *Baedeker*, p. 93). According to the *Baedeker* guide, Swiss gastronomy is characterised by its diversity and quality. The Swiss are said to be good at making desserts and references are made to Swiss beer, sausages and excellent Swiss schnapps. The *Merian* guide notes that different regions have created a diverse cuisine with many “surprise effects” (*Merian*, p. 143). Fish is regarded as traditionally playing an important role in Switzerland, and especially people who live at or near lakes and rivers are said to be experts in preparing it. However, the guidebook reports that this culinary similarity should not hide the fact that one can hardly speak of a Swiss cuisine, since every region has its gastronomic characteristics and specialities, of which many – due to tourism – have found a place on the menus in the whole country (*Merian*, p. 143). The potato dish ‘Rösti’, for instance, is eaten as a main dish east of the ‘Rösti barrier’ (the language and mentality divide between the Swiss German and Swiss French part of Switzerland) but only as a side dish west of the ‘Rösti barrier’ (*Merian*, p. 143). The *Merian* guide also refers to Swiss beer and sausages, which are said to be a popular speciality everywhere in Switzerland (*Merian*, p. 145).

4.7.4 Spanish guidebooks

All three Spanish guidebooks remark that the Swiss gastronomy has been influenced by French, Italian and German cuisine. The *Guía azul* notices that Switzerland has a wide range of regional dishes, which are rich in taste. The *Guía viva* regards the country as a fine and exquisite place to eat out, with a cuisine sustained by simplicity and agriculture. The *Guía azul* and *Guía total* mention the excellent quality of Swiss meat (especially beef, pork and deer (*Guía total*, p. 387), “. . . resulting from extraordinary meadows where the animals are held” (*Guía azul*, p. 28)). The *Guía azul* reports that some typical food specialities had to
make way to fast food and that the Swiss national drink is beer. The different kinds of Swiss sausages are mentioned in all Spanish guidebooks. Furthermore, Switzerland’s excellent milk, which apparently is only served as condensed milk in drinks, is addressed (Guía azul, p. 30).

4.7.5 French guidebooks

Overall, the Swiss cuisine is characterised as ‘rich’ but ‘simple’ by the French guidebooks. The Michelin guide notes that the roots of Switzerland’s cuisine are mainly peasant. The Petit Futé states that in Switzerland, the culinary base centres on the two essential poles: milk products made on the mountain pastures and fish caught in the lakes and streams (Petit Futé, p. 55). The Routard guide mentions that “the Swiss did not have the habit of cultivating ‘the art of the table’ in the past”, but that “today one can find excellent restaurants, in which the chefs are inspired by their French and Italian neighbours – if one is lucky” (Routard, p. 20).

While all three of the guidebooks state that the cuisine of the Swiss Confederation is inspired by the numerous culinary traditions of French, Italian and Germanic cuisine (“a veritable gastronomic crossing” (Petit Futé, p. 7)), the Routard guide notes that restaurants influenced by the French or Italian cuisine are of better quality than their Germanic counterpart. In a similar vein, the Petit Futé states that it is worth mentioning that the chefs of the biggest restaurants in Switzerland are often French. The Michelin guide reports that more than 90 Swiss restaurants were classified with a star by the Michelin guide in 2006, which is said to be a good result for a small country little known for its gastronomy (Michelin, p. 81). The French guides also briefly refer to Swiss sausages.

4.8 Swiss chocolate, cheese and wine

4.8.1 English guidebooks

All of the British guidebooks make references to Swiss chocolate, cheese and wine. The Lonely Planet describes the Swiss as chocolate-loving people, who eat more of the “dash silk-smooth chocolate” (Lonely Planet, p. 5) than anyone else (11.3 kg per person per year). The Rough Guide regards chocolate as a way of life in Switzerland (11.6 kg per person each year) and states that Swiss chocolate is held to be the best in the world. The DK Eyewitness guide notes that chocolate is one of the major exports of Switzerland. The Berlitz Pocket Guide remarks that the Swiss produce the largest variety of chocolates in the world, with milk chocolate being of highest quality. With regard to cheese, the Lonely Planet points out that ‘holey’ cheese is an important Swiss image, although not all Swiss cheese has holes in it. The Rough Guide claims that: “. . . cheese is an institution in Switzerland with individual varieties savoured like ales in Britain or wines in France” (Rough Guide, p. 217). The DK Eyewitness
guide mentions that Switzerland is justly renowned for its cheese, has more than 400 varieties of the dairy product, and that cheese is a way of life in the country. The Berlitz Pocket Guide also claims that cheese is a favourite everywhere in Switzerland. In terms of Swiss wine, the Lonely Planet reveals that it is an “... exquisite and increasingly rare gastronomic joy” (Lonely Planet, p. 42). The Rough Guide notices that the quality and standards of Swiss wine are high and that wine is often described as Switzerland’s best-kept secret. Despite the country’s modest wine industry, Swiss wines are said to be able to compete equally with better-known wines around the world. The DK Eyewitness guide ranks Swiss wines among the most delicious in Europe. The Berlitz Pocket Guide states that the reputation of Swiss wines has constantly improved in recent years and that the Swiss are known for their wine-growing traditions.

4.8.2 American guidebooks

The two American guidebooks make references to the famous Swiss chocolate, cheese (“still a way of life in Switzerland” (Fodors’s, p. 20)) and wine (“quality and diversity are the hallmarks of Swiss wine” (Fodor’s, p. 542)). In terms of chocolate, the Let’s Go guide states that “... the Swiss have earned bragging rights for their expertise: with the invention of milk chocolate in 1875, Switzerland was poised to rule the world” (Let’s Go, p. 319). Swiss cheese is said to be of “superb quality” due to Swiss cheese standards which are regulated by law, and every canton as well as a lot of towns have “speciality cheeses” (“While the words Swiss cheese may conjure up images of lunch-box sandwiches filled with a hard, oily, holey cheese11, Switzerland actually produces innumerable varieties, each made from a particular type of milk” (Let’s Go, p. 320)). With regard to Swiss wine, the Let’s Go guide reports that “both whites and reds are very good” and that strict quality controls ensure that Swiss wine retains its first-rate reputation (Let’s Go, p. 320). It also remarks that due to the limited availability of land for grape growing, Swiss wine production is limited and hence Swiss wine is more expensive than most imported wine (Let’s Go, p. 320).

4.8.3 German/Swiss guidebooks

All of the German/Swiss guidebooks refer to the famous Swiss chocolate, cheese and wine in terms of their excellence (wine (Polyglott, Merian); chocolate (ADAC)), variety (wine (Marco Polo, Merian, ADAC); cheese (ADAC)) and international reputation (cheese (Polyglott, Merian); chocolate (Polyglott, ADAC, Merian)). The Baedeker guide states that the world should thank Switzerland for its chocolate, as it is the best on the planet and the Swiss are real

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11 This seems to refer to American ‘Swiss cheese’.
specialists in this area (Baedeker, p. 557). It is noted that only half of the produced amount of chocolate is exported and that the other half is consumed by the Swiss themselves (around 11 kg per year per person) (Baedeker, p. 557). The guidebook questions what Switzerland, its landscape and culture would be without its “popular, tasty cheese”, even if the dairy product is not overly important to the Swiss economy (Baedeker, p. 16). With regard to Swiss wine, the Baedeker guide mentions that it “is not usually the first thing one links to Switzerland but that Swiss wine certainly does not need to avoid any comparisons to other renowned international wine” (Baedeker, p. 96).

4.8.4 Spanish guidebooks

All of the Spanish guidebooks emphasise the variety and good quality of Swiss cheese (“An immense variety and incomparable quality” (Guía azul, p. 59)), chocolate (“The variety, amount and taste of Swiss chocolate is intoxicating” (Guía azul, p. 58)) and wine (“Swiss wine is excellent”; “Even if Swiss wine is not widely known in foreign countries, it presents some interesting peculiarities” (Guía total, p. 390)).

4.8.5 French guidebooks

All of the French guidebooks mention the Swiss production of some excellent and diverse wine (“Switzerland has some unique grape varieties” (Michelin, p. 83); wines of international reputation (Petit Futé, p. 22)), chocolate (“The Swiss are the biggest consumers of chocolate in the world” (Michelin, p. 83); “Chocolate has become a Swiss speciality” (Routard, p. 51), and cheese specialities (“There are more than 450 kinds of cheese” (Michelin, p. 81); “. . . a variety of taste”; “Each canton has its own cheese specialities” (Petit Futé, p. 20)).

4.9 Swiss nightlife

4.9.1 English guidebooks

In terms of Swiss nightlife, the Rough Guide remarks that it is varied and welcoming, and that larger cities like Zürich or Lausanne have nightlife as lively as that in much larger European cities. Similarly, the DK Eyewitness guide remarks that Berne is well stocked with nightclubs and that the ones in Zürich rank “among the liveliest of any European city“ (DK Eyewitness, p. 172). The Berlitz Pocket Guide also reveals that Swiss cities have a more vibrant nightlife than one might expect and that it is not uncommon to find a disco, an outdoor dance or a concert even in relatively remote places. The Berlitz Pocket Guide also notes, however, that “night crawlers are a rare sight” (Berlitz Pocket Guide, p. 136), since work in Switzerland often begins at 7 am. Referring to an interview with a 30-year-old Swiss Genevan city
dweller, the *Lonely Planet* reports that “. . . clubbing is not Geneva’s forte” (*Lonely Planet*, p. 98), because the city does not have a club scene – unlike Lausanne (“Lausanne is one of the busier night-time cities in Switzerland” (*Lonely Planet*, p. 110). Berne’s nightlife is regarded as “healthy” (*Lonely Planet*, p. 205), and the numerous nightlife options in Zürich are addressed.

**4.9.2 American guidebooks**

The *Let’s Go* guide only refers to central Switzerland’s “exciting nightlife” (*Let’s Go*, p. 370) and the busy nightlife scene of Zürich. The *Fodor’s* guide reports that Zürich has the liveliest nightlife in Switzerland (*Fodor’s*, p. 64) with most places opened until 4 am in summer. With regard to Bern, the guidebook notes that its inhabitants like to party and nightlife options in the city are very varied (*Fodor’s*, p. 316). In terms of Geneva, the *Fodor’s* guide mentions that the nightlife scene in the city shows that Geneva is not a major metropolis, and that it might not be possible to party until dawn (*Fodor’s*, p. 512).

**4.9.3 German/Swiss guidebooks**

The *Polyglott, ADAC* and *Baedeker* guides do not characterise Switzerland’s nightlife scene. The *Marco Polo* guide notices that Berne is not a vibrating metropolis but still offers several options to go out at night (*Marco Polo*, p. 35). The *Merian* guide addresses Swiss nightlife and states that about 500 clubs, bars and discos can be found in cities like Zürich, Basel and Geneva, and offer a colourful and diverse nightlife scene in the Swiss cities (*Merian*, p. 28).

**4.9.4 Spanish guidebooks**

The *Guía viva* highlights that many bars advance their opening hours and already have their peak times around midnight, and that beers and cocktails in ‘lively’ pubs are already drunk before midnight on weekdays. With regard to this, the *Guía azul* emphasises that Switzerland is not a paradise for lively party people. The *Guía total* does not refer to the Swiss nightlife scene at all. The *Guía viva* notes that discos close their doors around 3 am, except for cities like Zürich, Geneva or Lausanne, where one can find places opened until the crack of dawn. The guidebook remarks that Basel is one of these central-European cities which transform themselves into a ghost town at the end of a Saturday evening (due to early eating habits). The *Guía azul* mentions that Geneva has the reputation of a city with boring nightlife but that this is not correct, since each time more and more bars, etc. are dedicated to nightlife action. Lausanne is said to have one of the best nightlife atmospheres of Switzerland (thanks to its students) and Zürich is regarded as the liveliest and most animated Swiss city.
4.9.5 French guidebooks

The French guidebooks do not address Swiss nightlife in general, but the *Michelin* and *Routard* guides mention that Zürich is a lively party place (*Michelin*, p. 322), as well as a place where “one can always do something” (*Routard*, p. 343) thanks to its numerous restaurants, cinemas, discos, concert venues, etc. In addition, the *Petit Futé* reports that the reputation of Zürich’s nightlife transcends Switzerland’s borders (*Petit Futé*, p. 144).

4.10 Swiss prosperity, economics and politics

4.10.1 English guidebooks

All four British guidebooks mention that Switzerland is one of the world’s richest countries. The country’s high quality of life is acknowledged in the *Lonely Planet*, *DK Eyewitness* and *Berlitz Pocket Guide*. In addition, the *Lonely Planet* points out that the greatest life expectancy is to be found in Switzerland. The *Lonely Planet* and *DK Eyewitness* guidebooks both refer to low Swiss unemployment figures. In the *Lonely Planet*, reference is also made to the country’s low inflation rate. The *Rough Guide* speaks about Switzerland’s small-scale but thoroughly modern economy. The *DK Eyewitness* guide reports that the country has one of the highest per capita incomes in the world and is a highly industrialised nation. The *Lonely Planet* addresses the importance of the pharmaceutical industry. All of the English guidebooks report on the famous Swiss watches. The *Rough Guide* and *DK Eyewitness* note that the country’s important industries are watchmaking, engineering, pharmaceutics and tourism. The *DK Eyewitness* guide refers to Switzerland as having one of the best tourist infrastructures in the world.

All of the English guidebooks also make references to Swiss neutrality, direct democracy (which enables Swiss citizens to come up with, or change, a law if they collect at least 50,000 signatures in 100 days), different and lower tax rates, the non-membership of the EU, as well as the Swiss banking affair and Nazi gold scandal (i.e., holding on to money and goods of Holocaust victims and accepting looted gold as part of a secret network of economic collusion with Nazi Germany), which left people with a negative impression of Switzerland, and had a “severe impression on the national psyche” (*DK Eyewitness*, p. 43). The *Rough Guide* and *Berlitz Pocket Guide* state that ultimately Switzerland was no better or worse than any other country involved in WW2 (referring to the “J” stamp in passports of German Jews; refusing entry to Jewish refugees; holding on to Jewish money and goods, etc.). Moreover, the *Berlitz Pocket Guide* notes that “it seems evident today that this small country, despite the real and courageous mobilisation of its army and people, could never have stood apart from the
atrocities of the war without making certain compromises with the Nazi regime” (*Berlitz Pocket Guide*, p. 20). The *Lonely Planet* addresses the Swiss banking secrecy.

### 4.10.2 American guidebooks

The *Fodor’s* and *Let’s Go* guides remark on Switzerland’s stable economy and prosperity. The *Let’s Go* guide states that “the Swiss enjoy an incredibly high standard of living and a low unemployment rate of 3.7 % due to a strong market economy”, and that “literacy is virtually 100 %” (*Let’s Go*, p. 318). Moreover, it points out that Switzerland’s independence “. . . has become isolating and has frequently excluded the nation from trade deals” (*Let’s Go*, p. 317) because of the increased stability and integration of the rest of Europe. Both American guidebooks mention the precise and “renowned Swiss watchmaking industry” (*Let’s Go*, p. 313); “Clearly, Swiss watchmaking is about much more than time” (*Fodor’s*, p. 21).

Banking, pharmaceutics, chemicals, precision instruments, agriculture, tourism, insurance and real estate are listed as the country’s main industries in the *Fodor’s* guide.

The two American guidebooks also report on Swiss neutrality; Switzerland’s non-membership of the EU and the Swiss’ different views on joining the EU; and the granting of secret asylum to Jews and other refugees during WW II. The *Fodor’s* guide addresses Switzerland’s low tax rates and the direct democratic system.

### 4.10.3 German/Swiss guidebooks

The *Polyglott*, *ADAC* and *Baedeker* guides mention that Switzerland’s important industries are banking, insurances, tourism (one of the country’s most important income sources), chemicals and pharmaceutics, engineering, clocks (“precise” as well as “reliable and quality-focused” clocks (*ADAC*, pp. 9/132)) and clothes. The *Baedeker* guide notes that chemicals, engineering and electrics make up three-quarters of Swiss exports (*Baedeker*, p. 39). The *Marco Polo* guide refers to the important industries of tourism (3rd biggest industry in Switzerland), clocks (the most “beautiful, expensive and long-living” clocks are produced in Switzerland (*Marco Polo*, p. 21).) and clothes. The *Merian* guidebook regards engineering and pharmaceutics as the most important export industries of the Alpine country.

In terms of prosperity, the *Polyglott*, *Baedeker* and *Merian* guides report that Switzerland is one of the wealthiest countries on earth (if not the wealthiest country on earth (*Baedeker*, p. 38)). Concerning the *Polyglott* guide, the reasons for that are “. . . certainly not only because of hot money/flight capital as wagging tongues claim” but due to “. . . solid political relations
and a strong currency”, which are said to play a role in the country’s attractiveness as a financial place (Polyglott, p. 25). With respect to the Merian guide, the country’s early industrialisation – compared to Germany – and “late attractiveness as a banking and financing place”, helped to make Switzerland’s rise to one of the wealthiest countries possible (Merian, p. 64). Moreover, the high standard of education, low taxes and the attractive landscape are seen as reasons for the “boom in Swiss economy” (Merian, p. 355). The Polyglott and Baedeker guides note that Switzerland is highly dependent on exports, and therefore encourages free trade (Polyglott, p. 25). The explanations given for Switzerland being a highly industrialised country partly credit the “industriousness and resourcefulness” of the Swiss, who work an average of 40 hours per week (Polyglott, p. 25). The ADAC guide states that Switzerland has an excellent reputation as an “innovative economic place”, which manufactures first class products, and that discrete Swiss banking plays a leading role in the international financing world (ADAC, p. 9).

The Baedeker guide addresses the steady Swiss currency, low inflation rate and large number of family farms, which are characteristic of Switzerland and “maintain the old cultural landscape” (Baedeker, pp. 38/39). It is mentioned, however, that Switzerland also faces problems of unemployment. In addition, the guidebook notices that due to Switzerland’s landlocked location and topography, Swiss products can only compete because of their know-how and quality (Baedeker, p. 39). The Merian guide refers to the low Swiss unemployment rate (3.6%); Switzerland’s international top level in the ranking of industrial states; its research and development, which are more “principle-based” and are pursued stronger in small and middle-sized companies than in other industrial countries; its rather “moderate” but “more target-oriented” national aid and its cooperation between economy and universities, which is more “distinct” than in most other countries that were analysed in a study (Merian, p. 355). It also mentions that Switzerland’s “innovative performances/achievements” stagnate (on a high level though) and that the country has lost the odd “top level spot” in rankings (Merian, p. 356). Moreover, it is noted that the Swiss Franc has recently become cheaper in relation to the Euro.

All of the German/Swiss guidebooks address the direct democratic system of Switzerland, which is said to keep the politicians from “making dangerous flights of fancy” (Polyglott, p. 27). Apart from the ADAC guide, all other German/Swiss guidebooks mention Switzerland’s non-membership of the EU. The Polyglott, ADAC, Baedeker and Merian guides also refer to Swiss neutrality, which is said to be an “important term” for the Swiss (Baedeker, p. 50). The
main principles of the Swiss department of Foreign Affairs are regarded to be neutrality, solidarity and international participation and aid for human rights and peace (“Switzerland is one of the most globally networked countries and is a member of over 100 international organisations”, (Baedeker, p. 37)). In terms of the Swiss banking secrecy, the Baedeker guide claims that people often fail to see that the accounts are not really anonymous, since the bank knows the identity of its account holders and in case of a criminal offence has to give this information away (Baedeker, p. 41). With respect to Switzerland’s role concerning the Jewish bank affair and Nazi gold scandal, the Baedeker guide mentions that “Swiss self-confidence is not unbroken anymore” but that this will be an advantage for Switzerland, since the “bizarre Heidi country” can gain likeability and become a “real country with real people”, who recognise its “complexity and contrariness” (Baedeker, p. 14). The ADAC guide reports that Switzerland granted entry to thousands of political refugees during WW 2, but also refused entry to thousands of Jews (ADAC, p. 15).

4.10.4 Spanish guidebooks

With regard to Swiss prosperity, the Guía total notes the solid and skilled financial activity of the Swiss state, and acknowledges that the country has one of the most solid economies in the world (Guía total, p. 365). The Guía azul points out the traditional prosperity of the Swiss society, its high economic capability and high salaries (Guía azul, p. 18). Both guidebooks also speak of Swiss high quality products and first class technology. The Guía viva briefly refers to the importance and contribution of banking to Switzerland’s prosperity (Guía viva, p. 39). The Guía azul and Guía total also address the country’s stance towards the EU and some of Switzerland’s important industries, such as clocks, electronics, metals, pharmaceutical products and tourism.

All of the Spanish guidebooks mention Swiss neutrality and banking secrecy. The Guía azul and Guía total mention the elaborate democratic system. The Swiss banking affair concerning the Holocaust victims is only described in the Guía viva. The Guía azul refers to the country’s role in granting asylum to many refugees during WW2.

4.10.5 French guidebooks

The Michelin, Routard and Petit Futé travel guides unanimously refer to the prosperity of Switzerland (“It’s true that Switzerland, one of the richest countries in the world, has a reputation of prosperity that wows you” (Routard, p. 54)). They mention that the small European state is one of the richest, most efficient and developed countries in the world with
one of the highest living standards worldwide and low unemployment rates. The *Michelin* guide reports, however, that the current good shape of the economy cannot hide an increase in poverty (*Michelin*, p. 90). In addition, the guidebook notes that no other economy is as dependent on its exports as Switzerland. All French guidebooks refer to: the manufacturing of high quality products in the pharmaceutical, mechanical and dominant clock and watch industries; the famous Swiss banking secrecy (and the lifting of its law to provide client data of suspected tax violators); the state’s neutral political position; as well as the non-accession to the EU and thereby exclusion or maintenance of boundaries between Switzerland and other countries.

The *Michelin* and *Petit Futé* guides make references to tax privileges in some cantons as well as to the elaborate democratic system. Reflecting on a less glorious chapter of Swiss history, which only came to light in 1996, the French guidebooks individually refer to the infamous bank scandal during WW II – concerning the funds of Holocaust victims placed in Swiss bank accounts – and the resulting perception of a negative image of Switzerland.

### 4.11 Swiss languages

#### 4.11.1 English guidebooks

Concerning Switzerland’s multilingual status, all four English guidebooks emphasise that most Swiss speak English. The *Lonely Planet* and *Rough Guide* mention that English now (‘controversially’) is the first foreign language children learn at school in some cantons. The *Lonely Planet*, *Rough Guide*, *DK Eyewitness* and *Berlitz Pocket Guide* note that the ‘Rösti barrier’ still exits and divides the country in language and culture. The *Lonely Planet* remarks that the country’s language divide can easily be forgotten from time to time when Swiss people fluently change from one language to another. Moreover, the guidebook states that not many French or Italian Swiss understand Swiss German. The *Rough Guide* reports that many Swiss are “ . . . comfortably tri- or quadrilingual” (*Rough Guide*, p. 8) and “fluency in four or five languages isn’t as rare as you might assume” (*Rough Guide*, p. 595). The *Berlitz Pocket Guide* also points out that the Swiss tend to be good at learning foreign languages and often speak two, three or even four different languages (*Berlitz Pocket Guide*, p. 161). It also mentions that French is understood in the whole country and that German is like a foreign language to the Swiss, even to the Swiss Germans.
4.11.2 American guidebooks

The *Let's Go* guide points out that the four official languages of Switzerland (Swiss German, French, Italian and Rhaeto-Romanic) contain countless “confusing” (*Let's Go*, p. xii) and “highly disparate” (*Let's Go*, p. 318) dialects, and that “many travellers feel somewhat intimidated by the thought of communicating” (*Let's Go*, p. 555). German speakers are reminded that “Swiss German is unlike any of the dialects spoken in Germany or Austria, nearly unintelligible to a speaker of High German” (*Let's Go*, p. 318) and linguistically “more closely resembles Middle High German, spoken in Germany 500 years ago” (*Let's Go*, p. 318). The guidebook mentions that the Swiss German dialect spoken in the canton of Valais is one of the oldest and therefore one of the least comprehensible Swiss dialects, even to German-speaking Swiss (*Let’s Go*, pp. 318/319). In contrast, the dialects spoken around Bern and Zürich are said to be “more easily decipherable” (*Let's Go*, p. 319). In addition, the *Let's Go* guide reports that most German Swiss favour their dialect over Standard German, and emphasises that visitors to Switzerland should “try to speak as the Swiss do (whatever the language happens to be)” (*Let's Go*, p. 318) since “the Swiss will appreciate any effort you make to speak their language” (*Let’s Go*, p. 319). The *Fodor’s* guide states that the Swiss German and Swiss Italian dialects are difficult to understand for people who speak High German or Standard Italian, but that the Swiss Germans and Swiss Italians are also able to speak these standard versions.

In terms of the Swiss’ English language skills, the *Let’s Go* guide states that due to “the number of languages that must be learned to get by within Switzerland”, English is spoken by less people in the Alpine state compared to many other European countries (*Let’s Go*, p. 318). Furthermore, the guidebook notes that despite the ability of many Swiss to speak English, visitors are “always better of trying one of Switzerland’s official languages first” (*Let’s Go*, p. 318). It also mentions that police officers “typically speak little English” (*Let’s Go*, p. 17); that “most doctors and pharmacists speak at least some English” (*Let’s Go*, p. 22); and that most of the younger Swiss city dwellers “speak at least a smattering of English – usually much more – thanks to the establishment of English as a requirement for high school diplomas” (*Let's Go*, p. 555). With reference to rural regions and older residents, the guidebook points out that “English proficiency becomes less common” and that “you may have to rely on phrasebooks or an impromptu translation by the local tourist office” (*Let’s Go*, p. 555). The *Fodor’s* guide points out that: “The Swiss are champions of multilingualism: at least one foreign language is mandatory in most schools from the primary level. And lucky
you: these days the foreign language of choice is English” (*Fodor’s*, p. 13). The guidebook mentions that most Swiss speak at least a little English.

### 4.11.3 German/Swiss guidebooks

The *Marco Polo*, *Polyglott* and *ADAC* guides make no references to Swiss languages and dialects. With respect to the language divide, the *Baedeker* guide states that the ‘Rösti barrier’ gets deeper again today, since the Swiss French part “. . . feels itself rightly ignored as a minority”, ranging from its importance in the economy and politics to the decrease of the French language as the first foreign language in Switzerland (*Baedeker*, p. 29). In addition, it notes that Standard German is used in schools and as the written language, but is increasingly becoming a foreign language, because Swiss German is used on the radio, television and even in politics. In terms of Switzerland’s “refreshing” ethnical diversity, the *Merian* guide points out that every region is characterised by its language, traditions and idiosyncrasies (*Merian*, p. 28). It dismisses the belief that the Swiss are multi-lingual as a “baseless rumour” and states that there *are* four languages in the constitution but that “one will search for a multi-lingual Swiss in vain” (*Merian*, p. 28). According to the guidebook, surveys show that barely one-quarter of the Swiss are able to communicate in another official language of the country without “noteworthy problems” and that the dominance of one language in bi-lingual cantons can result in conflicts (*Merian*, p. 28). However, it also states that it has not been difficult for the Swiss to settle such disputes in an “objective atmosphere” (*Merian*, p. 28). With regard to the Swiss languages, the *Merian* guide reports that anyone who deals with the Swiss German dialects for a few days – except for the dialects of the cantons of Valais and Appenzell Innerhoden – will quickly understand the most important things (*Merian*, p. 366). It also remarks that “if you try to speak Swiss German as a German or Austrian, you can hope for polite acknowledgement, but internally most Swiss listeners will be convulsed with laughter, because it does sound too funny indeed” (*Merian*, p. 366).

### 4.11.4 Spanish guidebooks

According to the *Guía viva*, the linguistic differences in Switzerland do not cause any problems at all. The *Guía total* notes that a significant proportion of the Swiss population can communicate in two languages. The guidebook sees a multilingual problem in terms of “. . . talking in one’s dialect but writing in one’s standard language, especially in case of frequent border crossings” (*Guía total*, p. 355). The *Guía azul* names Switzerland a linguistic ‘Tower of Babel’, referring to its highly complex and plural languages. All three guidebooks point out that English is spoken and used widely.
4.11.5 French guidebooks

With regard to the four different languages spoken in Switzerland, the French guidebooks come to the conclusion that Swiss German is not understood and liked by the Swiss French people and that Swiss Germans rather tend to use English instead of French.

*Is each Swiss really polyglot? Not really. It certainly is compulsory to learn one of the three other official languages in school, but that clearly does not suffice. In fact, the French-Swiss don’t like the language of Goethe. They are more discouraged than their Germanic cousins to speak Swiss German. . . . Standard German is almost seen as a foreign language. The German Swiss hence prefer more and more to speak in English* (*Routard*, p. 41).

These differences are not regarded as enhancing or facilitating the communication between the Swiss German and Swiss French regions. The term ‘Rösti barrier’ is mentioned in this context, indicating the linguistic barrier as well as the differences in (political) mentalities between the Swiss French and Swiss German people. The *Michelin* guide quotes a proverb saying that the Swiss get along so well because they don’t understand each other (*Michelin*, p. 88). The *Routard* guide also mentions that it is remarkable that Switzerland operates so well despite the “astounding mosaic” that is the country (*Routard*, p. 56).

4.12 Swiss public transport

4.12.1 English guidebooks

All of the English guidebooks praise Switzerland’s excellent, convenient and comprehensive public transport, especially the efficient rail network system and punctual trains. References are also made to the well maintained and well signposted roads as well as to the extensive and well marked and planned hiking network. Cheaper train tickets like the Swiss Passes and Cards are mentioned by all of the guidebooks as well.

4.12.2 American guidebooks

The *Fodor’s* and *Let’s Go* guides refer to the density of Switzerland’s transportation network (“a dense network of carefully coordinated trains” where visitors travel “on schedule” (*Let’s Go*, p. 1); “one of the world’s densest transportation networks” (*Fodor’s*, p. 531)). In the *Let’s Go* guide trains are regarded to be “comfortable, convenient and reasonably swift” (*Let’s Go*, p. 26) and apart from the railroads, the bus network in Switzerland is also said to be “extensive, efficient and comfortable” (*Let’s Go*, p. 32). In the *Fodor’s*’ guide, public transport in Switzerland is regarded as excellent (“perhaps the best transit network in Europe” (*Fodor’s*, p. 526)), and trains and buses are described as very punctual and clean, and roads as
well maintained. The two guidebooks also mentions cheaper tickets for trains, like the Swiss Cards Passes.

### 4.12.3 German/Swiss guidebooks

The *Marco Polo* and *Merian* guides regard Switzerland as the “country of railways” (*Merian*, p. 363) and a “railway nation” (*Marco Polo*, p. 16) respectively. The *Marco Polo* guide notes that Switzerland has the most comprehensive railway network in the world – and addresses the frequent, comfortable and usually punctual trains. The *Baedeker* and *ADAC* guides also refer to the excellent Swiss railway network. The *Polyglott* and *ADAC* guides address the well-developed public transport system – in case of the *Polyglott* guide especially the network of buses. The *Merian* guide notes that the Swiss are “European champions” in using the train (*Merian*, p. 363). It also points out that the trains meet the Swiss’ “liability to settled circumstances”, since the trains are “punctual, clean and predictable like the Swiss themselves” (*Merian*, p. 131). Apart from Switzerland’s comprehensive railway network, the *Merian* guide also refers to the well-developed road network (even in peripheral regions) and states that people who are not used to driving in alpine areas often have difficulties, which frequently result in “long convoys” (*Merian*, p. 357). However, the Swiss are said to usually react calmly to such convoys (*Merian*, p. 357). The guidebook also addresses high fines for traffic violations. All of the Swiss/German guidebooks mention the cheaper Swiss Pass and Card train tickets.

### 4.12.4 Spanish guidebooks

The three Spanish guidebooks point out that the Swiss railway network is excellent and comprehensive, and that its trains are punctual and clean (“... reflecting the Swiss people’s peculiarities” (*Guía azul*, p. 49)), efficient, fast and comfortable. The *Guía total* notes that the road network is good and in good condition.

### 4.12.5 French guidebooks

Switzerland’s good internal transport system, especially the well-developed and comprehensive Swiss railway network (more dense than in France; one of the highest densities of traffic in the world (*Petit Futé*)) with its comfortable trains (*Petit Futé; Routard*) and elaborate and accurate timetables, is praised by all of the French guidebooks. The *Petit Futé* mentions that it would be regretful not to take the train at least once while travelling in Switzerland. The *Routard* guide notes that “Trains undeniably remain the most pleasant way to discover Switzerland” (*Routard*, p. 47). In addition, the *Michelin* guide states that the Swiss are the most assiduous users of the railway worldwide.
4.13 Swiss scenery

4.13.1 English guidebooks

Lots of references to the beautiful landscape and scenery of Switzerland are made in all of the English travel guidebooks (“God-like canvas of lush green peaks, wondrous white glaciers and hallucinatory natural landscapes etched so perfectly one could cry…” (Lonely Planet, p. 6)).

4.13.2 American guidebooks

The Let’s Go and Fodor’s guides also mention Switzerland’s beautiful scenery (“Switzerland has an amazing wealth of natural beauty” (Let’s Go, p. 313); “The whole of Switzerland is undeniably beautiful” (Fodor’s, p. 23)).

4.13.3 German/Swiss guidebooks

All of the German and Swiss guidebooks address Switzerland’s extraordinary, beautiful and diverse scenery/biodiversity (“Fantastic landscapes . . . and diverse adventure worlds for the young and young at heart (zoos; theme parks; in the footsteps of Heidi)” (Polyglott, p. 16); the “splendid nature and traditional cultural areas with modern infrastructure and perfect service” make Switzerland an attractive destination (ADAC, p. 6); a “magical attraction one can hardly escape”; no other European country offers so many “adventurous worlds” on so little space (Merian, p. 23)). The Merian guide reveals that Switzerland’s scenic landscapes hide the fact that more than 70% of the Swiss population live in the cities and more and more people move to urban centres to find jobs (Merian, p. 26).

4.13.4 Spanish guidebooks

The Guía azul and Guía total make references to Switzerland’s beautiful and exceptional natural landscape (“a fairytale landscape” Guía azul, p. 1). In addition, the Guía azul refers to Switzerland as a humid, cold and rainy country (Guía azul, p. 59).

4.13.5 French guidebooks

All French guidebooks mention the beautiful, fascinating and diverse natural landscape of the Swiss Confederation (“Despite the country’s small size, Switzerland offers a variety of exceptional landscapes” (Michelin, p. 48)).
4.14 Swiss environmental sustainability

4.14.1 English guidebooks

The *Lonely Planet*, *Rough Guide* and *DK Eyewitness* guide report the keen Swiss awareness of environmental protection and encouragement to think green. The *Lonely Planet* addresses responsible travel, Switzerland’s Green travel network, free bike rental in many cities and lists a ‘greendex’ with environmentally friendly accommodation options. The guidebook notes that Switzerland produces less than 400 kg of waste each per year (half the figure of USA) and that the Swiss are “… even more diligent recyclers than the Germans with households religiously separating waste into categories prior to collection, speaks volumes” (*Lonely Planet*, p. 54). The *DK Eyewitness* guide refers to the Swiss ‘zealous anti-pollution’ and ‘anti-congestion ethic’, the actively encouraged use of bicycles, the conscientious Swiss approach to preserving the natural environment (e.g., recycling waste; well developed and well coordinated public transport system) and the strict regulations concerning the emission of toxic gases. The *DK Eyewitness* guide mentions that: most Alpine plants and wild animals are protected by law; the logging of large forestal areas with a heightened risk of avalanches and landslides is forbidden; Swiss resorts do not use chemicals in snow making; the use of salt on roads is reduced; and free buses (some solar powered) are part of strong environmental policies (*DK Eyewitness*, p. 21 & p. 288).

4.14.2 American guidebooks

The *Let’s Go* guide refers to sustainable, responsible and eco-tourism, encouraging its travellers to “embrace the Leave No Trace ethic” (*Let’s Go*, p. 45). References are also made to Switzerland’s National Park and its strict rules about preservation (“Stringent rules allowing visitors only on the marked paths take away from the fun of exploring on your own, but an extensive route of well-marked paths ensures spectacular views” (*Let’s Go*, p. 430). The Guide also notes that the creation of the National Park prevented the extinction of many animals, and that the “cow is an institution in Switzerland” (*Let’s Go*, p. 314).

4.14.3 German/Swiss guidebooks

The *Marco Polo* guide notes that many animals and plants are strictly protected and that every 10th farm in Switzerland uses organic methods to farm its land (*Marco Polo*, pp. 20/21). The *Polyglott* guide also addresses Switzerland’s diverse flora and advises visitors to “look at it, be happy, but not to take any plants” as they are strictly protected (*Polyglott*, p. 29). The *ADAC* guide addresses the Swiss National Park and states that people can inform themselves about the ecosystem of the protected area. The *Baedeker* guide refers to the country’s natural
reserves, protected plants, the Swiss UNESCO world heritage sites and the Swiss National Park, which is the oldest one in Europe. While an intact environment is regarded as an important aspect of Swiss tourism, the guidebook reports that damages through extensive skiing, developing old resorts to city centres with big congestion or intensive use of land, result in conflicts (Baedeker, p. 25). Furthermore, it states that the decrease of biological and natural diversity, the alarming condition of the mountain forest (since 1994, 25% of mountain forests have been damaged), natural disasters like mud slides, floods, and climatic changes, raise awareness that this development cannot be handled passively (Baedeker, p. 25). The guidebook notes that the driving force in Swiss nature and landscape protection are local and cantonal authorities as well as the Federal Office for Environment, Forest and Landscape. The Merian guide mentions the return of wild animals to Switzerland. It also states that natural disasters (e.g., floods, landslides) in Switzerland have a great significance to the country, as they “strengthen the national identity” and show that the “readiness to help is still big” (Merian, p. 74). With respect to the UNESCO world heritage site in St Gallen (Convent of St Gallen), the Merian guide reports that the surroundings of the site are partly closed to traffic to prevent vibrations and environmental damages.

4.14.4 Spanish guidebooks

The Guía total refers to strictly protected Swiss flora and fauna; regulations for the protection of pure water and air, as well as to regulations for logging trees in order to prevent avalanches and landslides (Guía total, p. 348). Moreover, the Swiss National Park is regarded as indicating the established importance Switzerland attaches to nature (Guía total, p. 348). The Guía azul mentions eco- and agro-tourism in terms of host or farm stays as sustainable accommodation choices, which are said to be popular in Spain and the rest of Europe as well (Guía azul, p. 56).

4.14.5 French guidebooks

The Petit Futé mentions that Switzerland has conducted extensive research on ecology before finding solutions in terms of recycling and energy use. According to the guidebook, other countries can take a leaf out of the Swiss’ book regarding the matter of recycling (Petit Futé, p. 20). The Michelin guide refers to the Alpine Convention and the Swiss population’s increasing awareness of the importance of environmental questions (Michelin, p. 55).
4.15 Swiss sports and activities

4.15.1 English guidebooks

All of the English guidebooks list the numerous sports activities, which can be practised in Switzerland (winter sports, water sports, aerial sports, adventure sports, etc.). The *DK Eyewitness* guide notes that the Swiss are a sport-loving nation and are among the fittest, healthiest, most active people in the world. The guidebook also states that: “There is something in the Swiss air that makes you want to go outside and play (*DK Eyewitness*, p. 284). The *Rough Guide* calls Switzerland a “... heaven for indulging in sports and outdoorsiness of all kinds” (*Rough Guide*, p. 69). Children begin to ski at the age of 2 or 3, and Swiss grandparents hike or cycle around the Alps (*Rough Guide*, p. 69). The *Lonely Planet* claims that calling the Swiss ‘sporty’ would not do them justice, since they are hyperactive. The guidebook points out that:

*If there is a sound more musical to Swiss ears than the precision clockwork, it is rhythmic footsteps on a well-prepared trail. Come snow or shine, you’ll find 30-somethings with Linford Christie thighs and strapping 70-year-olds traipsing up the heights as locals have done for eons* (*Lonely Planet*, p. 56).

In addition, it is stated that Switzerland is

... a land where the average 65-year old calls a four-hour hike over a 2500 mountain pass a Sonntagspaziergang (Sunday stroll), where giggly three-year olds ski rings around you on the slopes and where locals bored with ‘ordinary’ marathons run races backwards, up mountains, for fun... (*Lonely Planet*, p. 230).\(^{12}\)

According to *Lonely Planet*, the Swiss passion for sports is said to be contagious and the scenic landscape is the reason the Swiss cannot keep still.

4.15.2 American guidebooks

The *Let’s Go* guide reports that Switzerland is an “adventurer’s paradise with infinite opportunities for pulse quickening exploits” (*Let’s Go*, p. 1), and lists activities such as climbing, biking, golf, hiking (“Switzerland is renowned for its hiking” (*Let’s Go*, p. 44)), water sports, winter sports (“The skiing is easily among the best in the world” (*Let’s Go*, p. 47); “You could land just about anywhere in Switzerland in the winter and have a fabulous skiing experience” (*Let’s Go*, p. 6)), aerial sports and adventure sports.

*Most Swiss are active people, tempted to venture outdoors by the alluring mountain landscape. Skiing and hiking are national pastimes, with more than 40% of the

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\(^{12}\) In this quote, the real ‘marketing speak’ of the *Lonely Planet* becomes obvious. In order to make a destination attractive to those in search of ‘quirkiness’, one person who does something ‘different’ is found and then generalised to make their behaviour sound like a national trait.
population regularly wandering through the countryside, which perhaps accounts for the 80-year life expectancy rate (Let’s Go, p. 318).

The *Let’s Go* guide notes that “the active Swiss spend much of their leisure time doing athletics” and that “exercise and sports are regarded as integral parts of life” in a country which features numerous sport organisations (*Let’s Go*, p. 324). Similarly, in the *Fodor’s* guide, Switzerland is also regarded as a very active country where young and old people participate in the above mentioned activities. The *Fodor’s* guide mentions that the elderly in Switzerland may still “. . . climb steep, rocky trails” (*Fodor’s*, p. 15).

### 4.15.3 German/Swiss guidebooks

Various sport activities such as hiking, climbing, cycling (“cycling country” (*ADAC; Marco Polo*)), inline skating (“skating country” (*Polyglott*, p. 20; *Marco Polo*, p. 100); “paradise for skaters” (*Baedeker*, p. 115); highest density of skaters in the world (*Marco Polo*, p. 102)), golf, winter sports, water sports, aerial sports and adventure sports are addressed in all of the German/Swiss guidebooks. The *Marco Polo* guide notes that exercise and sport are part of the early childhood education, and there is no Swiss village without a hiking, skiing or gymnastics club (*Marco Polo*, p. 100). In addition, the *Marco Polo* guide mentions that Switzerland is a trend/popular sport wonderland and that the Swiss like to hike. The *Polyglott* guidebook states that active holidays play an important part in Switzerland (*Polyglott*, p. 19). The *Merian* guide points out that Switzerland has the highest density of golf courses in Europe and that the Swiss are “passionate” card players (*Merian*, p. 161).

### 4.15.4 Spanish guidebooks

The *Guía azul*, *Guía total* and *Guía viva* note that various activities are possible in Switzerland, such as hiking (“Promised Land for alpinism” (*Guía total*, p. 392)), mountaineering, mountain biking, golf, water sports, winter sports, aerial sports, adventure sports, etc. The *Guía azul* states that sports gear, especially clothes, are of excellent quality and are very appreciated by wealthy tourists (*Guía azul*, p. 59).

### 4.15.5 French guidebooks

All French guidebooks list a wide range of activities such as skiing, hiking (hiking is praised in Switzerland (*Petit Futé*)), cycling, water sports, aerial sports, adventure sports, etc. The *Routard* guide reports that Switzerland is the country of skiing and of lakes (“A piece of luck for amateurs of water sports” (*Routard*, p. 70)), and that there are few sports, which are *not* carried out in this country. Similarly, the *Petit Futé* points out that “Thanks to a privileged
environment, from lakes to mountains, Switzerland offers the possibility to participate in practically every sport possible and imaginable in all seasons” (Petit Futé, p. 58).

4.16 Multicultural ethnicity and immigration

4.16.1 English guidebooks

The *Rough Guide* claims that due to the nation’s conservatism, multi-ethnic social integration is sadly only now starting to play a role in Switzerland (*Rough Guide*, p. 9). The issue of racism concerning immigration matters is regarded as Switzerland’s biggest current problem: “Switzerland is hopping from foot to foot, forced to address the issue but unable to reconcile traditional Swiss hospitality and respect for others with the equally traditional mistrust and rejection of outsiders” (*Rough Guide*, p. 77). The *Rough Guide* also reports that “Asylum and immigration remains a hot topic (and) fuel to the reactionary fire” in Switzerland (*Rough Guide*, p. 577). Linked with this are the erosion of ‘Swissness’ through foreign influence and the increasing use of English in education, business and popular culture in Switzerland (*Rough Guide*, p. 577). The *Lonely Planet* and *Rough Guide* mention that Swiss police are barely visible in the streets, but that – when they do appear – they have a reputation of treating people of Non-European descent rather poorly. Furthermore, the two guidebooks refer to the popular Swiss People’s Party and its anti-immigration and anti-EU policy but also note that Switzerland has become more open to immigrants and other countries since the 21st century (joining of UN; Schengen agreement; bilateral accords between Switzerland and the EU). The *Berlitz Pocket Guide* mentions the right wing Swiss People’s Party as well, and notes the significant number of foreigners in Swiss cities.

4.16.2 American guidebooks

The *Let’s Go* guide points out that the country is mainly white, but, nevertheless, in general tolerates minority travellers (*Let’s Go*, p. 52), and has been “a welcoming home to many religious minorities” (*Let’s Go*, p. 319). Anti-Semitism in Switzerland is not reported to be a major problem either.

*Most minority travelers will not have any difficulty, though the farther you venture into the countryside, the more likely it is that you will encounter the occasional odd stare. . . . In recent years, a growing population of foreign workers (particularly Turks) has felt the sting of Swiss anxiety about economic recession, but physical confrontations are rare* (*Let’s Go*, p. 52).

With respect to immigration matters, the *Let’s Go* guide refers to the “strongly anti-immigrant” Swiss People’s Party and its increasing popularity among the population,

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13 This information in the two English guidebooks may reflect the UK’s multi-ethnic background.
reflecting “... the Swiss fear that Eastern European refugees are taking their jobs” (Let’s Go, p. 317). It is mentioned that one in every five people living in Switzerland is foreign. The Fodor’s guide also reports that Switzerland has a large international population and cultural mix (due to unrest around the world, the need for manpower and the search for a better life (Fodor’s, p. 24)), which “... has unnerved some, but also works world-flattening magic – in the traditional town of Brütten there is a ‘Stars and Stripes’ American-style restaurant in an old Swiss farmhouse run by a family from Sri Lanka” (Fodor’s, p. 24). The Let’s Go guide notes that Switzerland recently “... accepted more Kosovar refugees proportional to its population than any other country” (Let’s Go, p. 317) and that despite this, “the Swiss have never been thrilled with immigration” and that “the recent influx has heightened such concerns” (Let’s Go, p. 317).

... Switzerland has recently found itself in the midst of a new wave of immigration. Refugees from Kosovo, Turkey, and other Eastern European countries have been pouring into the country to escape the turmoil in their homes. The Swiss aren’t entirely pleased with this influx, however. In a proud country with strong social mores and an inflexible view of what is and is not culturally acceptable, immigrants have trouble gaining acceptance. Part of the problem is that they rarely speak the language when they enter the country and some of them never learn it at all. Most also cling strongly to the traditions of their country. Their foreign ways of life unsettle many Swiss, who have trouble understanding why immigrants cannot adapt to the ways of their new land. Thus, while there is no major violence on the surface, tension between locals and the newest inhabitants lies just below the surface of many interactions. The government meanwhile has been trying to adjust policies to deal with immigration and naturalisation, but it is often split. In May 2004, current policies were reviewed and amended, but the attitude of the citizens has remained the same, and the tension merely increases with the number of immigrants (Let’s Go, p. 319).

4.16.3 German/Swiss guidebooks

The German/Swiss guidebooks mention that Switzerland is a popular immigrant country and state that between 20 - 22 % of the Swiss population is composed of foreigners (immigration is regarded as a highly sensitive topic in Swiss politics (Marco Polo, p. 9)). The Baedeker guide notes that possible reasons for the high number of foreigners are the recruitment of foreign labour in post-war times and the tax advantages for companies and wealthy people (tax fraud is not a criminal offence in Switzerland (Baedeker, p. 31). The Baedeker guide refers to the People’s Party and their campaigns to stoke fears of foreign infiltration. It remarks that in 2002, an initiative to refuse asylum to applicants of secure third countries was declined by 50.1 % of the Swiss population. The Merian guide mentions that the conservative Swiss People’s Party is the most popular political party in the country. Furthermore, it reports that immigrants from various countries helped to establish a lively and multi-cultural scene/neighbourhood in bigger Swiss cities in recent years (Merian, p. 28).
4.16.4 French guidebooks

The *Michelin*, *Routard* and *Petit Futé* guides make reference to Switzerland as a host country (about 20% of the Swiss population is composed of foreigners). The *Petit Futé* mentions the popular Swiss conservative People’s Party and its provocative campaigns against immigrants/foreigners (e.g.: ‘Are you concerned about security or your job?’). The *Routard* guide states that the majority of Swiss people are against joining the EU because their fears are that immigrants will invade the country, since they are already numerous.

4.16.5 Spanish guidebooks

The *Guía azul* and *Guía total* refer to Switzerland as a host country. The *Guía azul* notes that in the three dominant areas (German, French and Italian parts) where 84% of all residents live, 15% of the Swiss population are composed of foreigners. The *Guía total* mentions that 20% of the Swiss population are composed of foreigners.

4.17 Wilhelm Tell

According to the legend of Wilhelm Tell, the crossbowman from the 13\(^{th}\) or 14\(^{th}\) century – nowadays referred to as a freedom fighter – was forced to shoot an apple off his son’s head after the Austrian Vogt Gessler, who at that time was trying to dominate the canton of Uri with his Habsburg men, arrested him for not bowing before his hat in the central square of Altdorf. Tell was promised freedom if he succeeded; if he did not try to shoot the apple, both he and his son would be executed. He successfully shot the apple off his son’s head and later was asked by Gessler why he had removed two crossbow bolts from his quiver before shooting. When Tell answered that he would have used the other bolt on Gessler in case he had not succeeded in shooting the apple off his son’s head, he was arrested again and brought to Gessler’s ship to be taken to his castle at Küsnacht. When a storm broke out on Lake Lucerne, Tell managed to escape, waited for Gessler to arrive in an alleyway in Küsnacht, and shot him.

4.17.1 English guidebooks

The myth of Wilhelm Tell is introduced in each of the English guidebooks. The *Lonely Planet* and *Berlitz Pocket Guide* notice that it does not matter whether Tell was a real person or legend, since he, nevertheless, remains a key figure in Swiss identity and represents the strength of the Swiss character. A local Swiss interviewed in the *Lonely Planet* claims that Tell was most definitely real, but that Goethe persuaded Schiller to dramatise the story. The *Rough Guide* mentions that Tell is increasingly perceived as a less appropriate icon for 21\(^{st}\)
century Switzerland. The guidebook also reveals that it seems that there is no touristic ‘Tell hype’ because the Swiss hero is regarded as far too important to the locals. The *DK Eyewitness* guide reports that Tell is supposed to have lived.

### 4.17.2 American guidebooks

Whereas Wilhelm Tell is not mentioned in the American *Let’s Go* guide, the *Fodor’s* guide states that: “Though there are no valid records of Wilhelm Tell’s existence, and versions of the legend conflict with historical facts, no one denies the reality of his times” (*Fodor’s*, p. 221). According to the guidebook, Tell has inspired millions of people up to this day and lots of Swiss visit the place, where his story took place, every year. It also notes that Wilhelm Tell could have been Norwegian, since a 11th century story from Norway tells of a similar tale (*Fodor’s*, p. 221).

### 4.17.3 German/Swiss guidebooks

Except for the *Polyglott* guide, all German/Swiss guidebooks make references to Tell. The *Marco Polo* guide notes that the legendary hero probably did not exist, given that historians have been unable to prove his existence (*Marco Polo*, p. 74). The *ADAC* guide addresses the legendary story of the Swiss hero. The *Baedeker* guide points out that the Tell myth of shooting an apple from his son’s head shaped the Swiss nation (*Baedeker*, p. 14). The *Merian* guide refers to a study from 2004, which revealed that 60 % of the Swiss population believe in Tell’s existence (62 % of under 50-year-olds and 50 % of over 50-year-olds) (*Merian*, pp. 39/50). It reports that the character of Tell – regardless of his existence – is still used regularly today in “political propaganda” or “caricatures”, and that the Swiss political will kept him alive (*Merian*, p. 50). The guidebook points out that “The legend of Tell transformed the formation of Switzerland to a heroic deed but that in reality it was a tough battle” (*Merian*, p. 41).

### 4.17.4 Spanish guidebooks

The Spanish guidebooks discuss Wilhelm Tell as well. The *Guía total* states that the crossbowman is a synonym for Swiss quality, symbolising Swiss unity and freedom linked to “quality workmanship” and perfection (*Guía total*, p. 279). According to the guidebook, it does not matter much whether Tell’s story is a myth or reality, because the crossbowman/arbalest is omnipresent (Tell chocolate, tarts, etc.). The *Guía viva* mentions that nobody in Switzerland doubts for an instant that Tell existed. The *Guía azul* refers to the Swiss hero as a widely known folk imagination.
4.17.5 French guidebooks

The three French guidebooks all give a résumé of the legend’s story, but claim that the crossbowman’s authenticity is questionable, since no irrefutable proof exists (“In Switzerland itself, the authenticity of this hero has long been doubted” (Petit Futé, p. 50); “the story is more than shady but the symbol of Wilhelm Tell is unshakeable” (Routard, p. 69)). The Petit Futé reports that the Swiss hero is the archetype of patriotism, in love with justice and freedom, who rebels against authorities to let justice rule.

4.18 Heidi

The story of Heidi revolves around a Swiss orphan girl, who first lives with her aunt in Maienfeld, but when she wants to focus on her career, she is brought to her grandfather in the Alps. The grandfather, who has been in conflict with the other citizens for years and lives isolated on an alm\(^\text{14}\), first resents Heidi’s arrival but then takes to the delightful girl. A few years later, Heidi’s aunt takes the girl with her to Frankfurt so that Heidi can be company for a family’s disabled child, Clara. Heidi, however, misses her grandfather and the Alps and falls sick in Germany. She is eventually sent back to her grandfather, and when Clara visits her in the Alps, the disabled girl overcomes her handicap when she is forced to walk after her wheelchair has been smashed by Heidi’s jealous friend, Peter.

4.18.1 English guidebooks

The famous Swiss Heidi is addressed in the *DK Eyewitness*, *Lonely Planet* and *Rough Guide*. The *DK Eyewitness* guide refers to ‘Heidi-land’ in general and to the re-creation of the fictional surroundings through Heidi’s house in Maienfeld in particular. The *Lonely Planet* and *Rough Guide* convey a somewhat negative image of Heidi. The *Lonely Planet* states that the locals had the “. . . worse idea of identifying one local village as Heidi’s” (*Lonely Planet*, p. 309), and that when the tourists are done with the Heidi village, Heidi house, Heidi shop, Heidi path, Heidi alp, taken the Heidi express bus, bought Heidi colouring-in-books, Heidi videos or Heidi kitsch, they may need some Heidi wine for their Heidi headaches. The *Rough Guide* mentions that Heidi could be the most famous book ever written about Switzerland, “. . . but (is) a hopelessly moralistic, cloying tale for all that” (*Rough Guide*, p. 590) and that “Maienfeld milks its claim to fame mercilessly” (*Rough Guide*, p. 492).

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\(^\text{14}\) An alm is an area of green pasture on a mountainside, where cattle are often kept during summer.
4.18.2 American guidebooks

The American guidebooks both refer to Heidi. The *Let’s Go* guide refers to the “beloved tale” of Heidi and mentions the Heidi village, Heidi house and Heidi path (*Let’s Go*, p. 419). It states that the Heidi path is a “. . . great hike even for those who have never read the book, guiding visitors through the ancient streets of Maienfeld and past spectacular views of the area’s vineyards and surrounding mountains” (*Let’s Go*, p. 419). The *Fodor’s* guide summarises the tale of Heidi as well and describes the Heidi country, Heidi village, Heidi path, Heidi hotel and the Heidi musical without using pejorative commentary.

4.18.3 German/Swiss guidebooks

All of the German/Swiss guidebooks make references to the famous tale of Heidi. The *Marco Polo* guide states that the Swiss girl became a trademark of the Swiss Alps, and the fact that the books have made it from the Swiss-German market to the American market is still seen as a “sensation” (*Marco Polo*, p. 19). The *Polyglott* guide mentions that almost every child knows the story of the Swiss girl and that tourists from all over the world come to the village of Maienfeld to re-live it, and to visit the Heidi village and house, or to watch the Heidi musical (*Polyglott*, p. 17). The *ADAC* guidebook reports that the village of Maienfeld and its surroundings “. . . do not live badly from the marketing strategies” and that especially Japanese tourists are “thrilled” to follow Heidi’s footsteps and visit the Heidi village and house or watch the Heidi musical (*ADAC*, p. 72). The *Baedeker* guide reports that the Heidi story has been translated into more than 50 languages and that several movies, an opera and a musical exist. It addresses the marketing strategy of the ‘real Heidi country’ with its “. . . extensive belittlement of the fictional character” and the use of the name ‘Heidi’ for all kind of advertising (Heidi house, Heidi alp, Heidi cosmetics, Heidi mineral water, Heidi musical) (*Baedeker*, p. 172). Japanese tourists especially are said to come to the ‘Heidi-land’ because of the famous Swiss girl, but since they leave after “. . . doing the Heidi tour, visiting the Heidi museum and buying a Heidi souvenir”, the guidebook claims that this is “commercially ineffective”, and that the tourism figures of the region are Swiss average only (*Baedeker*, p. 173). In addition, the guidebook reports that the inhabitants of the ‘Heidi region’ defend themselves against having their home, and Switzerland in general, reduced to a “. . . ridiculous, infantile cliché” (*Baedeker*, p. 173). The marketing concept – the guidebook reveals that according to the marketing developers the brand ‘Heidi’ stands for holidays in the beautiful mountains and good air (“it did not matter that this does not have anything to do with the fictional character or does not reveal anything about the region” (*Baedeker*, p. 173)) – is said to have failed and is today ‘shrugged off’, as the “. . . attack on cultural identity has
been responded to with growing self-confidence” (Baedeker, p. 173). Despite the whole ‘Heidi kitsch’, the novels are deemed readable by the guidebook. The Merian guide mentions that many Swiss wrongly pass up the ‘Heidi-land’ (referring to the regions of Sarganserland and Walensee) on their way to other holiday places in the canton of Graubünden. It points out that the invented ‘Heidi-land’ may be fake, but that the region can easily compete with more popular regions in terms of diversity and attractiveness (e.g., it features some of the best wines of Eastern Switzerland, luxury wellness resorts and beautiful hiking tracks (Merian, p. 292)).

4.18.4 Spanish guidebooks

The Guía total speaks about the worldwide success enjoyed by Johanna Spyri, the author of ‘Heidi’. It also points out the village Maienfeld, which became famous through Heidi, and features imaginary places of the novel which have been reconstructed for tourists (e.g., Heidi village, Heidi house, Heidi fountain). The Guía viva notes that the author got the inspiration for her novel in Maienfeld and refers to the Heidi house. Heidi or Maienfeld are not mentioned in the Guía azul.

4.18.5 French guidebooks

In the French guidebooks, the fictional character is regarded as an authentic symbol of Switzerland, with the scenic landscapes described in Johanna Spyri’s novel advertising an idyllic image of Heidi-land/Switzerland (“Rarely has a fictional character known in the whole world been associated so much with a country” (Michelin, p. 64)), and to some extent resulting in a ‘Heidi mania’ among tourists and tourism organisations (“... the publicity does not end”; tourism organisations encourage people to get to know the typical villages in the story (Petit Futé, p. 178)). The Petit Futé notes that Heidi is part of Swiss mythology and that milk products are named after Heidi and television series about Heidi exist in the Swiss-French part of Switzerland. The Routard guide mentions that the ‘Heidi mania’ has spread to Japan, where the Grison orphan has her fondest admirers (Routard, p. 387) and that in summer, large quantities of Japanese tourists arrive in Maienfeld to see where the author of the mythic Heidi lived (Routard, p. 426).

4.19 Cuckoo clocks

4.19.1 English guidebooks

The Lonely Planet refers to the cuckoo clock in an enumeration of Swiss stereotypes as well as in the section about souvenirs. The Rough Guide clarifies that the cuckoo clock is a
Bavarian invention. The *Berlitz Pocket Guide* also lists the cuckoo clock as a famous product that shopping in Switzerland brings to mind, and states that the cuckoo clock does really exist, in every size, in department stores and souvenir shops. The *DK Eyewitness* guide does not mention the cuckoo clock.

### 4.19.2 American guidebooks

Of the American guidebooks, only the *Fodor’s* guide refers to the cuckoo clock as a souvenir.

### 4.19.3 German/Swiss guidebooks

The cuckoo clock is listed among the ‘typical’ souvenirs of Switzerland in the *Marco Polo* guide. The *Merian* guide mentions wooden-carved cuckoo clocks as souvenirs. The rest of the German/Swiss guidebooks make no references to the cuckoo clock.

### 4.19.4 Spanish guidebooks

The cuckoo clock is described as representing an artistic facet of high precision engineering in the *Guía azul* (*Guía azul*, p. 57). The *Guía viva* reports that many people already know that the cuckoo clock is from Germany and not from Switzerland. The *Guía total* does not mention the cuckoo clock at all.

### 4.19.5 French guidebooks

In the French guidebooks, the cuckoo clock is only mentioned once in the *Petit Futé* guide, which refers to it as a famous souvenir.

### 4.20 Swiss culture

#### 4.20.1 English guidebooks

Switzerland’s famous carnivals, yodelling and cow fights are mentioned by all of the British guidebooks. The *Lonely Planet, Rough Guide* and *Berlitz Pocket Guide* refer to the Swiss Army Knife and the St Bernard dog. The *Lonely Planet, DK Eyewitness* and *Berlitz Pocket Guide* also name the Swiss alphorn. The *Rough Guide* and *DK Eyewitness* guide make references to Switzerland’s world-class museums and the leading role of Swiss architecture and arts respectively. The *Lonely Planet* remarks on Switzerland’s dynamic and innovative architecture and inspiring art. The *Berlitz Pocket Guide* reports that Switzerland is a country of contrasts and great natural and cultural resources (*Berlitz Pocket Guide*, p. 7) – a country where even small towns have much culture to offer (*Berlitz Pocket Guide*, p. 11).
4.20.2 American guidebooks

The Fodor’s and Let’s Go guides both refer to Switzerland’s cultural diversity (“Switzerland is a nation of dramatic cultural variety” (Let’s Go, p. 313). The guidebooks remark on Switzerland’s wide range of art, dance and musicals. The Let’s Go guide mentions that cities such as Zürich, Geneva and Lucerne are “international hubs of commerce, trade and diplomacy” as well as “cultural centers home to world-class concert halls, museums, and cathedrals” (Let’s Go, p. 313), and “. . . showcase many of Europe’s most prized artistic, musical, and architectural treasures” (Let’s Go, p. 1). Modern Switzerland is said to have a “lively arts scene” (Let’s Go, p. 321); “is home to impressive examples of various European styles” (Let’s Go, p. 321); and “has been the Promised Land for intellectuals, artists, and soon-to-be-famous personalities” (Let’s Go, p. 323). The “impressive collection of masterpieces in its museums” is referred to (Let’s Go, p. 2); so too are the numerous Swiss music festivals and other events (e.g. sheep herding festivals), “the crumbling castles, elaborate palaces, and medieval inner cities” which “will transport you back in time” (Let’s Go, p. 3), and the domestic film industry and some Swiss movies, which “have garnered recognition at various international film festivals” (Let’s Go, p. 324). Furthermore, in both American guidebooks, references are made to: the famous Swiss carnivals, alphorns, yodelling, St Bernard dogs, Bircher müesli and the excellent medical care in Switzerland. The Fodor’s guide mentions Swiss Army Knives and the familiar sound of cowbells (“This is a sound many travelers often later hear in their dreams, one that many wish could be ‘photographed’” (Fodor’s, p. 21)). The Let’s Go guide addresses cow fights, and notes that Switzerland is a “relatively conservative country” (Let’s Go, p. 49).

4.20.3 German/Swiss guidebooks

The German/Swiss guidebooks all refer to Swiss carnivals (“Carnival is excessively celebrated” (Merian, p. 153)). The Polyglott, ADAC, Baedeker and Merian guides address the high density of museums in Switzerland (“extraordinary rich/comprehensive” Swiss museum landscapes (ADAC, p. 11); “Switzerland is a Mecca for art and lifestyle lovers” (Baedeker, p. 16)); with one of the highest densities of museums (980 facilities) on the planet “the Swiss can rightly be proud of their museum landscapes which increased in number and quality over the past few years” (Merian, p. 26)). The Merian guide notes that – although Switzerland does not have a central cultural facility like the ‘Louvre’ – every region and city provides its own differentiated offer in terms of museums, galleries or cultural centres (Merian, p. 27). In addition, the Merian guide states that “the Swiss art scene is flourishing due to an efficient, public aid system” and that Swiss architecture and design gained importance as well
(Following the impact of Le Corbusier, the country stands for “innovative architecture and cool design”.) (Merian, p. 27)). It also mentions that “the Swiss do not only appreciate the arts and craft in Switzerland, but also like to be creative themselves” (Merian, p. 124). The Baedeker, Polyglott, Marco Polo and ADAC guides include sections on Swiss art/architecture as well (e.g., a diverse folk culture in peasant architecture and tradition (Baedeker, p. 67)).

The Merian and Baedeker guides make references to Swiss concerts and festivals (“the Swiss are world champions in folk festivals”; open air festivals are a ‘crowd puller’; “Switzerland is rightly described as a festival pavilion” (Merian, p. 153-155); “Switzerland is rich in festivals” (Baedeker, p. 98)) and the Baedeker guide reports on theatres of international reputation. The Marco Polo, ADAC, Baedeker and Merian guides address the popular Swiss Army Knives (“it is one of the best and most convenient companions in life” (Marco Polo, p. 29); “innovative” and “all-round” (ADAC, pp. 9/132)). The Baedeker and Marco Polo guides refer to Swiss cow fights. The Baedeker and Merian guides mention yodelling – one of the “vital traditions” (Baedeker, p. 69) of Switzerland. The Baedeker guide also remarks on alphorns. The Marco Polo guide makes references to: St Bernard dogs; Helvetia, the female ‘allegoric’ figurehead of Switzerland (Marco Polo, p. 19); Swiss muesli; cowbells (“belong to Switzerland like cheese”; “some people find them irritating but – by highest judicial authority – Switzerland decided that they are not harmful to health” (Marco Polo, p. 19). The Merian guide reports that Switzerland is a ‘country of tunnels’ (“Switzerland is like an Emmentaler cheese: holey and tunnelled by galleries and channels” (Merian, p. 131)).

4.20.4 Spanish guidebooks

The Spanish guidebooks highlight the high concentration of museums in the Swiss state, speak about Swiss art in general and refer to Swiss carnivals. The Guía azul and Guía viva make reference to Swiss Army Knives. The Guía total and Guía viva describe Swiss architecture. The Guía viva gives information about the famous St. Bernard dog. It also states that the Swiss are used to receiving money in big quantities and kindly accept 100 or 200 francs bills for a bar of chocolate or a postcard (Guía viva, p. 16). Moreover, the guidebook reports that the Swiss can be seen wearing neat clothes and brand clothes even in winter (Guía viva, p. 18). The Guía viva reports that the excuse that there was traffic congestion is useless in Switzerland, since there are no traffic congestions due to people using their bikes or public transport more frequently than their cars (Guía viva, p. 50). The Guía total refers to the Swiss as great enthusiasts of music, who celebrate concerts and performances of high standard and international reputation (Guía total, p. 391).
4.20.5 French guidebooks

All French guidebooks make references to Switzerland’s cultural heritage (e.g., Switzerland has nine World Heritage Sites), the high density of museums, the famous Swiss Army Knife, alphorns, the Swiss carnival (“During carnival first-time visitors will not find the shy and conservative Swiss people they had been told about” (Michelin, p. 81)) and to remarkable festivals (impressive number of music festivals for every taste (Petit Futé)). The Michelin guide refers to the legend of the Swiss counterfeiter Farinet and the Routard guide to the famous St Bernard dogs. The Michelin and Petit Futé guide make references to yodelling, cow fights and Swiss architectural excellence. In addition, those two guidebooks mention that each Swiss citizen is first a citizen of his/her canton and only then a Swiss citizen in general.

4.21 Swiss characteristics

4.21.1 English guidebooks

In terms of virtues and values, all four English guidebooks make references to Swiss efficiency and cleanliness. Moreover, the Lonely Planet, Rough Guide and Berlitz Pocket Guide describe the Swiss as orderly. The Rough Guide and DK Eyewitness guide credit the Swiss with a law-abiding character. The Lonely Planet and DK Eyewitness guide name precision as a Swiss virtue. In addition, the Lonely Planet characterises the Swiss as organised, hard working, obedient and overly cautious. The DK Eyewitness guide regards the Swiss as helpful, polite and welcoming. The Berlitz Pocket Guide sees the Swiss as modest people, who follow traffic laws more than people from adjacent countries. It also makes reference to the quality of Swiss workmanship. Low crime rates are mentioned by all of the British guidebooks.15

In the Lonely Planet, Switzerland is distinguished as a forward-thinking, idiosyncratic, insular, parochial, patriotic (“The Swiss flag is everywhere” (Lonely Planet, p. 256)) and unique land (e.g., due to its democracy and ‘armed’ neutrality (Lonely Planet, p. 16)). In addition, it is noted that “The Swiss can party in the most unexpectedly madcap of manners. Every day is a festival” (Lonely Planet, p. 12). Furthermore, the Swiss are regarded as a “rare and refined breed” and as “eco-angels” (Lonely Planet, p. 16). The guidebook also points out that the Swiss are: “... too well-behaved people most mothers would adore as sons-in-law: no Swiss pedestrian dares cross the road unless the light is green” (Lonely Planet, p. 34).

15 This suggests that the crime rates in the UK differ from Switzerland, and probably are significantly higher.
As the *Lonely Planet* puts it:

*Cultural diversity is this country’s overwhelming trait, eloquently expressed in four languages and attitudes: German-, French- and Italian-speaking Swiss all, at one point or other, display similar characteristics to Germans, French and Italians respectively, creating an instant line-up of reassuringly varied, diverse and oftentimes surprising psyches. Then, of course, there are the handful in Graubünden who speak Romansch, with its many dialects practically no one outside the valley concerned understands. Never say the Swiss are cookie-cutter dull. Quite the contrary: the Swiss consider themselves different and they are. From centuries-old Alpine traditions, positively wild in nature, such as wrestling and stone throwing, to new millennium Zooglers who shimmy into work each morning down a fire pole, to Geneva’s jewellers who make watches from moon dust or fashionable 30-somethings who strut savvy in recycled truck tarps and Cambodian fish sacks, the Swiss know how to innovate. Not just that: they have the determination to compliment their creativity, keenly demonstrated both by their restless quest to test their limits in the sports arena and the extraordinarily tough, independent spirit with which Swiss farmers resolutely work the land to mete out a sustainable lifestyle* (*Lonely Planet*, p. 34).

Quoting the UK Guardian newspaper, the *Lonely Planet* states that the Swiss are most likely the most fortunate people on earth, because they are healthy, wealthy and wise and, therefore, “enjoy a life most of us can only dream about” (*Lonely Planet*, p. 34). In addition, the Swiss are described as people who want to extract the most from life through ‘sportiness’, attention to diet and concern for the environment (*Lonely Planet*, p. 34). The Swiss are said to be cautious with money and conservative with their currency (*Lonely Planet*, p. 35), to excel in graphic design (*Lonely Planet*, p. 41) and to have more registered patents and Nobel Prize winners per capita than any other country (*Lonely Planet*, p. 41).

The *Rough Guide* characterises Switzerland as one of the least understood nations, which offers more than many visitors assume, and corrects some false beliefs about the country by stating that there was no brotherly love until 1848; the cuckoo clock actually is a Bavarian invention; and the Swiss do excel in the arts and sciences. In addition, the Rough Guide notes that: “These days the Swiss are content to abide by a quaint stereotype of Switzerland that is easily packaged and sold – the familiar Alpine idyll of cheese and chocolate, Heidi and the Matterhorn – while keeping the best bits for themselves” (*Rough Guide*, p. 6). The guidebook states that the community spirit in Switzerland is possibly stronger than anywhere else in Europe and that “the Swiss are fond of saying, the country has survived simply through the will of its people to resolve their differences” (*Rough Guide*, p. 7). It is also noticed that while the Swiss appreciate their shared ‘Swissness’, they also value their own identity and differences from their neighbours, which sometimes lead to tensions (e.g., concerning the different spoken languages, religions, urban and rural areas) (*Rough Guide*, p. 7). Swiss events such as carnivals with parades, street dancing and partying are said to “. . . belie the
stereotype of a placid, unadventurous Switzerland” (Rough Guide, p. 8) and, contrary to the “dour national stereotypes” (Rough Guide, p. 66), lots of festivals are held in the country. According to the Rough Guide, the Swiss are said to watch much less TV than the European average (Rough Guide, p. 63) and have a reputation for calmness and domesticity (Rough Guide, p. 64). Key Swiss attributes are seen in decentralisation, consultation and cooperation (Rough Guide, p. 563).

The DK Eyewitness guide states that “Switzerland has a distinct character and dynamism” and that the Swiss are a people who are “ . . . respected for their industry and technical ingenuity as well as their social responsibility and direct democratic system of government” (DK Eyewitness, p. 17). Moreover, the following characteristics are linked with the Swiss: a robust spirit of independence and enterprise; zealous work ethic; strong sense of unified nationhood; valuing stability over change; keeness to maintain cultural continuity and links with the past as well as the attributes “forward-looking” and “innovative” but also “traditional” and “conservative” (DK Eyewitness, p. 17). The DK Eyewitness guide points out that: “The Swiss are people who revel in their own stereotypes, celebrating their diversity while enjoying an unrivalled reputation for making a business out of welcoming strangers with one of the world’s best tourist infrastructures” (DK Eyewitness, p. 17). Apart from Swiss hospitality, references are also made to Switzerland as: a highly cultured country; excellence in the sciences; and as composed of conscientiously law-abiding citizen who expects the same behaviour of foreign visitors (DK Eyewitness, p. 296). It is noted that crossing the road on a red pedestrian light might result in police caution or a fine (DK Eyewitness, p. 296). The DK Eyewitness guide also remarks that Switzerland has a deserved reputation for safety, but that visitors should be careful nevertheless, since “caution and common sense are the best defences, together with an awareness that the greatest danger may be from other visitors rather than the Swiss themselves” (DK Eyewitness, p. 296).

As “ . . . past and future coexist, confronting and complementing each other . . .” many Swiss are said to regard the present as less perfect than a few years ago (Berlitz Pocket Guide, p. 7). Furthermore, the Swiss are defined as people who “ . . . do not like to hear praise, either of their country’s riches or of its position” (Berlitz Pocket Guide, p. 10). The guidebook notes: 

Of course, Swiss trains are more punctual than most; of course, the pavements are cleaner and traffic laws more respected than in some neighbouring countries. But if the concern for order and detail still characterises Swiss life to an extent that may at times seem pedantic, there are also bursts of whimsy and exuberance, especially in cultural and artistic life. Also, because of the significant number of foreigners in the country – political refugees, immigrant workers or stars escaping the tax laws of their
4.21.2 American guidebooks

In terms of Swiss values, the Let's Go guidebook points out that: “Though heterogeneous in culture, the Swiss are rather homogenous in character, generally described as gracious, proper, and hard-working” (Let's Go, p. 318). References are made to Swiss hospitality (Let's Go, p. 5); the “smart banking of the savvy Swiss” (Let's Go, p. 2); civility as a “deeply ingrained cultural standard” (Let's Go, p. 48); and Switzerland is described as a comfortable, calm and “. . . delightful country in which to travel” (Let's Go, p. 313) as well as a “. . . proud little country, fiercely guarding its independence” (Let's Go, p. 317). Both American guidebooks remark on the country’s low crime rates (although “thieves are happy to relieve ignorant tourists of their money” (Let’s Go, p. 18). In the Fodor’s guide, the Swiss are also described as proud, hospitable (high standards of Swiss hospitality (Fodor’s, p. 535)) and independent (culturally and politically) as well as “. . . sober, self-contained . . . disdainful of the shabby and the slipshod, painfully neat (and) rigorously prompt . . . ” (Fodor’s, p. 14).

Elaborating on these characteristics, the Fodor’s guide states:

It means your trains get you to your fire-lit lodge on time. It means the cable car that sweeps you to a mountaintop has been subjected to grueling inspections. It means the handwoven curtains are boiled and starched, and the high-thread-count bed linens are turned back with a chocolate at night. It means the scarlet geraniums that cascade from window boxes on every carved balcony are tended like prize orchids. It means the pipe smoke that builds up in the Stübli (pub) at night is aired out daily, as sparkling clean double-glazed windows are thrown open on every floor, every morning, to let sharp, cool mountain air course through hallways, bedrooms, and fresh-bleached baths. Yet there is a stinginess that peeks around the apron of that rosy-cheeked efficiency. Liquor here is measured with scientific precision into glasses marked for one centiliter or two, and the local wines come in carafes reminiscent of laboratory beakers. . . . And if you wash out your socks and hang them loosely on the shower rod in the morning, you may return at night and find them straightened, spaced, toes pointing the same direction, as orderly as little lead soldiers. Nevertheless there is an earthiness about these people, as at ease with the soil as they are appalled by dirt (Fodor’s, pp. 14/15).

In the Fodor’s guide, references are also made to Swiss “Alpine homesyness” (Fodor’s, p. 14) versus “high-tech urban efficiency” (Fodor’s, p. 14); Switzerland as the “land of peace” (Fodor’s, p. 23) and Swiss diversity (Fodor’s, p. 15). In another statement, the Swiss are characterised as:

. . . precise and persevering. You can see this when a factory worker neatly drops into place a minute hand the size of an eyelash; or in the gradations of firewood stacked from finest kindling to fattest logs with the geometric complexity of inlay at a country
The guidebook mentions that the country’s “. . . reputation for impeccable standards of cleanliness” (*Fodor’s*, p. 543) is well deserved.

With regard to the equality of the sexes, the *Fodor’s* guide points out that:

> Granted, in most cities and large towns the issue is disappearing, but there is (sic) still a surprising number of companies where the corporate culture feels like an episode of *Mad Men*. There are plenty of villages where an unmarried woman is considered an unnecessary waste. And mothers sending their children to (extremely hard to find) daycare are treated as if they were letting them be brought up by wolves. Welcome to the 19th century? (*Fodor’s*, p. 25).

The *Let’s Go* guide addresses its readers directly: “. . . be punctual and mind your manners. Remember to say hello and goodbye to shopkeepers and proprietors of bars and cafes, and always shake hands when being introduced” (*Let’s Go*, p. 320). Further, “though not uniform across the entire country, it is customary to greet friends, or even acquaintances with a kiss on the cheek” (*Let’s Go*, p. 320). The correct ‘eating etiquettes’ are explained.

The *Let’s Go* guide mentions that “the awareness of terrorist threats has heightened across Europe”, and that – despite Switzerland being a relatively safe country – “it is important to remain alert to potential dangers, particularly in major cities and tourist destinations” (*Let’s Go*, p. 17). Readers are advised to follow the news, comply with security measures and pay attention to travel warnings (*Let’s Go*, p. 17).

The *Fodor’s* guide states:

> Americans accustomed to spacious motels with two double beds, a colour TV, and a bath-shower combination may be disappointed in their first venture into the legendary Swiss hotels: spaces are small, bathtubs cost extra, and single rooms may have single beds. What you’re paying for is service, reliability, cleanliness, and a complex hierarchy of amenities you may not even know you need (*Fodor’s*, p. 535).

*Fodor’s* readers are reminded to be polite and ask first before starting to speak English, since “that small bit of consideration will get you a lot farther, especially with natives suffering from tourist overload” (*Fodor’s*, p. 13). American tourists are also advised that: “In

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16 The reference to the American TV show *Mad Men* – which is set in the 60s – could assume something about the cultural tastes of those people who read the *Fodor’s* guide, or those who write it.

17 This demonstrates a different cultural viewpoint in terms of space and dimensions. Whereas many Swiss hotel rooms are described as ‘spacious’ in various guidebooks, the *Fodor’s* guide regards them as ‘small’.
Switzerland it is polite to say hello and goodbye . . . to everyone you speak to, from police officers to cashiers,” (Fodor’s, p. 536) and that:

One of the best ways to avoid being an Ugly American\(^{18}\) is to learn a little of the local language. You need not strive for fluency; even just mastering a few basic words and terms is bound to make chatting with the locals more rewarding (Fodor’s, p. 536).\(^{19}\)

With respect to dress codes in Luzern, the Fodor’s guide alludes to the American way of clothing:

Although residents appreciate the value of comfortable clothes, this is definitely not the place to let it all hang out: huge droopy T-shirts, ill-fitting Bermuda shorts, and baseball caps will get you looks of distain, seated only in McDonald’s, and denied entrance to most churches and museums. Of course we don’t mean you in particular, it’s those other guys…” (Fodor’s, p. 192).\(^{20}\)

The Fodor’s guide remarks on how the readers should behave in the Swiss National Park:

This is no African big-game preserve. Sighting a group of ibex on a distant hill or great herds of red deer, their antlers silhouetted above a snowy ridge, you may feel more privileged than, when petting a dozen Yellowstone bison. If the big game makes no appearance, search your greedy soul and try to follow the park’s advice: “Appreciate a butterfly or an ant as much as a herd of chamois” (Fodor’s, p. 140).\(^{21}\)

Moreover, Americans are advised to bring their own washcloths, since they are rarely found in Swiss hotels (Fodor’s, p. 13). The lack of air-conditioning in Swiss hotels is also addressed:

. . . air-conditioning is not as prevalent as in the US (…). If this poses a major problem for you, spend the extra money to book a hotel that offers air-conditioning (and, ipso facto, also be sure it will be functioning during the time you will be at the hotel) (Fodor’s, p. 535).

Due to “overloaded freeways” (Fodor’s, p. 13), “mad locals in the throes of road rage” (Fodor’s, p. 13), “tailgating” and “speeding” (Fodor’s, p. 531), “poverty-inducing parking fees” (Fodor’s, p. 13) and “city centers a maze of one-way or pedestrian-only streets” (Fodor’s, p. 13), driving in Switzerland is regarded as a real source of irritation by the American guidebook. The Fodor’s guide points out that:

If Swiss drivers have a reputation throughout Europe for being unnecessarily impolite in their lead-footedness, Zürich must be where they’re all hatched and trained. With a good number of streets in town marked “one-way” or “pedestrian-only” or with a

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\(^{18}\) This too is a self-reflecting national stereotype.

\(^{19}\) These recommendations all suggest that Americans can be brash and insensitive.

\(^{20}\) This self-critical comment is quite telling in terms of stereotypes of Americans as ‘laid-back’ and ‘loud’ in their styles of clothing.

\(^{21}\) The comment suggests that Americans can be ‘greedy’ at times, and attuned to looking for the visually ‘spectacular’ rather than the subtle.
speed limit of only 30 kph (18 mph), many drivers take out their frustrations on their fellow man. Pedestrian crossings seem to be a great place to line up a target, and God forbid you should hesitate a nanosecond after the light has turned green before flooring it – the red-faced guy behind you in the Alfa will immediately inspire you to move along. The rate of road rage is unnervingly high in Zürich, although it’s still not L.A. Most favor going after the object of their ire with their bare fists or a knife instead of a gun. Reassuring, isn’t it? (Fodor’s, p. 33).

4.21.3 German/Swiss guidebooks

All German/Swiss guidebooks report on Switzerland’s diversity (“. . . as multi-facetted as barely any other country in Europe” (Polyglott, p. 8)). The Merian quotes the Swiss writer Adolf Muschg, “Switzerland is not a nation and does not need to become one; it is so much less and more than that: a civil alliance of different people, formed to protect their diversity within the human rights and human dignity” (Merian, p. 28).

The ADAC guidebook states that Switzerland is diverse and yet its citizens are alike in terms of “awareness of tradition” and “love of order and structure” (ADAC, pp. 7/8)). The Merian also refers to Switzerland’s order and mentions that the Swiss’ “. . . love of order and punctuality is proverbial”, resulting in a country “. . . so orderly that visitors from all over the world have no difficulties to find their way” (Merian, p. 353). Apart from the ADAC guide’s reference to Switzerland’s awareness of tradition, the Polyglott and Baedeker guides also refer to traditions. The Polyglott guide reports that traditions have an enormous significance for Swiss people and are “maintained with love”, not for the visitors but the Swiss themselves (Polyglott, p. 28). The Baedeker guide notes that maintaining Swiss traditions despite the current media era is regarded as an “. . . expression of the very own, lively culture of the country” (Baedeker, p. 69). Since certain traditions (e.g., carnivals) also attract tourists, it is noticed that the boundaries between real and ‘staged’ shows can be blurred.

The Marco Polo, Baedeker and Merian guides refer to Switzerland as a ‘nation of will’ (people of different origin, culture, religion and languages became one country (Marco Polo); the Swiss decided to form a nation across cultural, religious and language divides by their free will (Baedeker); a nation of will like England or the USA, which formed their identity through ‘political will’ unlike the ‘cultural nation’ of Germany, which was formed by its “destiny of ethnical and linguistic similarities” (Merian, p. 24)). The three guidebooks also all mention Swiss pride (the Swiss show civic pride in terms of their “genuine/dapper” cities; the national flag is said to be of great importance and can be seen in many gardens and on many souvenirs (Baedeker, p. 32); with reference to Bertolt Brecht, the Merian guide notes that the German writer already mentioned that “. . . the Swiss national pride is as high as the Swiss
mountains” (Merian, p. 22); Switzerland is characterised as a country with ‘laid-back patriotism’; “National icons on consumer products are more popular than ever”; “Swiss crosses as signs of origin show superior quality of Swiss-made products” (Merian, p. 23); the Swiss are said to be proud of their diversity (Marco Polo, p. 8)). The ADAC, Baedeker and Merian guides credit the Swiss with hospitality (“neat/ well-groomed hospitality” (Baedeker, p. 15).

The Marco Polo and Merian guides note that the Swiss do have a sense of humour (“this became clear already after the first performances of comedian Emil Steinberger in the 1970s” (Merian, p. 88)), which might be bizarre or not obvious at times (Marco Polo, p. 144), and that the country has a long comedic tradition. The Baedeker and Merian guides both mention that the Swiss are attached to their home (e.g., in terms of dairy farmers/transhumance (Merian)).

The Marco Polo guide describes the Swiss appreciation of technology and precision. The readers are advised to strictly follow traffic rules, even if the Swiss themselves drive faster than is allowed (Marco Polo, p. 144). The guidebook also states that Switzerland is more careful than other European countries to check that “people who come to the country are only tourists” (Marco Polo, p. 110). With reference to Mark Twain’s famous comment on Switzerland, the Marco Polo guide notes that Switzerland is more than “simply a large, lumpy, solid rock with a thin skin of grass stretched over it” (Marco Polo, p. 11).

The Polyglott guide states that Switzerland has managed to balance four different language regions with their “own cultural idiosyncrasies” without severe conflicts for centuries (Polyglott, p. 27). In terms of stereotypes, the Baedeker guide reports that on the one hand, Switzerland does not have an ‘easy life’ due to the clichés that surround the country (Matterhorn, classy clocks, banking secrecy, yodelling dairy farmers, chocolate, cheese, high-tech industry), but on the other hand, “. . . lives quite well from and with those clichés” (Baedeker, p. 14). The guidebook characterises the Swiss in pairs of opposites such as: “multilingual liberality and cosmopolitanism versus canton spirit and narrow-mindedness, semi-direct democracy versus blatant plutocracy, neutrality versus mentality of an Alpine fortress” (Baedeker, p. 14). Furthermore, it states that if one wants to understand Switzerland,

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22 Swiss humour can probably be regarded to be similar to German humour. The reason the Swiss writers remark on humour at all could be that Germans/Swiss are not known for being very humorous and hence the writers want to make clear that this perception is wrong.

23 Transhumance is the leading of livestock to higher pastures in summer and to lower valleys in winter.
one has to pay attention to the differences between language areas, country and city cantons, liberal and conservative areas, Protestant and Catholic cantons as well as rich and poor regions (Baedeker, p. 29). The Merian guide points out that:

In the past, the Swiss compared their country to a hedgehog: prickly and secluded. It was supposed to defy the rest of the world. Today despite all traditional down-to-earthiness the cosmopolitan ‘Swissness’ dominates. A brilliant neologism, which credited the Swiss with the one thing that was still missing in their country: glamour (Merian, p. 21).

For some Swiss, the mountains are said to be a “... spiritual fortress and epitome of the nation” (Merian, p. 23). The Merian characterises the Swiss as “exemplary” (e.g., in terms of the high quality of life in Zürich), “heaven-storming” (e.g., in terms of climbing the famous Eiger Nordwand) and “single-minded” (e.g., in terms of building railway overcrossings) (Merian, p. 10-17). Furthermore, the Merian guide states that the Swiss “modestly” credit themselves with: fairness, cleanliness, reliability, punctuality, steadiness, discretion, cultural diversity and naturalness (Merian, p.24). It reports that the “small, neutral Switzerland seems to be predestined to embody these characteristics; these conservative values which everyone likes to have” (Merian, p. 24). The Merian guide observes Nietzsche’s comment that all German characteristics are more plentiful in Switzerland, since they seem to be more protected, and notes that Switzerland became a second Germany not only for the famous philosopher (Merian, p. 25). Furthermore, the guidebook points out that: Switzerland is a country that has seen the fright which it avoided; a nation shaped by the catastrophe which it escaped. That is why the Swiss have built the country like a fortress: its mountains have galleries like Swiss cheese has holes; gold treasures are buried in safes in Zürich; the Swiss language is bug-proof due to its incomprehensibility and its people are barricaded behind walls of difference to defend themselves (Merian, p. 24).

The Merian guide remarks that Switzerland still distinguishes itself from the rest of Europe, since the country appears as an “authentic, distinctive place” and maintains its “principle of place” in an increasingly virtual world due to its “unique topography” (Merian, p. 26). The guidebook mentions the “wagging tongues claim” that Switzerland, which at its most stretches 220 km from North to South, “... only introduced the speed limit so that visitors do not accidentally rush past all the attractions of the country” (Merian, p. 23). The British are said to have made Switzerland their favourite holiday destination in the 19th century and are remembered as “bold summiteers” by the locals (Merian, p. 25). According to the guidebook, after this period, visitor numbers increased and Swiss hoteliers have been innovative and willing to take risks ever since. The Merian guide notes that Switzerland is a secure tourist
destination with decreasing crime rates (‘. . . but one should still be careful in the cities’ (Merian, p. 359)).

4.21.4 Spanish guidebooks

With respect to virtues and values, all of the Spanish guidebooks refer to Swiss order, precision, punctuality and cleanliness. However, the Guía azul notes that talk of Swiss cleanliness is exaggerated (e.g., the assumption that nobody dares to throw a cigarette butt on the ground) and not completely true regarding the big cities. The guidebook also credits the Swiss with self-discipline, efficiency and professionalism (e.g., in the hotel sector). Furthermore, the Guía azul reports that the case of Switzerland shows that unity and uniformity are two completely different concepts (Guía azul, p. 34). The Guía viva portrays Switzerland as a correct and civilised country (e.g., almost no Swiss blow the horns of their cars and in no case do they blame other drivers (Guía viva, p. 29)), with good habits being deeply entrenched in its inhabitants. For instance, the Swiss do not need to think about greeting, thanking or giving way to someone, because they acquired these habits as naturally as if they had been passed on genetically (Guía viva, p. 48). Moreover, the guidebook states that the Swiss follow and fulfil their duties, respect norms, are polite and concerned about their environment and public places (e.g., parks, lakes, urban areas), since they belong to them and cost them money (Guía viva, p. 50). The Guía viva mentions that the Swiss are silent and awestruck when surrounded by other people (Guía viva, p. 50). Moreover, they are characterised as obedient to some extent, since suspects can be held in prison without charges and do not complain (Guía viva, p. 50). The Guía azul and Guía viva make reference to the low crime rate in Switzerland (“One barely sees police actions in the streets, but if there is an arrest, police are at every corner” (Guía viva, pp. 42/43).

4.21.5 French guidebooks

In terms of portraying Swiss values and virtues, the Routard and Petit Futé guidebooks credit the Swiss with punctuality, precision, discipline and cleanliness.

Switzerland – a country ‘in proper order’? Although some pretend that this is not correct anymore, we tend to assume the opposite. Visitors are always impressed by the discipline (and the cars which stop to let pedestrians cross the crosswalk) and the sense of Swiss cleanliness (watch pedestrians who keep a paper in their hands for a few seconds to find a rubbish bin . . . a cigarette butt is not squeezed out on the ground) . . . the French could take a leaf out of the Swiss’ book. Manufacturers of the best watches in the world, the Swiss are also your contact persons for strict punctuality. One doesn’t arrive late to a professional meeting and wearing appropriate clothes is still a sign of respect. People/Strangers call themselves by their family name and familiarity in this case is never appropriate (Routard, pp. 69/70).
The *Petit Futé* guide also mentions that the Swiss get up early (“The Swiss rhythm of life seems strictly organised. The streets fill up at 6 or 7 am and it is not rare to see employees start work at 7.30 am, but in turn they already leave at 4 or 5 pm” (*Petit Futé*, p. 42)) and that Switzerland is a synonym for security/safety. Regarding the previous listed Swiss attributes, the *Michelin* guide only refers to Swiss punctuality (“If you are invited to a Swiss home, arrive on time. Swiss punctuality is not just a legend” (*Michelin*, p. 27)).

The *Petit Futé* remarks that it is widely known that each canton in Switzerland has its own identity and that moving from one canton to another can be as difficult as moving to another country, in terms of administrative matters (*Petit Futé*, p. 43). The guidebook notes that a number of prejudices between the different cantons exist, and lists the most popular and cruel ones. According to the guide, people from the canton of Aargau drive so poorly that their number plates with the letters AG are said to translate to “Achtung Gefahr” which means “Attention danger”; people from Appenzell are said to be as short as their garden gnomes; people from Berne are regarded as slow, but the Bernese say that this is only so the people from the canton of Vaudt can follow them; inhabitants of the canton of Fribourg are compared to people from the Middle Ages – smelly, dirty and conservative; people from Geneva are said to be arrogant; people from Obwalden and Nidwalden are retarded; people from Thurgau are known to be kleptomaniacs; people from the canton of Ticino – like the Italians – have never heard about road codes, etc. (*Petit Futé*, p. 43).

### 4.22 Swiss Official Tourism Web page

Guidebooks are usually regarded as authentic and credible information sources (Bhattacharyya, 1997); (Carter, 1998); (Quinlan, 2005). The selected guidebooks for this content analysis have not been issued by (presumably self-serving) Swiss tourism organisations to promote Switzerland but by (mostly foreign) journalists, writers and editors, who aim to facilitate and enhance the travels and travel experiences of their audiences without necessarily presenting a travel destination in its best light. (Although people would probably not buy a travel book if it was representing a destination in a purely negative way.) To see how an official Swiss tourism agency promotes the country, the information on the Swiss Official Tourism Web page is assessed and compared to the guidebook content analysis.

The Swiss Official Tourism Web page remarks that the country is best known for its financial institutions, fine cheese and chocolate (“chocolate heaven”), watchmaking industry (Swiss watches are said to be cheaper than in other countries), beautiful scenery and an excellent
network of public transportation (comfortable, safe, timely and reliable Swiss trains; numerous cable cars (“technical miracles”); boat cruises and “spectacular” bus routes). Swiss wine-making is regarded to be “state-of-the-art”. Switzerland’s diversity and rich and varied cultural life (about 700 museums) are addressed as well. In terms of sports, hikers and mountain climbers are said to find their ideal holiday destinations in the Swiss Alps.

Concerning Swiss nightlife, the web page states that there are nightclubs, discos, theatres or cinemas in most of the cities, towns and holiday resorts. The numerous events, casinos, bars and restaurants with entertainment shows are referred to as well. The web page notes that Switzerland is a secure country and has one of the lowest crime rates of all industrialised countries. It also lists the commercial opening hours and mentions that English is spoken in most shops.

With respect to Swiss gastronomy, the web page reports that the country’s local cuisine is very diverse and that some Swiss chefs have gained international reputations: “You just can't go wrong eating out in Switzerland. There's a match for every taste and budget. . . . Restaurants where food and service are always superb. Some are world famous, others local stars” (My Switzerland – Gastronomy, 2010). In addition, the web page reports that Switzerland’s four different regions each merge “time-honoured local food traditions and the best of modern culinary art” (My Switzerland – Food and Wine, 2010).

In terms of Swiss mentality, the web page points out that the Swiss are friendly and hospitable, “ . . . though somewhat reserved at times” (My Switzerland – History, mentality and customs, 2010). Furthermore, the web page notes the “independent spirit”, “respect for tradition” and “love for partying” of the Swiss (which is not yet widely known) (My Switzerland – History, mentality and customs, 2010).

With respect to Swiss values, the web page credits the Swiss with reliability, punctuality, political and economic stability as well as having a great interest in research and new technologies (My Switzerland – A land with values, 2010). Switzerland’s world-renowned research institutions and sustainability efforts are addressed as well.

Concerning Swiss quality and sumptuousness, the web page mentions that Switzerland offers great value, is not as expensive as people assume, and “well worth what you pay” (My
Switzerland – Quality, 2010). In addition, the web page notes that the excellent quality of the country comes at an “unbeatable price” (My Switzerland – Quality, 2010).

In terms of tradition and culture, the web page points out that they are as diverse and rich (e.g., historical old town, castles, churches, convents) as the Swiss countryside, and are the crucial factors in shaping the “charm of Swiss culture”. The Alpine state is said to provide an impressive mixture of traditional and contemporary components and “… manages to keep a happy balance between preserving its cultural heritage and allowing new impulses to bring about change” (My Switzerland – Traditions and Culture, 2010).

With regard to the popular customs and festivals in Switzerland, the web page notes that All too often we form an impression of a country by that which meets the eye. This impression may well be a pleasant one, but it contains no notion of the people, their mannerisms, beliefs, history, customs, and roots which lie behind the scenes we witness. Without these aspects neither the landscape nor the inhabitants would be what they are (My Switzerland – Popular customs and festivals, 2010).

Many festivals and traditions are listed such as carnival, transhumance, cow fights, alphorns, yodelling, etc. Swiss Army Knives are mentioned as well.

In terms of Swiss accommodation, all options, ranging from luxury hotels to traditional hotels to backpackers and ‘unusual’ accommodation, are listed or referred to on the web page.

Heidi and Wilhelm Tell are mentioned in the introductions to the specific regions (the legend of Tell is narrated, information to follow Heidi’s footsteps are provided, and Johanna Spyri is mentioned).

In this chapter, the results of the content analysis and the comparison of guidebooks with the official Swiss Tourism web page were reported. The images and stereotypes of Switzerland in the guidebooks were categorised into themes according to guidebooks’ countries of origin. In Chapter 5 these themes of the different guidebook language groups will be directly compared with each other and, where applicable, references to the three identified target groups will be made. Furthermore, the ‘observer’ stereotypes (auto-stereotypes about the nations of guidebook writers) will be identified and discussed. In addition, the discrepancies between the guidebooks and the conclusions drawn from the comparison of the guidebooks with the Swiss Tourism web page, will be presented.
Chapter 5
Guidebook similarities and differences

The main purpose of this research was to identify the stereotypical images in guidebooks on Switzerland and to assess their similarity in order to find out if Switzerland is perceived differently in different language guidebooks. The present chapter summarises and compares the findings of the content analysis of the 17 guidebooks. Based on these results it draws conclusions about cultural differences between the linguistic/national groups of guidebooks. It also discusses the contradictions and discrepancies between the guidebooks as well as the similarities of the guidebooks and the Swiss tourism web page. This study of guidebooks and comparison of guidebooks with the My Switzerland web page is of theoretical significance because it shows the – with respect to guidebooks – simplistic and insufficient character of existing theories about stereotypes as well as a less ‘biased’ writing style of guidebook texts compared to more promotional tourism texts. These findings will be elaborated upon in Chapters 6 and 7 respectively.

5.1 Summary of findings

5.1.1 Swiss sumptuousness

Apart from the Polyglott guide and Guía total, almost all of the guidebooks discuss Switzerland’s reputation as a pricey tourist destination. While the Fodor’s, Lonely Planet, ADAC and Baedeker guides point out that prices in Switzerland lie above those of other European countries, the Rough Guide and Berlitz Pocket Guide acknowledge that travelling in the Alpine state is no more expensive than elsewhere in Europe, and the Merian guide notes that Swiss luxury hotels are either cheaper or no more expensive than most of their European counterparts. Several guides address the good value for money of Swiss accommodation (DK Eyewitness, Rough Guide, Berlitz Pocket Guide, Merian, Guía total), the good quality of the Swiss hotel industry (American guidebooks, the Guía azul, Petit Futé, Polyglott, ADAC, Baedeker, Merian), alternative and cheaper accommodation (all guidebooks) and eating out (English and American guides Routard, Guía azul, Baedeker guide) options.

With regard to the identified target groups, there is no obvious pattern indicating that guides primarily aimed at backpackers are more conscious about prices in Switzerland than guides targeting upscale tourists. Furthermore, the opposing opinions regarding price comparisons of
Switzerland with other European countries do not seem to apply to specific target groups either; they seem to depend on the authors’ opinions and the particular places they took into consideration (e.g., some guides aimed at upscale tourists and backpackers remark that Switzerland is more expensive than other European countries, but other guides aimed at these two target groups report that Switzerland is no more expensive or cheaper than other European countries; some English guides refer to Switzerland as an expensive place but others mention that it is cheaper than other European countries).

5.1.2 Swiss opening hours and eating times

Early Swiss eating habits and the early closure of restaurants and/or shops are mentioned in the Guía azul and Guía viva as well as the French guidebooks. The Lonely Planet and the Fodor’s guide also note that it can be difficult to find open restaurants late at night in some places.

It does not seem surprising that guidebooks, especially the Spanish and French ones, point to the early closure of Swiss restaurants in the evening and to the early and rather short (lunch and) dinner times of the Swiss, since it is common to have long dinners late at night in France and even later at night in Spain. The fact that the Guía viva repeats this cultural difference thrice in the guidebook, indicates that the guidebook emphasises this aspect to increase its credibility, to shape the image to a greater extent, or to make sure its readers see the message at all, given that the audience might only consult those specific sections of interest to them.

5.1.3 Swiss cuisine

The English, American, French and Spanish guidebooks, as well as the Marco Polo and ADAC guides, mention the culinary influences of adjoining countries on Switzerland’s cuisine. Swiss cuisine is characterised as hearty (Lonely Planet, DK Eyewitness, Let’s Go, Guía azul), peasant (American guides, Rough Guide, DK Eyewitness, ADAC, Guía viva, Michelin), down-to-earth (Fodor’s, Marco Polo, ADAC), (rich but) simple (French guides, Guía azul, Guía viva, Marco Polo), diverse (Marco Polo, Baedeker, Merian, Lonely Planet, Rough Guide, Guía azul, Let’s Go) and as being of good quality (Spanish guides, Lonely Planet, Rough Guide, ADAC, Polyglott, Marco Polo, Baedeker, Michelin). All guidebooks make references to famous Swiss dishes such as Raclette, Fondue and Rösti (potato dish).

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24 The different target groups (backpackers, upscale tourists) can be seen as an intergroup, since they form two different social groups. With respect to the topic of this research, however, the definition of intergroup in this thesis will mainly refer to two different guidebook origin countries/stereotype countries (e.g., concerning the comparison of the British with the Swiss, or the French with the Spanish).
The *Routard* and *Petit Futé* guides mention that the French restaurants in Switzerland, and the Italian restaurants respectively, are of better quality. With regard to the French’ ‘love’ of food, the commentaries of these guides on the different quality of food in Switzerland and their preferences for French restaurants in Switzerland, seem to fit the stereotype (also with respect to the joke about national stereotypes cited in Chapter 2, Section 2.5). In addition, the number and quality of restaurant descriptions in the French guidebooks seem to underline the cultural importance of food to the French. The other guidebooks do not make explicit references to any better quality of French, Italian or German cuisine in Switzerland. Also, their descriptions of eating places are mostly less informative or detailed (see Chapter 4, Section 4.4 and Appendix C, Tables 13-26).

5.1.4 Swiss chocolate, cheese and wine

All guidebooks refer to Swiss wine, cheese and chocolate, either in terms of the quality, diversity or popularity/well-known reputation of these products.

5.1.5 Swiss public transport

The sophisticated Swiss public transport system is addressed in all guidebooks, either in terms of its excellence, comprehensiveness, efficiency, punctuality, cleanliness or comfortableness. The cheaper train tickets like Swiss Passes or Cards are also mentioned by all guidebooks.

The intergroup references to excellent Swiss chocolate, cheese, wine and public transport in all guidebooks indicate that these images are widely known and recognised outside of Switzerland.

5.1.6 Swiss nightlife

Whereas the English (*Rough Guide, DK Eyewitness*) and French guidebooks regard the Swiss nightlife scene in larger cities like Zürich to be as lively as in much larger European cities, as fairly vibrant (*Berlitz Pocket Guide, Merian*), and as busy and healthy (*Lonely Planet*), the *Guía azul* and *Guía viva* note that Switzerland is not a paradise for lively party people, and that bars have their peak time around midnight and many discos close at 3 am.

Again, the remarks in the Spanish guidebooks on the early peak times of Swiss bars and clubs and on Switzerland as being a less lively party place, characterise the Spanish culture and indicate its differences stemming from that country’s Mediterranean lifestyle and nightlife.

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25 This might suggest that there is an element of surprise since Swiss cities are less metropolitan than other European cities and such a lively nightlife scene would not be expected.
scene. The number of nightlife places listed in the Spanish guidebooks compared to the other guidebooks, supports an interpretation that the Spanish like to ‘party’.

5.1.7 Swiss prosperity, economy, politics

The guidebooks make references to: Switzerland as one of the world’s richest countries (English and French guides, Merian, Baedeker, Polyglott); the high quality of life (French guidebooks, Lonely Planet, DK Eyewitness, Berlitz Pocket Guide, Let’s Go); a low unemployment rate (French guidebooks, Lonely Planet, DK Eyewitness, Let’s Go, Merian); high Swiss salaries (French guidebooks, DK Eyewitness, Guía azul); Swiss neutrality (all but the Marco Polo guide); Swiss direct democracy (all but the Routard, Guía viva and Let’s Go guide); non-membership of the EU (all but the Guía viva and Marco Polo guide); lower tax rates (English guides, Fodor’s, Merian, Michelin, Petit Futé); banking affairs – the Nazi gold scandal and granting/refusing entry to Jewish refugees during WW 2 (English, American and French guides, Baedeker, ADAC, Guía azul, Guía viva); banking secrecy (Spanish and French guides, Baedeker, Lonely Planet); Switzerland’s watchmaking industry (all but the Guía viva and Merian guide); Switzerland’s stable or solid economy (American guides, Guía total – unlike Spain’s economy?), and its dependency on exports (Michelin, Baedeker, Polyglott). An increase in poverty (Michelin), unemployment problems (Baedeker), and the stagnation of innovative achievements (Merian), are addressed as well.

The economic and political comments about Switzerland are part of the country’s portrayal in the guidebooks and reflect the nation’s position in Europe and the world. The fact that guidebooks from all three target groups identified in Chapter 4, Section 4.1, refer to most of the listed aspects26 shows that there does not seem to be particular link between the political and economic references and the different target groups. Similarly, the different language groups do not stand out. For instance, the Spanish guides do not explicitly mention that Switzerland is one of the richest countries, has a high quality of life, low unemployment and/or tax rates, but nevertheless remarks on the country’s prosperity, solid economy, high salaries, first class products and technology. It would seem to be a matter of the author’s/editor’s choice and/or writing style to present and provide more or less detailed background information on Swiss economics and politics. The non-reference to Switzerland’s involvement in the Nazi gold scandal and refusal of entry to Jewish refugees during WW 2 by the two ‘Swiss’ guidebooks and the ‘Swiss’/German guidebook suggests that those inglorious

26 Only the thinner, low price segment guides do not refer to Switzerland’s stable economy, high salaries and low unemployment rate; the dependency on exports is not mentioned by any backpacker guides but is only addressed in three guidebooks anyway.
incidents are ‘nothing to be proud of’ and are rather left unspoken in order not to besmirch Switzerland’s image.

5.1.8 Swiss languages

The majority of the English guidebooks (Rough Guide, Berlitz Pocket Guide, Lonely Planet) as well as the Fodor’s guide and Guía total, remark on the good language skills of the Swiss, while the French guides, on the contrary, point out that the Swiss are not multilingual. Given that the Merian guide, written by Swiss journalists, regards Swiss multilingualism as a baseless rumour, it can be assumed that while Switzerland’s four official languages give the impression that its people are fluent in several languages, the reality is different. Furthermore, it seems that guidebook authors from countries which are geographically adjacent to Switzerland (Germany, France), do not believe in the ‘multilingual’ Swiss. It is possible that these adjoining countries, which share common language areas, are more familiar with the educational system of the country in question.

Whereas the English and Spanish guidebooks as well as the Fodor’s guide mention that most Swiss speak English, the Let’s Go guide remarks that English is not as widely spoken as in other European countries. The French guides note that the Swiss Germans tend to use English rather than French. This could be a political point, showing the lesser appreciation for the use of the French language in Switzerland and the ever-growing support for the ‘world language’, English. The Baedeker, Routard and Berlitz Pocket Guide mention that German is like a foreign language to the Swiss, and also the Let’s Go guide notes that the Swiss favour their dialects over Standard German. The Fodor’s guide, on the contrary, notes that Swiss Germans also speak Standard German.

A few of the guidebooks remark that Swiss German is said to be unintelligible to the Italian Swiss (Lonely Planet), French Swiss (Lonely Planet, French guides) and Germans (American guides). The Polyglott guide also points out that it is not easy to understand Swiss German and provides a short Swiss German language guide as an appendix. The Merian guide, on the other hand, notes that one can usually understand the most important things after dealing with the Swiss German dialects for a few days. This statement, coming as it does from Swiss journalists who might not be able to detect the incomprehensibility of their own Swiss dialects, should be interpreted cautiously. Furthermore, in another quote, the Merian guide addresses the incomprehensibility of the Swiss language, and thus somewhat contradicts itself. The presentation of the Swiss German language as unintelligible or incomprehensible
by some of the guidebooks makes Switzerland sound like an ‘exotic’ place, which (additionally) might attract some of the guidebook readers. The Spanish guides do not make any references to the comprehensibility or incomprehensibility of the Swiss German language. This might be because there are also several ‘languages’ in Spain (Catalan, Basque, Galician), which are totally different from the Standard Spanish Castilian and hence are not seen as uncommon, or because the authors are not aware of the different Swiss German dialects, or because German is not learnt in Spain.

5.1.9 Swiss scenery

Except for the Guía viva, all guidebooks refer to Switzerland’s beautiful and extraordinary scenery.

Given that the country features several lakes and a large part of the Alps, with some of the highest mountains and longest glaciers in Europe, and is often referred to as a big natural park, the scenic descriptions in the guidebooks do not come as a surprise. In addition, guidebooks usually refer to a country’s scenery, since it forms an essential part of the tourist destination and often is the main incentive for tourists to travel to a country. To what extent guidebooks refer to the scenery of a country depends on the country’s scenic attractions, the authors’ writing styles and appreciations of the scenery, and/or on the authors'/editors’ personal preferences, also possibly with regard to potential target audiences. Hence, the fact that the Guía viva does not explicitly refer to Switzerland’s scenery as ‘beautiful’ and ‘extraordinary’ might be due to a more unemotional or matter-of-fact writing style of the Spanish author (e.g., based on his and/or the editor’s preferences) compared to, for instance, the ‘pithy’ and ‘imaginative’ style of the authors of the Lonely Planet – or it could be that the extraordinary scenery is taken for granted as “everyone” knows about it.

5.1.10 Swiss environmental sustainability

The English (Lonely Planet, Rough Guide, DK Eyewitness), French guides (Petit Futé, Michelin), and the Guía total guide in particular, refer to the keen awareness of environmental protection and encouragement to “think” green on the part of the Swiss. Strict Swiss conservation rules are mentioned in the Let’s Go, Guía total, Marco Polo, Polyglott, Baedeker and Merian guides.

It might be the case that the Lonely Planet and Rough Guide typically include sections on responsible travel in all of their guidebooks; on the other hand, the writers of these editions
might address this topic if they regard it as noteworthy and different from how it is treated in their home cultures. For instance, a study of the most environmentally-friendly countries in Europe by Reader’s Digest (2010) shows that France (9th rank), the UK (11th rank) and Spain (14th rank) are less environmentally-friendly than Switzerland (2nd rank behind Sweden) and Germany (6th rank) (Reader's Digest, 2010).

5.1.11 Swiss sports and activities

All guidebooks refer to the numerous activities that can be undertaken in Switzerland (hiking, mountaineering, cycling, winter sports, water sports, aerial sports, adventure sports). The English (DK Eyewitness, Rough Guide, Lonely Planet) and American guidebooks and the Marco Polo and Polyglott guides all describe the Swiss as a sport loving and active/fit nation. The English and American guidebooks might emphasise the high physical activity of Swiss people, because their own nations are known to be fond watchers and supporters of sports (e.g., American Football, English Premier League) but in terms of physical activity rates, both countries face severe obesity problems – a recent survey has shown that 60% of people in Great Britain are overweight (Hollis, 2010), and the average American has been estimated to be 23 pounds overweight in 2009 (Tunsley, 2009). While this American obesity (together with the ‘loudness’ and ‘arrogance’ of Americans) seems to be reflected in typical stereotypes about Americans held by German, British, French or Spanish people (those stereotypes can be found via Internet searches in different languages, see e.g., (Masson, 2010); (Saum, 2010)), the British seem to not commonly be regarded as overweight by other nations. Maybe this is due to people’s primary association of Fast Food chains such as McDonalds, Burger King or KFC with America, in conjunction with popular American movies such as Super Size Me.

5.1.12 Multicultural ethnicity and immigration in Switzerland

The German/Swiss guidebooks, Michelin, Petit Futé, Guía azul and Guía total, note that Switzerland is a popular immigrant/host country. The anti-immigrant Swiss People’s Party is mentioned in the Rough Guide, Lonely Planet, Berlitz Pocket Guide, Let’s Go, Baedeker, Merian and Petit Futé. The American guidebooks, as well as the Rough Guide and Routard guide, remark that immigration issues and Switzerland’s already diverse population, have created some fear among the Swiss related to recession and job losses. The Lonely Planet and Rough Guide mention that Swiss police have a reputation for treating people of Non-European descent rather poorly. It may be the case that this information is provided in the two English guidebooks because of the UK’s multi-ethnic background and heightened awareness of diversity issues following 9/11 and the London bombings, 2005.
5.1.13 Wilhelm Tell, Heidi and cuckoo clocks

Except for the *Let's Go* and *Polyglott* guides, the legend of Wilhelm Tell is mentioned in all guidebooks.

Except for the *Berlitz Pocket Guide* and *Guía azul*, all guidebooks refer to Heidi. The *Lonely Planet* and *Rough Guide* portray a somewhat negative image of Heidi and the ‘Heidi mania’ – it could be that their readership (many young independent budget travellers) do not approve of tourist faking but seek to explore more ‘authentic’ places. Or perhaps the “first historical wave” of tourism destinations are now seen as appropriate locations for “post-tourists” who have heightened sensibilities towards kitsch. The *Baedeker* guide addresses the “Heidi-land” inhabitants’ negative view of the Heidi cliché. The *Routard, Baedeker* and *ADAC* guides regard Japanese tourists as fond admirers of Heidi and visitors to Heidi-land. This shows that, as well as providing stereotypical images about Switzerland, these three guidebooks also (briefly) include another culture in their portrayal of that Alpine country – and by doing so implicitly address another popular stereotypical image of Japanese tourists, commonly travelling together in larger groups.

The ‘authentic’ mythical images of Switzerland in the guidebooks seem to be based on historical periods (Tell) and novels/films (Heidi). The references to Wilhelm Tell and Heidi in the majority of guides show that the mythical images of Switzerland still enjoy great popularity among writers portraying the tourist destination, and that the guidebooks do not vary much in their use of mythical Swiss images. In two English guidebooks, the Heidi myth is portrayed in a negative way with pejorative commentaries. Maybe these comments were caused by the ‘fakeness’ of the mythical image. However, Tell is very likely ‘fake’ as well and yet no negative comments can be found in relation to this. Nevertheless, Tell is a national legend – comparable to national folk heroes or icons from other countries, which seem untouchable (e.g., Robin Hood) – while Heidi remains a fictional character from a book. The ‘marketing kitsch’ involving Heidi and its large target audience of teenage girls may have triggered these comments by the guidebook authors, who write for more mature target groups.

The ‘German’ cuckoo clock is also addressed in a number of guidebooks – including all identified target groups (*Lonely Planet, Rough Guide, Berlitz Pocket Guide, Fodor’s*, ‘Swiss’ guidebooks, *Guía azul, Guía viva, Petit Futé*) – of which only two (*Guía viva, Rough Guide*) explain that it originated in Germany and is not a typical traditional Swiss product. The German guidebooks do not make any reference to the cuckoo clocks, suggesting that they do
not associate the product with Switzerland and, thus, see no reason to mention it. While the famous clocks have always been popular with tourists, the Swiss themselves have also taken to the cuckoo clocks and sell them as Swiss-style souvenirs, for instance in typical ‘chalet’ styles. It does not seem very surprising, therefore, that the two Swiss guidebooks refer to the cuckoo clocks as Swiss souvenirs. In all other guidebook language groups (English, American, French, Spanish), the cuckoo clock is referred to as an original Swiss product as well. It seems to be a widespread belief that the clocks originated in Switzerland.

Some of the guidebooks list contemporary Swiss celebrities (e.g., tennis star Roger Federer) and also show in other ways that Switzerland is a varied and exciting place – modern and multicultural. As was mentioned in the section on national stereotypes, Switzerland has been trying to rebrand its destination image to leave old clichés behind. The old and well-known clichés of Heidi, Tell, chocolate, watchmaking, yodelling, cuckoo clocks, etc., however, are still represented in the guidebooks and adhere as strongly to the country’s image as they always have done. As Wilson (2006) noted in her study, stereotypes indeed seem to be “... remarkably resilient to change” (Wilson, 2006, p.8).

5.1.14 Swiss culture

The guidebooks refer to several popular cultural aspects of Switzerland – many of which can be regarded as stereotypes: Swiss carnivals (all guidebooks), yodelling (English and American guidebooks, Baedeker, Merian, Petit Futé, Michelin, Guía azul), alphorns (American, French and Spanish (pictures) guidebooks, Lonely Planet, DK Eyewitness, Berlitz Pocket Guide, Baedeker, Polyglott, ADAC (picture)), cow fights (English and French guidebooks, Let’s Go, Baedeker, Marco Polo), St Bernard dogs (American, English and French guidebooks, Marco Polo, Polyglott, ADAC (picture), Baedeker, Guía viva, Guía total), Swiss Army Knives (French and Swiss guidebooks, Guía azul, Guía viva, Lonely Planet, Rough Guide, Berlitz Pocket Guide, Fodor’s, ADAC, Marco Polo, Baedeker), world-class and plentiful museums (Spanish and French guidebooks, Polyglott, ADAC, Merian, Baedeker, Let’s Go, Rough Guide, DK Eyewitness), cowbells (Fodor’s, Marco Polo, Guía azul (picture), ADAC (picture)), muesli (American guidebooks, Marco Polo).

Interestingly, none of the Spanish guidebooks mention Swiss cow fights, perhaps because bullfights are quite popular in Spain (although a torero is the main performer in bullfighting while cow fights include two cows ‘fighting’ against each other). Cow fights might not be regarded as being particularly “novel” by the Spanish guides.
5.1.15 Swiss characteristics

The guidebooks credit the Swiss with several attributes: cleanliness (English and Spanish guidebooks (although the Guía azul notes that the talk about Swiss cleanliness is exaggerated – a study by Estrella reveals, however, that the Spanish are less clean than other Europeans, for instance, the Germans and Italians (Tucasa, 2010)), Petit Futé, Routard, Fodor’s, Merian (which states that the Swiss credit themselves with this attribute);27 efficiency (English and French guidebooks, Fodor’s, Guía azul); punctuality (Spanish and French guidebooks, Berlitz Pocket Guide, Fodor’s, Merian (states that the Swiss credit themselves with this attribute); precision (French and Spanish guidebooks, Lonely Planet, DK Eyewitness, Fodor’s, Marco Polo); order (Spanish guidebooks, Routard, ADAC, Merian, Fodor’s, Lonely Planet, Rough Guide, Berlitz Pocket Guide); discipline (French and English guidebooks, Guía azul, Guía viva, Fodor’s); hospitality (American guidebooks, ADAC, Baedeker, Merian, DK Eyewitness, Guía viva – the guidebook notes that Swiss hospitality might be true but that due to high prices, guests regard any good treatment as minimal); love/awareness of tradition/home (ADAC, Polyglott, Baedeker, Merian, DK Eyewitness, Lonely Planet); pride (American and ‘Swiss’ guidebooks, Lonely Planet, Rough Guide, Baedeker – the Berlitz Pocket Guide notes that the Swiss do not like to hear praise of the country’s riches or its position); humour (‘Swiss’ guidebooks); ‘nation of will’ (‘Swiss’ guidebooks, Baedeker). Switzerland’s low crime rate is addressed in the English and American guidebooks as well as in the Guía azul, Guía viva, Petit Futé and Merian guide.

Almost all Swiss characteristics are mentioned in each of the three target groups identified in Chapter 4, hence showing no signs of distinctive attributes being portrayed in low budget or upscale guides only. Guidebooks from different language groups, however, differ in some respects in their representations of Switzerland and the Swiss. These cultural differences are considered in Section 5.3.

5.2 Contradictions and discrepancies between guidebooks

The findings of the content analysis show that there are some contradictions and discrepancies between the guidebooks. For instance, estimates of the number of foreigners living in Switzerland differ among the guides (e.g., Merian 21.8 %, Baedeker 22 %, ADAC 21.9 %, Polyglott 20 %, Guía azul 15 %) as does the amount of chocolate consumed by the Swiss per year (e.g., Lonely Planet 11.3 kg, Rough Guide 11.6 kg, Baedeker 11 kg). Other

27 The lower level of concern with ‘cleanliness’ on the part of the French and Spanish guidebooks could reflect national cultural traits, given that in rankings of the cleanest cities in Europe, those in Spain and France are regarded as less clean than Swiss cities.
contradictions include varying opinions on the incomprehensibility of the Swiss language, Swiss multilingualism, the liveliness of Swiss nightlife, and the perceived expensiveness of Switzerland (see Chapter 5, Sections 5.1.1, 5.1.6 and 5.1.8). The discrepancies in the number of foreigners and the amount of chocolate can partly be explained by the different publishing years of the guidebooks (Rough Guide: 2006, Lonely Planet: 2009, Guía azul: 2007), since some information such as demographic characteristics and statistics quickly become outdated. However, four of the five German/Swiss guidebooks, were published in 2008 (Merian, Baedeker, Marco Polo, ADAC) and one in 2009 (Polyglott). One would assume that the percentages of foreigners living in Switzerland for 2008 are the same in each of the four guidebooks. It is unknown which sources the guidebook authors used while gathering the information on Switzerland (e.g., official/unofficial?), but it seems that the independent, ‘accurate’ guidebooks are not necessarily as accurate as they are thought to be.

5.3 Observer stereotypes

Alongside representations of, and stereotypical beliefs about, Switzerland, several findings about the home cultures of the guidebooks also became apparent during the content analysis. Interestingly, these findings reflect some of the popularly held stereotypes about these cultures.

5.3.1 British characteristics

In terms of British stereotypes, all of the British guidebooks dedicate a paragraph in the section on ‘beverages’ to Swiss beer and the different sorts, which are available. This suggests that beer is something which British tourists are interested in and will seek out when travelling. Tea is mentioned in all but the Berlitz Pocket Guide, and it is stated that the Swiss would rather drink coffee. The references to Swiss cleanliness and their conscientiously environmental awareness and strict recycling methods might suggest that environmental sustainability is not considered that important in the UK. The fact that punctuality is barely mentioned in the English guides suggests that this characteristic trait – similar to that of Germans – is common among the British as well. The Rough Guide mentions that “The one crumb of comfort is that almost everyone you’ll come across will speak at least a smattering of English” (Rough Guide, p. 595). This might suggest that the British do not learn other foreign languages, are not that good at it, or are waiting for others to adopt English as the “world language”.

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5.3.2 American characteristics

Like the British guidebooks, the U.S. guidebooks make references to Swiss beer, indicating the Americans’ similar interest in the beverage. The reminders in the U.S. guidebooks to be punctual, say hello and goodbye, shake hands and references to proper eating etiquette suggest that Americans are less punctual, do not have as good manners as the Swiss and have a different understanding of ‘table manners’. No other language guidebook refers to potential terrorist attacks. The (‘over’?) alertness and caution shown in the American guidebooks is consistent with national concerns following the ‘9/11’ terrorist attacks in the United States. Moreover, the Fodor’s guide is the only guidebook to compare small Swiss hotel rooms with spacious American motels, demonstrating a different cultural viewpoint in terms of space and dimensions. In addition, lack of air-conditioning is solely addressed in the Fodor’s guide, too. This would appear to be another American priority. Fortunately for Fodor’s readers, and given the previous coverage of Swiss technical efficiency, malfunctions of air-conditioning should hardly be an issue in Switzerland. The comment on the Swiss’ English language skills, which make communicating on Americans’ part in Switzerland a straightforward exercise (“And lucky you: these days the foreign language of choice is English” (Fodor’s, p. 13)), could suggest that many Americans do not speak foreign languages or are uncertain about their level of fluency when immersed in non-English speaking cultures. In this context, readers are advised to be polite and try to speak at least some words in the local language in order not to come across as brash and insensitive ‘Ugly Americans’. In addition, addressing the ‘loud’ and ‘laid-back’ way of American clothing and inappropriate behaviour in National Parks, the guidebook self-critically further defines the ‘Ugly American’. The Fodor’s guide is the only guidebook to mention the preoccupation over overloaded Swiss freeways and Swiss road rage. It is hard to believe that American freeways are always near empty or that traffic queues are unknown. While road rage seems to be an issue in L.A., the writer surely exaggerates a little. Moreover, other guidebooks (Berlitz Pocket Guide, Merian, Guía viva) suggest that the Swiss are considerate drivers.

5.3.3 German characteristics

With regard to the German guidebooks, only the ADAC guide mentions the Swiss’ love of order. Moreover, none of the German guidebooks refers to Swiss punctuality, cleanliness, discipline, precision or efficiency. This may indicate that the German guidebooks do not consider these six attributes worth mentioning, since they are common in Germany as well. The Baedeker guide addresses evidence of Swiss pride, in the form of national flags seen in many Swiss gardens. Perhaps this is noted because Germans have been wary of demonstrating
national pride because of the country’s inglorious past. The extensive references to and
descriptions of Switzerland’s ‘cultural richness’, especially in terms of museums and art,
suggests that the Germans ‘love’/appreciate culture. The German guidebooks do not remark
on the early closure of restaurants in Switzerland, which suggests that the opening hours are
regarded as normal and similar to those of Germany. The references to sausages in the Marco
Polo, Merian and Baedeker guide and beer in the Baedeker and Merian guides, probably
reflect the popularity of sausages and beer in Germany.

5.3.4 Spanish characteristics

In terms of stereotypical images which represent the authors’ perceptions of Spanish people,
the Guía total reminds its readers that cyclists and pedestrians are very important in
Switzerland, and that the Spanish therefore have to go out of their way to be careful when
driving. The Guía viva also refers to the respect shown to pedestrians and cyclists in
Switzerland, and points out that all driving rules should be obeyed unconditionally (e.g., the
Swiss do not accelerate when approaching crossroads in order to make it past a traffic light
(Guía viva, p. 29)). In addition, the Spanish are reminded that the Swiss expect the same
punctuality of the Spanish as they do of themselves. These pieces of advice suggest that
Spanish drivers have little respect for pedestrians and cyclists and do not take punctuality very
seriously. It is also stated that it is difficult to believe that everybody in Switzerland eats
dinner between 7 and 9 pm, and that discos and clubs have their ‘peak time’ at midnight. This
certainly hints that the Spanish are accustomed to eating later in the evening and partying late
at night/early in the morning. The Guía azul acknowledges the efficiency of the Swiss postal
system and states that the service is more efficient than in Spain. Furthermore, by referring to
Switzerland as a cold and rainy country, the Guía azul is probably contrasting Switzerland
and Spain, the ‘land of sunshine’. The Guía viva emphasises that the Spanish have longer
working hours compared to the Swiss, which could be seen as an attempt to disrupt the
commonly held stereotypical belief of Spanish ‘laziness’ (in terms of the Spanish siesta). The
reason why a Spanish guide would need to point this out might be to reassure the Spanish and
oneself that “we” are not a lazy people, and that the stereotype is completely incorrect. In
addition, this piece of information might be aimed at foreign readers who speak Spanish, live
in Spain and would purchase the travel guides. Unlike most of the other guidebooks, the
Spanish guides barely refer to Swiss hospitality, which could indicate that this is a common
attribute in Spain as well.
5.3.5 French characteristics

With regard to any stereotypical images of the French, which emerge in the three guidebooks, the French appear to be people who love to eat/dine out, love to drink good wine and take their dinner rather late in the evening. In addition, compared to the Swiss, the French seem to be less concerned about cleanliness (e.g., in terms of throwing cigarette butts on the ground or not using disposable bags for dog excrement)\(^{28}\), less disciplined (e.g., in terms of crossing the street when the traffic light is red or in terms of cars not stopping to let pedestrians cross the street) and more laid-back (e.g., in terms of starting work later in France (Petit Futé, p. 42). Moreover, the French seem to be comparatively less punctual and organised. (For example, readers are reminded to show up at a Swiss’ dinner invitation on time.) They might also appear arrogant (e.g., the Petit Futé guide notes that the French should set aside their arrogance in Switzerland, as this will be a way in which the Swiss will quickly recognise them (Petit Futé, p. 22). As with the Spanish guides, the French guides do not remark on Swiss hospitality, again suggesting that hospitality is not a distinctively Swiss feature but common in France as well.

5.4 Guidebook versus Official Tourism Web page

In many respects, the representation of Switzerland on the My Switzerland web page is consistent with the representation in the guidebooks, for instance, in terms of mentioning Swiss cheese, chocolate, watchmaking, public transportation, Heidi, Wilhelm Tell, hospitality, punctuality or economic stability. Most noticeably, the differences between the web page and some of the guides include Switzerland’s ‘expensiveness’, which is said to be a false assumption according to the web page\(^{29}\), and the country’s gastronomy, for which the web page does not explicitly acknowledge the influence of Switzerland’s neighbouring countries. In terms of Swiss values, it can be observed that Swiss cleanliness, widely remarked upon in the guidebooks, is not addressed on the web page. This is an interesting difference, since even the Swiss guides make references to Swiss cleanliness and one would expect official Swiss tourism promotions to pick up on this stereotypical image (although of course they already have enough stereotypical images to choose from). The lack of reference to this Swiss attribute could also suggest that Swiss cleanliness is exaggerated (as noted by the Spanish Guía azul guidebook).

So what is the learning from this comparison? On the one hand, the predominant consistency of Swiss images in the guidebooks with the ones on the web page indicates that guidebooks

\(^{28}\) The Americans, for instance, often stereotype the French as people who do not bathe (Wikipédia, 2010).

\(^{29}\) But what else would the website report?
and official tourism web pages can be similar in their presentations of cultural information of a destination. This demonstrates that highly promotional information sources can have much in common with (supposedly) more autonomous information sources despite the former’s common perception as less credible travel promotions. On the other hand, the differences indicate that the official Swiss tourism promoters have a subjective auto-image of Switzerland and intend to give information which is of benefit to Swiss tourism (“Switzerland is not expensive”). In such respects, the promotional web pages of tourism organisations are more ‘slanted’ than guidebook texts, although some of the guidebooks also note that Switzerland is not as expensive as often perceived. The fact that no reference is made to the culinary influences of France, Italy and Germany either on the web page or in the ‘Swiss’ Merian guide, suggests that the Swiss regard their country’s cuisine to be of Swiss origin and deny to have any other ‘culinary roots’. This is another example of a ‘slanted’ destination image held by the Swiss tourism web page and the ‘Swiss’ guidebook. Hence, overall it seems that non-Swiss guidebooks about Switzerland are the least ‘biased’ in these respects.

This chapter discussed the summary and comparison of the research findings, as well as observer stereotypes, contradictions and discrepancies between the guidebooks and the promotional Swiss tourism web page. Chapter 6 will discuss the results of the guidebook analysis in light of the literature review provided in Chapter 2.
Chapter 6
Discussion

The research was guided by theories of the formation and use of destination images and national stereotypes discussed in Chapter 2. This chapter links the findings of the content analysis back to that literature review to strengthen the research, support and/or disprove and extend the reviewed theories.

In light of the results of this guidebook analysis, the discussion in Chapter 2 of literature on destination image and national stereotypes proves to be most meaningful, since there are plenty of references to the destination image of Switzerland, Swiss legends and national stereotypes in the guidebooks. Other aspects covered in the literature review are not directly relevant to the findings of the content analysis. These aspects include the elements of destination image formation (stages/models of formation process, information sources, tourist decision making and selection process), the apparentness of guidebooks as tourist markers (places of interest are marked in every guidebook, details are provided on their significance, places are pointed out on maps), the outcome of mutual gazes, behavioural responses to guidebooks (e.g., the influence of guidebooks on the ways of seeing and beliefs of cultural groups) and the formation and maintenance of stereotypes (e.g., different sources/types of information regarding the formation of stereotypes, ‘accuracy’ of stereotypes). The reviews of these topics do not directly relate to the findings of the content analysis, but they are nonetheless essential for understanding how guidebooks and destination images/national stereotypes fit together, and hence form part of the overall literature review.

To anticipate the discussion in this chapter, the findings of the content analysis suggest that the conceptualisation of national stereotypes is insufficiently ‘nuanced’ with respect to guidebooks. Guidebooks are a special case in that they typically promote a tourist destination favourably and do not distinguish (clearly) between ‘insiders’ and ‘outsiders’. The parts of the content analysis that show the limitations of the reviewed theory include the beliefs that (national) stereotypes commonly favour the in-groups; that only particular and ‘exotic’ national stereotypes are described; and that stereotypes are either positive or negative depending on the political or economic competitiveness of a country. The theory referred to in the literature review that a country “. . . is most itself in those aspects wherein it is most unlike the others” (Leerssen, 2003) needs to be extended as well, since the guidebooks present
and refer to different Swiss features with the same level of ‘distinctiveness’. In terms of supporting the theory on national stereotypes – the concept of ‘subjective’ auto- and hetero-images by Leerssen (2003) can be found in the guidebooks. Partly, it can also be demonstrated that national stereotypes present contradictory images, with the most characteristic image involving its own opposite. Furthermore, as mentioned by Oakes, Haslam and Turner (1994), intragroup similarities and intergroup differences are also accentuated in the guidebooks. In addition, it seems that national stereotypes are often universal, whereas national images may be specific to a particular ‘in-group’.

6.1 Destination images and national stereotypes in the guidebooks

With respect to the literature reviews on destination image and national stereotypes (Chapter 2, Sections 2.1 and 2.5), it seems that their definitions largely overlap. Also Leerssen (2007) sees a close link between destination images and national stereotypes. He points out that “images tend to invoke generally current commonplaces and reduce the complexity of historical contingency to the invariance of ingrained topoi and clichés, they are often considered a form of stereotype” (Leerssen, 2007, p. 343). Similarly, Kotler and Gertner (2004) state that “most country images are stereotypes, extreme simplifications of the reality that are not necessarily accurate” (Kotler & Gertner, 2004, p. 42). While the destination image of Switzerland might consist of more than stereotypes, one could argue – according to the above statements – that they make up a large part of the country’s image.

As mentioned in Chapter 2, Section 2.1, destination images consist of the opinions, views and understandings which people hold towards a destination. These images can be positive or negative, and might change after a destination has been visited. They also can have expected benefits (functional characteristics) or symbolic meanings (psychological characteristics). In terms of Switzerland’s destination image, the guidebook writers share their favourable or unfavourable impressions, ideas and beliefs about the country with their audiences by including functional attributes such as Switzerland’s beautiful scenery, diverse landscapes and climate, excellent infrastructure, varied nightlife, or high travel and living costs, as well as psychological attributes such as Swiss hospitality, safety, high quality of service, political stability or cleanliness. These images include cognitive and affective perspectives, since the authors present images (cognitive level) about Switzerland according to their beliefs and attitudes, yet also evaluate them (affective level). For instance, some authors state that the Swiss are chocolate-loving people who eat more chocolate than anyone else in the world; that the Swiss nightlife scene is not a paradise for lively party people; that the Swiss excel in the
arts and sciences; and that Switzerland is not as expensive as many people think and can compete with other European countries.

The portrayal of Switzerland in the guidebooks – amongst other things – also includes descriptions and beliefs about Swiss personality (e.g., punctual and efficient), social (e.g., rich) and mental (e.g., smart bankers) characteristics – attributes that Terracciano et al (2005) use to define national stereotypes (Chapter 2, Section 2.5). Physical characteristics such as height, hair colour etc., which are also addressed by Terracciano et al (2005), are not discussed in the guides – except in the Petit Futé, which lists the prejudice that Swiss from Appenzell are very short in stature. In other words, in light of the remarks on Swiss personality, mentality and society in the guidebooks and the categorisation of these attributes as national stereotypes in the literature, the images presented in the guides can be regarded as national stereotypes.

6.1.1 Different kinds of Swiss stereotypes

According to Jahoda, Deutsch and Cook (1950), four different kinds of national images exist: images of a nation as an entity (population, institutions, government); the typical/average personality of people of a nation; the governmental behaviour of a country; and the specific cultural or social features of a nation. These images can be found in the guidebooks as well. Most of the national images in the guides seem to either reflect images of Switzerland as an entity (e.g., Swiss neutrality), the typical/average personality of the Swiss (e.g., Swiss punctuality) or specific cultural/social features of the Swiss (e.g., “smart Swiss bankers”, “the active elderly”). Some references to the images of governmental behaviour in Switzerland are made as well (e.g., Swiss direct democracy, Swiss neutrality). These categorisations of different kinds of national images, however, do not always seem very clear, since some of the images can be grouped into more than one category, and the typical personality of the Swiss and their specific cultural/social features seem to overlap as well.

6.1.2 Influences on the formation of Swiss stereotypes

In light of the influences on the formation of stereotypical beliefs described by Terracciano et al (2005) (observations; inferences based on history, customs, myths, values; comparisons/contrasts), the guidebook writers seem to mainly have been influenced by inferences (e.g., Swiss neutrality in the past; yodelling; Wilhelm Tell; precision, etc.) and comparisons/contrasts (e.g., punctuality, cleanliness). Observations have been used in a few instances as well, to attempt to convince the readers of the validity of the authors’ claims, e.g., when
saying that no Swiss cross the street unless the pedestrian traffic light is green; when referring to Swiss people, who do not throw cigarette butts on the ground; or when describing the age of the Swiss who hike in the mountains. Such observed instances are likely to be made ‘sense’ of by calling up one’s ‘bank’ of ‘what everyone knows’ about the category in which the observation is assumed to fit, given its location. For instance, the ‘elderly’ hiker might not have been Swiss at all but a foreign hiker, but if the observer carries an image of the Swiss ‘of all ages’ being active in the mountains, then that typification is used to ‘make sense’ of the observation.

6.1.3 Pretended truth-value of Swiss stereotypes

Among other aspects, Govers’ et al (2007) 3-gap tourism destination image formation model (outlined in Chapter 2, Section 2.1) notes that in any destination image on the part of the local tourism industry, the ‘true identity’ of a destination should to some extent be projected (its authenticity, history, knowledge, culture, religion, natural environment). In theory, this sounds good. In practice, however, and without doubt in a commercial environment, any local tourism industry – in view of making profit – will first and foremost put its destination in a favourable light/perspective regardless of the destination’s true character or flaws, and will promote a destination in the way it wants it to be. For instance, images regarding the history or natural environment of a destination might be closer to reality, whereas cultural images could be staged. In the case of Switzerland, references to and promotions of ‘Heidi’ and ‘Heidi-land’, for example, are inauthentic, but enjoy a great popularity. In addition, even truthful images of a destination might apply only to part of a country, not all its regions (e.g., rural versus urban lifestyle in Switzerland). In some respects, the information provided on the Official Swiss Tourism web page (Chapter 4, Section 4.2.2) seems to be less objective and value-free in comparison to the guidebooks. For instance, in the case of Swiss cuisine, the web page does not note the influence of the neighbouring countries on Switzerland’s gastronomy. The majority of guidebooks (English, American, French and Spanish guides, ADAC and the ‘Swiss’ Marco Polo) address the French, Italian and German roots of Swiss cooking. This suggests that the entire truth of Switzerland’s gastronomic identity is not revealed by the web page. It seems that guidebooks, which are regarded as credible sources can, on the one hand, provide a more rounded identity of a destination because they are not dependent on local tourism organisations. On the other hand, as shown by the references to ‘Swiss’ cuckoo clocks for example, guidebooks are not impeccable either.
As addressed in the literature review in Chapter 2, Section 2.5, Terracciano et al (2005) note the kinds of characteristics which national stereotypes with at least some ‘kernel of truth’ should display (“... the average emotional, interpersonal, experiential, attitudinal, and motivational styles of members of the culture” (Terracciano et al., 2005, p. 96). With respect to the representations in the guidebooks, for instance, the writers portray the attitudinal styles of the Swiss. For example, the Swiss are described as neutral; as a ‘nation of will’; as being citizens of their canton or commune first and Swiss citizens second; their concerns about immigrants, etc. However, even if the writers make it look like average Swiss behaviour, it is not possible to determine whether their observations and descriptions of fit and active Swiss retirees hiking in the mountains or of Swiss picking up rubbish from the ground were based solely on one Swiss person behaving like this. Therefore, in the case of guidebooks, the pretended truth-value of Swiss stereotypes cannot be determined by ‘average’ descriptions, since the interpretive processes involved in guidebook writing and reading are more complex. In addition, with reference to Leerssen (2003), the perception of national stereotypes as ‘true’ at most plays a minor role compared to their significant recognition/familiarity value, which the audience often confuses with their validity value. Many of the Swiss stereotypes in the guidebooks reflect this sense of familiarity (e.g., Tell, Heidi, cheese, chocolate, watchmaking, precision, etc.), because of the previous representation of Switzerland by the media, education, history, hearsay, jokes, etc. Since guidebooks are believed to be credible information sources, this may increase the tendency of readers to confuse this sense of familiarity of Swiss stereotypes with a sense of validity.

6.1.4 Contradictory Swiss stereotypes

The content analysis of the guidebooks shows that the different language representations of Switzerland have several Swiss images in common. For instance, Swiss expensiveness, chocolate, cheese, wine, watchmaking, prosperity, neutrality, Heidi, Wilhelm Tell, yodelling, alphorns, etc., are discussed in most of the guidebooks. A presentation of contradictory images of a country with the most characteristic attribute involving its own opposite – as mentioned by Leerssen (2003) (Chapter 2, Section 2.5.3) – only partly applies to the portrayal of Switzerland in the guidebooks. The Fodor’s guide (Alpine ‘homeyness’ versus high-tech urban efficiency), Baedeker (multilingual liberality and cosmopolitanism versus canton spirit and narrow-mindedness, semi-direct democracy versus blatant plutocracy, neutrality versus mentality of an Alpine fortress), Lonely Planet and Berlitz Pocket Guide (‘armed’ neutrality) are the only guidebooks to explicitly list opposite characteristics of Switzerland. The other

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30 In the case of guidebooks this can be the readers and writers.
guides rather implicitly refer to Swiss contrasts by addressing Swiss (cultural) traditions and Swiss modernity (e.g., infrastructure, economy) or Swiss city life and Swiss country life in general in the guidebooks. However, these (vague) references probably do not present the most characteristic attributes of Switzerland. Nevertheless, Switzerland is a special case in that the country hosts four different cultures, and its people are said to be united but not uniform. Therefore, the country can probably be regarded as being ‘full of contrasts’.

6.1.5 Regional and national images/stereotypes

To some extent it seems that neighbouring countries with the same/similar linguistic areas/background have regional images whilst other countries might have ‘national’ images. There seems to be a regional image when comparing Germany with the Swiss German-speaking part of Switzerland in respects of punctuality, order, cleanliness or discipline. Alphorns and yodelling are not only popular in Switzerland but also in a neighbouring country, Austria, and in the South of Germany. Furthermore, the adjoining countries Spain and France seem to have some similarities in terms of later and longer eating times, and with a lesser concern for punctuality, precision, discipline or cleanliness present in both countries. However, the guidebooks do not, for instance, portray regional images/stereotypes regarding France and Switzerland, since the French are considered less punctual and disciplined than all Swiss in the guidebooks. No differentiation is made between French, Italian and/or German Swiss, although these cultures are likely to resemble France, Italy and Germany to some extent, and it can be assumed that French Swiss or Italian Swiss differ from German Swiss people, etc. In addition, the guidebooks also show that non-neighbouring countries can have some similar images. The majority of English guidebooks, for instance, do not refer to the Swiss people as punctual, which suggests that this characteristic trait is not uncommon in the UK either and is not worth mentioning. Apart from some similar images/stereotypes, the guidebooks also represent many other images, which only seem to fit to one particular country. Examples are the French love of food, the Spanish love for clubbing (late at night), Swiss precision and neutrality. Therefore, all countries seem to have national images but these might overlap with other nations in some respects, and can greatly differ from these nations in other respects.

6.1.6 Distorting perceptions of stereotypes

Oakes, Haslam and Turner (1994) point out that categorising is believed to involve the accentuation of both distortedly perceived intragroup (‘within’ one group) similarities and
intergroup (‘between’ at least two groups) differences. Such ‘distorting perceptions’ to some extent can be found in the guidebooks. For instance, the Americans are categorised as one group (intragroup) with similar characteristics (e.g., ‘Ugly Americans’: overweight, loud, insensitive) while the Swiss (the Swiss and Americans form an intergroup) are regarded as different from them (e.g., active Swiss, disciplined Swiss). Moreover, as discussed earlier, Switzerland is typically regarded as only one intragroup in the guides (e.g., the Let’s Go guide refers to the Swiss as ‘homogeneous in character’); no differences are made between the main, four different ‘cultures’ within the country. (The Berlitz Pocket Guide only acknowledges that due to the many immigrants not all Swiss clichés are real.) Whereas many Americans are overweight indeed and many Swiss seem to be healthy and fit, this surely does not apply to all people of these two nations. Furthermore, arguments that Switzerland’s four different regions are all similar to each other or that the country is culturally similar or close to Germany – and that the two nations hence could be categorised as an intragroup or one ‘in-group’ – seem untenable. While Germany and the Swiss German part of Switzerland have some similarities, the other parts of the country do not. In addition, even the Swiss Germans/Germans would most likely not consider themselves as being very similar to Germans/Swiss Germans. Nonetheless, it remains questionable whether such interpretations of national images per se can be seen as ‘distortions of perception’. Cultural differences do exist and can be real. But of course they are not likely to be true in all instances, and cannot be generalised on the grounds that some people of a nation seem to fit into these stereotypes.

6.1.7 Idiosyncratic-collective, simple-projected and deductive-inductive stereotypes

In the guidebooks, the national stereotypes held by the authors seem to be both idiosyncratic and collective, although the collective stereotypes dominate. An example of an idiosyncratic stereotype would be the Spanish author's sole opinion that Switzerland is a cold and humid country. Collective stereotypes would include Swiss punctuality, cleanliness, efficiency or expensiveness, since these attributes are mentioned by a couple of guidebook writers.

Regarding Lehtonen’s (2005) four types of national stereotypes (Chapter 2, Section 2.5.3), the

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31 They, for instance, refer to a definition of ‘stereotyping’ in a psychological dictionary (“the perception of bankers – in general and without discrimination – as invariably cold-hearted in business dealings” (Oakes et al., 1994, p. 38)) and to a study by Secord, Bevan & Katz (1956), showing the “... significant exaggeration of the difference between blacks and whites in skin colour...” (Oakes et al., 1994, p. 38).

32 Although many guides acknowledge Switzerland’s great diversity and the difference of its people (e.g., Guía azul, Petit Futé, Merian, Rough Guide), the guidebooks still include all of the Swiss when referring to such attributes as Swiss punctuality, cleanliness, order or discipline.
guidebooks mainly make use of simple auto-stereotypes (e.g., the Spanish writers regard their own countrymen to be less punctual; the Swiss see themselves as reliable, discrete, clean, etc.) and simple hetero-stereotypes (e.g., the Swiss are precise, active, multi-lingual). The projected auto-stereotype can be found in some instances as well, for example, when the American guides refer to the 'Ugly Americans'. The projected hetero-stereotype does not occur in the guidebooks ("we feel that the Swiss think they are..."). This last kind of stereotype does not seem to fit in guidebook texts anyway, since it would – unnecessarily – complicate the portrayed images of the Swiss (in the simple guidebook texts), and it has a somewhat negative annotation to it (e.g., imputing that the Swiss gloat over their own values). In terms of deductive and inductive stereotypes, both inferences can be found in the guidebooks and seem to be interlinked. The stereotypes in the guidebooks are often applied to every Swiss (deductive) – e.g., when referring to the Swiss as punctual or multilingual – and derive from only one or a few people's behaviour(s) (inductive), e.g., when referring to the active Swiss elderly hiking in the mountains.

6.1.8 Positive and negative stereotypes

As mentioned in the literature review (Chapter 2, Section 2.5.3), Leerssen (2003) notes that national stereotypes are either positive or negative depending on the country’s competitiveness in politics and/or economics. However, this does not seem to be the case with respect to the presentation of Switzerland in the guidebooks. Although Switzerland is not part of the European Union, the Alpine state is an important trading partner of the EU and has a very competitive economy. In 2009 and 2010, Switzerland was ranked as the country with the most competitive economy worldwide (the USA is in 4th place, Germany 5th, the UK 12th, France 15th and Spain 42nd in 2010) (World Economic Forum, 2010). This competitive economic position of Switzerland does not result in general negative descriptions of the Swiss nation in the guidebooks. Since guidebooks are means to encourage tourists to visit a foreign destination, any negative descriptions in the guides would defeat this purpose. Hence, Leerssen’s (2003) categorisation of positive and negative stereotypes can be criticised, as it is not sufficiently sophisticated to differentiate between different sources and uses of national stereotypes.

The guidebooks primarily describe Switzerland and the Swiss people in a positive/non-xenophobic light. With respect to Oakes, Haslam and Turner’s (1994) argument, any categorisations leading to “behavioural discrimination favouring the in-groups” (Oakes et al., 1994, p. 36) are not apparent. On the contrary, if anything, the ‘in-groups’ are the ones which
are described negatively in the guidebooks, for example, in terms of references in an American guidebook to the ‘Ugly American’ and their insensitive behaviour, or the acknowledgement of the French and Spanish as being less punctual and/or disciplined. The few negative or xenophobic references in some guidebooks either deal with Switzerland’s role in WW 2, the country’s immigration policies, or the poor treatment of ethnic minorities by Swiss police. Occasionally, Swiss driving and Heidi are seen in a negative way as well (only the American Fodor’s ‘feels sorry’ for its readers, for example, when referring to the road rage in Switzerland, the lack of air-conditioning or spacious rooms). Swiss expensiveness could also be regarded as a negative image, although most guidebooks justify the higher prices in Switzerland on the basis of high quality, the strong Swiss Franc, higher living standards, etc.

6.1.9 Auto- and hetero-stereotypes

With reference to Leerssen (2003), it seems that the auto- and hetero-images of the guidebook authors – or their ‘mutual gazes’ and mutual stereotypes, or interpretations of their own nation and the Swiss nation respectively – are indeed subjective to a certain extent. It becomes evident that the writers have their own cultural idiosyncrasies, values and assumptions in mind when portraying Switzerland, and based on these they measure and judge the Swiss and address the striking differences compared to their home cultures. They recognise and confess to their own ethnocentricity quite explicitly and frequently in the guidebooks. However, contrary to the common tendency to believe in the superiority of one’s own ethnic group, it becomes clear that attributes like punctuality, discipline, precision, order, efficiency and cleanliness as well as high living standards are perceived as more ‘superior’ in Switzerland by the French, Spanish and (some of) the English and American guidebooks, and, accordingly, the guidebook authors regard these attributes as ‘inferior’ in their own countries. In these and other regards, the guidebook writers speak highly of the foreign country, Switzerland, and consequently (and implicitly) note what their own countries lack. While the authors thereby acknowledge the Swiss’ virtues and strengths, they also use these descriptions to point out how the two cultures differ and hence give the travellers a chance to prepare themselves for and adapt to foreign circumstances. In the French and Spanish guides, the only aspects which are regarded to be more significant/superior in France and Spain are food and nightlife respectively. The comparably high quantity and quality of listed restaurant and nightlife descriptions in these guides supports this interpretation.

33 The auto- and hetero-images and the idea of ‘mutual gazes’/mutual stereotypes are intertwined with each other, since both concepts refer to attitudinal images of the ‘self’-culture and the foreign culture.
According to the categorisation of in- and out-groups (Chapter 2, Section 2.5.1), the guidebook nations present themselves as ‘in-groups’ and Switzerland as the ‘out-group’ (apart from the Swiss guides which solely present themselves as an ‘in-group’). The above examples show that there is no discrimination of the out-group in the guidebooks. This ethnocentric scheme might not fit very well in the case of Switzerland and the different language guides. Between the Swiss and the cultures of the English, American, German, Spanish and French, there does not seem to be any out-group in that sense, since none of these cultures is regarded a minority group but all are equal in that, for instance, they all possess a territorial identity and distinct cultural heritage. Nonetheless, the authors’ acknowledgements of the Swiss virtues show that – in some respects – writers of one culture can regard or perceive another culture/‘out-group’ as being ‘superior’ to or in this case more ‘value-oriented’ than their own culture.

6.1.10 Distinct Swiss features and particular/exotic stereotypes

Leerssen (2003) mentions that a country “. . . is most itself in those aspects wherein it is most unlike the others” (Leerssen, 2003). While this might be the case, the guidebooks do not seem to differentiate between more or less distinct features. It remains difficult to determine, therefore, what Swiss feature is seen as the most distinct in the guidebooks. The books list several Swiss characteristics without necessarily attaching more importance to any of these. For the Spanish and French guides, for instance, one distinct feature seems to be Swiss punctuality. For the German guides, on the contrary, it is Swiss neutrality or the banking secrecy.

According to Leerssen (2003), national stereotypes describe cultural differences (Chapter 2, Section 2.5). This can be observed in the guidebooks on Switzerland as well, for instance, in terms of punctuality, cleanliness, order, precision, etc. Furthermore, to some extent, it seems to be true that attributes which different nations are said to have in common are not mentioned in the particular guidebooks. For example, unlike the French or Spanish guidebooks, no German guidebook mentions Swiss punctuality, discipline or cleanliness. However, while Leerssen (2003) argues that only particular and ‘exotic’ characteristics are considered as national stereotypes, this does not apply to all instances in the guidebooks. The German ADAC guide, for example, refers to the Swiss’ love of order and structure. This characteristic trait is also widely believed to be a German value (it might even be considered more German than Swiss) and hence is not regarded as particular by the German guides. Nevertheless, the German author mentions it in the guidebook. Moreover, the reference to ‘order’ can be seen as a stereotypical image, since this attribute reflects a common belief about the behaviour and
personality of the Swiss\(^{34}\) (and Germans) held by several guidebook authors. Other such examples include references in the German guides to quality workmanship or love and awareness of tradition. Products ‘made in Germany’ have long been and still are regarded as being of high quality, and traditions such as German carnivals, town guard festivals/shooting competitions, etc., have always been and are widespread in the country. These examples further show that the German guidebooks list Swiss stereotypical images which are typical in Germany. Thus, stereotypes in the guidebooks need not solely be particular or ‘exotic’ to one culture, but can also be common to other cultures.

6.1.11 Universal stereotypes and specific national images

Each linguistic guidebook describes the differences with their culture. In his study of cultural differences, Leerssen (2003) seems to refer to universal differences, since he, for instance, talks about one culture being perceived to be “different from the rest” and “unlike the others” (Leerssen, 2003). There is no mention of stereotypes being bilateral or specific to one particular ‘in-group’. The fact that the ‘Ugly American’ is a common image around the globe and the Swiss, for example, are seen as punctual by several nations, also suggests that stereotypes are universal. Whereas national stereotypes and national images overlap in many respects (Section 6.1.1), in some ways, stereotypes are different to image. For instance, most countries of Europe hold an image of Wilhelm Tell, but this image may not be a stereotype. The stereotype only comes from the interpretation of the myth. The interpretation may be different in different countries (e.g., Joan of Arc: a great hero to the French but disliked by the English). With respect to Wilhelm Tell, the interpretation of the crossbowman as a freedom and independence fighter seems to be universal in the guidebooks. Heidi is mostly interpreted the same in the guidebooks too; however the Lonely Planet and Rough Guide portray the orphan story and the ‘Heidi mania’, negatively.

Apart from the popular myths of Wilhelm Tell and Heidi, there are also some myths and images in Switzerland which seem to not be well-known and/or understood elsewhere. One example is the allegoric figure of Helvetia (the Swiss version of Lady Liberty) which symbolises Switzerland and stands for productivity, wealth, love of freedom, love of peace, unity, vigilance and dauntlessness. Only the Swiss Marco Polo and Merian guides make brief reference to Helvetia; the Fodor’s sole mention is of the location of the statue of Helvetia in Basel. According to Stephan Feige (manager of htp St Gallen and director of studies at the

\(^{34}\) No differentiation is made between French-, Italian or German-speaking Swiss, but given the information in non-Swiss guidebooks (French, Spanish and German), it can be assumed that this attribute specifically applies to German-speaking Swiss.
the crossbow is another example: it is well-known in Switzerland, but not recognised as a typical Swiss symbol in other countries (Tinner, 2010). In addition, each canton in Switzerland has its own myths which seem largely unknown outside of the country. For example, in the canton of Valais (French part), the myth of Farinet is very popular. The *Michelin* guide is the only guidebook to refer to the legend of Farinet. In light of the above examples and the presentation of stereotypical and national images of Switzerland in the guidebooks, it seems that stereotypical images typically are well-known and universal, whereas some national images are specific to the particular ‘in-group’.

### 6.1.12 The interpretations of guidebook writers

The guidebooks on Switzerland select sights, provide information about them and interpret what tourists perceive. It seems that the process of interpretation (Bhattacharyya, 1997) (Chapter 2, Section 2.4) is central since the authors’ interpretations of Switzerland and of their own culture form the basis for all stereotypical images which emerge in the guidebooks.

As mentioned earlier, the Swiss in general are described as punctual, orderly or clean by the French and Spanish guides and some of the English/American guides, and the Swiss Italian and Swiss French people are not excluded from this description (as one could assume they resemble the Italians and French respectively). With respect to Leerssen (2003) and the stereotypes in the guides, this indicates that the addressed stereotypes can provide information about the Swiss culture, but do not necessarily describe (all) the Swiss people themselves, as there might not be a “typical” Swiss person. The guidebook authors convey certain perceptions they have about what will be of interest to their own nations’ travellers and tourists and they make judgements about the travellers’ national traits. This involves a complex set of processes, leading to the question who the author of a travel guidebook perceives he/she is writing for. For instance, while the British or German ‘obsession’ with beer might be addressed in the respective guidebooks, most British or German travellers might like beer but it will not be something which would preoccupy their interest in Switzerland. Hence, guidebook writers might have themselves in mind when writing, and/or a personally ‘stereotyped’/culturally tailored target audience. As with any job, people usually are motivated to do their work to earn money and/or because it is fulfilling/they like what they do. Writers of guidebooks firstly portray a destination because there is demand for this

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35 This is surprising since the crossbow is closely linked to Wilhelm Tell.  
36 Farinet was a counterfeiter, who was always on the run from federal authorities. The people in Valais protected him and used his coins, because they did not like the new authority. Farinet was eventually ‘hunted down’ by the police. Among the population, it is believed he was shot while trying to escape in the mountains. The police claimed he slipped and fell to his death while trying to flee.
particular place. In addition, they presumably attempt to produce texts, which sell well. In order to achieve this, the texts have to be well received by the target audience, have to explain foreign places and help facilitate and enhance peoples’ travels to/at these places. In the guidebooks, the writers give their supposedly ‘unbiased’ opinions about whether places are good, bad or indifferent. By doing so, however, each writer not only has his/her own ethnocentricity in mind, but also has his/her own writing style, which can be funny, sarcastic, exaggerated, etc., to make the book more sellable and/or a good general read. Nevertheless, the collective voice of guidebooks should not be forgotten either. Guidebooks are mainly recognised by their brand names, not their individual authors, and this brand name significantly forms the voice of the guidebook (e.g., in terms of its anticipated target group). For example, the tone of the Lonely Planet seems to be more conversational, personal and partial than the tone of the Baedeker.

The discussion and comparison of the results of the content analysis with the theories in the literature review suggests the limited value of most current theorising about guidebooks and stereotypes – which is shown to be simplistic and insufficiently nuanced. A point which has not been raised yet is what ‘real’ influences such images and national stereotypes in guidebooks can have on the perceptions of people and their behaviour at a destination. This will be addressed in Chapter 7, the conclusion. That chapter will also discuss the personal input of guidebook writers and present the overall conclusion of this thesis.
Chapter 7
Conclusion

The purpose of this thesis has been to explore how different language guidebooks on Switzerland represent and interpret the tourist destination, and to identify any stereotypical images in the guidebooks and assess their similarity. The aim of this final chapter is to recall and evaluate the research objectives, integrate the data presented in previous chapters, and discuss the research contributions and limitations as well as recommendations for future research.

7.1 Research questions guiding this thesis

The research objectives of this study were

- To use content analysis to evaluate what English, American, German, Spanish and French travel guidebooks communicate about Switzerland
- To find out whether Switzerland is perceived differently in different language travel guidebooks
- To identify any stereotypical images in the guidebooks and assess their similarity
- To investigate whether the emphasis on certain locations/places, the use of certain images, and advice on accommodation, restaurants, nightlife and activities varies among the different guidebooks

With respect to the research objectives of this thesis, the content analysis has shown that national stereotypes are frequently used by guidebook writers to represent and interpret what the tourists might perceive when visiting the destination. The English, American, German/Swiss, Spanish and French travel guidebooks on Switzerland communicate many similar images about Switzerland (e.g., in terms of Wilhelm Tell, Heidi, Swiss chocolate, cheese, public transport, expensiveness, physical fitness, precision, efficiency, etc.). They also differ in their representations in a number of respects (e.g., cleanliness, multilingualism, cuckoo clocks, etc.). In addition, in representing the “other”, guidebooks also call upon stereotypes of ‘home’. Commonly, they present the Swiss as one culture with intragroup similarities (e.g., all Swiss are punctual, orderly or multilingual), and also their ‘home cultures’ as one intragroup (the Spanish, the French, the Germans, etc.) with the same characteristics. In turn,
two of these different intragroups present one ‘intergroup’ (see Section 6.1.6 and Footnote 24 on p. 101) with differences (e.g., the Spanish and Swiss differ in punctuality, precision, cleanliness). The various nationalities of the guidebook writers result in different perceptions and interpretations of the Alpine destination, e.g., with regard to differences in Swiss punctuality, cleanliness, order, food or nightlife. Moreover, the guidebooks to some extent differ in their emphasis on certain cantons, use of cover photos and advice on accommodation, restaurants and nightlife, e.g., depending on their language group, target groups and/or the level of promotion and popularity of specific Swiss tourist regions. In other words, Switzerland is perceived “differently” in different language travel guidebooks.

7.2 Summary of research findings

Destination images and stereotypes overlap in many respects. Images often simplify reality and hence form stereotypes. Most stereotypes and destination images in the guidebooks are universal, but some national images seem to be specific to particular in-groups. With respect to the theories of national stereotypes, the study findings support the concept of ‘subjective’ auto- and hetero-images by Leerssen (2003). The guidebook writers frequently and explicitly recognise and confess to their own ethnocentricity. Furthermore, the theory that national stereotypes present contradictory images with the most characteristic image involving its own opposite can, to some extent, be found in the guidebooks as well. In addition, stereotypes in the guidebooks fit into different theoretical categories, such as idiosyncratic/collective, simple/projected and deductive/inductive stereotypes.

However, the content analysis also revealed that (national) stereotypes – contrary to common theoretical beliefs – do not necessarily favour ‘in-groups’ (i.e., the home cultures of the guidebook writers), but instead – in case of the guidebooks – tend to present ‘in-groups’ in a more negative light than ‘out-groups’ (i.e., the Swiss nation). (The ‘Swiss’ guidebooks are an exception to this, since the Swiss authors write about their own ‘in-group’ and usually do not refer to any ‘out-groups’.) In addition, in opposition to Leerssen’s (2003) theory, the political and/or economic competiveness of a country does not seem to be a crucial factor in terms of its positive or negative representation in guidebooks. Moreover, contrary to Leerssen’s argument (2003), national stereotypes in the guidebooks on Switzerland are not necessarily particular or ‘exotic’, but are also used in relation to other countries. Furthermore, with respect to Lehtonen’s (2005) four types of national stereotypes, the projected hetero-stereotypes (“we feel that they think they are”) are not found in guidebooks, at least not in non-Swiss language guides (the ‘Swiss’ Merian guide notes that the Swiss credit themselves with certain attributes). The common belief that guidebooks are autonomous, authentic
information sources needs to be put into perspective as well, since contradictions between and within the guidebooks indicate that they are not necessarily impeccable and become outdated quickly. All these discrepancies show that the existing theories on (national) stereotypes are insufficiently nuanced when applying them to stereotypical images in guidebooks, since they do not capture the complexity inherent in the processes involved in guidebook writing and reading.

Interestingly, the study showed that guidebook auto-stereotypes (e.g., American, Spanish or French stereotypes in the U.S., Spanish and French guides on Switzerland) often match the stereotypical images about these countries commonly held by people from other nations. For instance, in the French guidebooks, the French come across as a nation which loves to eat (good food), but non-French authors (e.g., on the internet) also often describe the French as food lovers and/or good cooks (e.g., in the quoted joke on national stereotypes (p. 29)). Similarly, different nations often perceive the Spanish as people who love to party, and also the Spanish to some extent represent themselves like this in their guidebooks. Americans, who are often regarded as ‘loud’ and ‘insensitive’ by people from different nationalities, refer to the ‘Ugly Americans’ in their guidebooks. Maybe, to some extent, national stereotypes do present a kernel of truth after all.

While the various positive Swiss images/stereotypes in the guidebooks can influence the perceptions of people, their decisions to travel to Switzerland, and their behaviour at the destination, it still remains unclear in what ways and how much people are actually affected by them. The literature review on guidebooks suggests that the books and their textual representations are very important to their readers and that they have considerable control and power over them. In the case of Switzerland, they might only serve to provide security (Switzerland is seen as a safe country with low crime rates) or act as vehicles of memories, or even help to evaluate social experiences in the country. The advice and recommendations of the writers could result in adaptive behaviour on the part of tourists, e.g., the French might be careful not to leave any rubbish behind in public places after reading about Swiss cleanliness. However, the real connection between the interpretations induced by the writers and the level of belief or acceptance among the readers remains speculative, depending on how people use

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37 The consulted theories about national stereotypes do not give any indications of the possibility that auto-stereotypes match hetero-stereotypes about the ‘auto-stereotype’ nation held by people from other nations. This finding shows that people from different countries can perceive a nation the same way the country perceives itself. It further indicates that existing theories about stereotypes need to be extended.
and read the guidebooks. For example, post-tourists can be expected to interpret and use guidebooks in ways which differ from those of other types of tourists (e.g., retrospective reflection and/or for confirmation purposes instead of for guiding and selection purposes) (Nishimura et al., 2006). Furthermore, based on their experiences at the destination, post-tourists may conclude that the national stereotypes described in the guidebooks do apply or do not apply to the people of the country visited.

7.3 Research contribution

The results of this thesis are mainly of theoretical benefit. They enhance our understanding of guidebook writers, contribute to a better understanding of how Switzerland is represented, interpreted and perceived in different countries, and can help to apply and explore theories of national stereotypes and put them into perspective.

In particular, this research contributes to a nuanced understanding of national stereotypes in guidebooks. Current theories fail to capture substantial differences in stereotyping. There is a need for a more accurate, differentiated and sophisticated understanding which takes different sources and uses of stereotypes into consideration and recognises the need for different approaches to them. Existing categorisations of different kinds of national images (e.g., see the categorisation of Jahoda et al in Section 6.1.1) are unclear and outdated and need to be revised. Stereotypes in guidebooks and stereotypes formed and used by people in other situations vary. Guidebook authors, for instance, are specific in that they remark on and use national stereotypes in their guides but typically refrain from favouring their own country and discriminating against a foreign culture (apart from the guidebook series entitled ‘Xenophobe Guides’ which use a distinctive sarcastic and funny writing style).

Another contribution to knowledge made by this research is an enhanced understanding of (particular) ‘cultural differences’ in stereotypes. The study explores varying auto-stereotypes of the U.S. and European countries, confirming that cultural differences exist and often are consistent with popular stereotypical images about these nations held by people from other countries. Furthermore, the Swiss-Swiss and non-Swiss-Swiss comparisons reveal that Swiss stereotypes to a large extent are universal among the Alpine state and other nations, since all countries largely perceive Switzerland in the same way, but differ in the knowledge and understanding of some national images of Switzerland.
The plentiful references to ‘self-stereotyping’ or auto-stereotypes in the guidebooks are a major research finding and contribution in itself, as this thesis initially set out to solely analyse hetero-stereotypes of Switzerland in the different language guidebooks. The existence of so many auto-stereotypes in guidebooks representing a foreign destination reflects the ‘ethnocentric’ character of the guides.\(^38\) These ‘self-stereotypes’ can provide a lot of information on the ‘home’ cultures of the guidebooks, but still need to be analysed cautiously, since such stereotypes can be very subjective with respect to the authors’ preferences and/or personally ‘stereotyped’ target audience. The British and German love of beer, for instance, might apply to many readers from the UK and Germany while some readers might not be interested in beer at all. In any case, however, such different preferences are unlikely to influence a tourist’s decision to visit the country.

The above aspect leads to a further theoretical contribution of this research: A holistic understanding of the considerable, personal input of guidebook writers. This input begins with the cultural values, idiosyncrasies and assumptions that the authors hold about their very own country and which are involved in their cultural confrontation with the other country. It may differ, e.g., due to authors’ varying personalities and travel experiences. Moreover, the authors’ input also covers their personal opinions about the foreign culture they are portraying. Apart from gathering background information on the countries in question, they visit the places themselves and let the readers see and experience the destination through their eyes. By referring to ‘mutual’ stereotypes (Swiss stereotypes and ‘home’ stereotypes (French, German, Spanish, English, American)), they provide an extensive image of their views and understandings of two cultures. This shows that guidebooks are rich in stereotypical images. Since the writers’/editors’ stereotypical views encompass both a cultural in-group and out-group, guidebooks are a perfect, suitable source to study and explore national stereotypes.

In practical aspects, the research findings maybe could be useful for Switzerland and its strategies for tourism marketing. They could assist marketers and tourism promoters in identifying the country’s markets, in recognising that – to some extent – different nations perceive Switzerland differently and, accordingly, may have different expectations, desires, needs or behaviours. In this way they might better target such nations respectively. The findings might also be helpful for marketers and place promoters to resolve common misunderstandings about Switzerland (e.g., the misconception of Switzerland as a boring

\(^38\) In terms of looking at Switzerland from the perspective of one’s own culture.
place to party), and to recognise which Swiss regions have been ignored by the guidebooks and hence could be promoted better.

One aspect the thesis has not covered is the conative perspective of destination images/stereotypes. As discussed in the literature review, conative images are behavioural responses to stereotypes (Chapter 2, Section 2.1). The reason that the conative perspective does not directly apply to this content analysis of guidebooks is that it includes this action element which is central to the decision-making process of tourists, since it results in tourists visiting or not visiting a destination, but does not influence the occurrence and representation of stereotypical images in guidebooks.

In this thesis, I did not discover that stereotypical images in guidebooks are solely particular or ‘exotic’ (meaning they apply to one country only), but with regard to the overall function of guidebooks (portraying a foreign country and providing information to make travel convenient and enjoyable), guidebook authors try to present a holistic picture of a nation, which is likely to include cultural differences but also similarities. This is even more so if the nations in question are neighbouring countries and have the same linguistic background. I also did not verify that in-groups are favoured over out-groups, but guidebook writers present a special case in that they advertise a (foreign) country and their books are designed to attract tourists; the writers’ purpose is not to primarily and extensively distinguish themselves from this country. Furthermore, the thesis did not find that the political and/or economic competitiveness of a country determines whether its image is positive or negative, but for guidebook authors such competitiveness does not pose any threats at all, since their job is to portray a destination and they do not need to be concerned with political systems, exports, imports, etc. They are expected to reflect the authentic image of a destination. The existence of the projected hetero-stereotype (“we feel that they think they are”; see Section 6.1.7) has not been verified for non-Swiss guidebooks either, but its use does not seem suitable for simple guidebook texts anyway for it unnecessarily complicates interpretations and perceptions of the Swiss.

7.4 Future research

In light of future research, content analyses on other destinations portrayed in guidebooks would be helpful to see if there are similar representations and interpretations of current different countries (e.g.: Do the results apply to countries other than Switzerland – for
instance, ones with less central iconic images – Matterhorn, Tell, Heidi, etc.?), or if guidebook portrayals of other countries differ largely from the ones of Switzerland.

The content analysis demonstrates that guidebooks not only provide information on who or what is being written about, but also who is writing the messages and who is receiving them. Their writers’ representations, perceptions and interpretations of destination images and national stereotypes present an interesting research area which has barely been studied in academic research to this point. Stereotypical perceptions are an important part of image formation. While a content analysis of a number of language guidebooks can help to understand how different people might perceive a destination and behave as tourists, their actual perceptions and behaviours cannot be determined. Therefore, future studies could usefully focus on the influence of national stereotypes in guidebooks on tourists, by conducting combined research on guidebooks and their actual readers. Dann’s (1996) concept of tourists as ‘chasers of images’ poses an interesting model of ‘man’ being used, similar to that of the mass communications theorists of the 1950s, whereby the ‘audience’ were seen to be passive receivers of messages (hence ‘propaganda’). Such an understanding clearly needs to be reviewed, just as it has been reviewed in the study of communications, especially mass communications. In some way, the guidebook readers are ‘being used’ by the guidebooks as well, since the guidebook writers share their interpretations and perceptions with the readers and which – to some extent – are likely to be at least subconsciously stored in the tourists’ minds and might affect their visit. However, in order to determine to what extent tourists are ‘chasers of images’, there is a need to know which tourists read which guidebooks, the types and amount of information they read in the guidebooks, to what extent they are affected by the information, and how their perceptions of the information influences their behaviour at the destination.
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Appendix A
Translations

The following extracts demonstrate that the translations of the *Lonely Planet* or *Michelin* guides are mainly one-to-one translations.

*Michelin* Schweiz – *Michelin* Suisse (a German extract of the Michelin guide and its equivalent in French)

Leben in der Schweiz (Life in Switzerland)


Nature and paysage (Nature and landscapes)

Malgré une superficie d’à peine plus de 40 000 km², la Suisse offre un variété de paysages tout à fait étonnante. En quelques kilomètres, on peut passer de cols enneigés à des vallées couvertes de vignes et d’abricotiers. Sa population se concentre dans des villes agréables à dimension humaine, et ses paysages bien préservésse composent essentiellement de vallons couverts de fôrets et de prairies, parsémes de farmes et de villages typiques, ainsi que de lacs et de majestueuses montagnes qui couvrent plus de 70 % du pays (Brabis, 2007b).

*Lonely Planet* Schweiz – *Lonely Planet* Switzerland (two German extracts of the Lonely Planet and its equivalents in English)

Reiseziel Schweiz

kleinen Zügen zwischen Gipfeln und Kiefern durch die Landschaft fahren, in alpinen Wellnesstempeln entspannen, auf Schneeschuhen wandern oder sich in die Luzerner Brücken verlieben. Das Leben lässt sich in dieser gemütlichen und bezaubernden Bilderbuch-klave Europas also trefflich genießen (Williams, Simonis, & Walker, 2009a, p. 16).

Destination Switzerland
What giddy romance and glamour Zermat, St. Moritz, Davos and other glitterati-encrusted names evoke: from the intoxicated chink of multimillionaires in Verbier hobnobbing over Champagne cocktails poured in ice-carved flutes to the comforting jangle of the cows coming home to sgraffito-blazoned farmsteads in the Engadine, seduction is head-over-heels complete. Ride a little red train between peak and pine, soak in mountain spa water, snowshoe to your igloo, fall madly in love with painted bridges in Lucerne and know life ist his snug, smug, truely ravishing enclave in Europe is good (Williams, Simonis, & Walker, 2009b, p. 16).

Französisch
Jeder Versuch, sich auf Französisch zu verständigen, wird auf Zuspruch stoßen, selbst wenn es nur die Frage ist: Pardon, madame/monsieur/mademoiselle, parlez-vous allemand? (Entschuldigen Sie, Madame/Monsieur/Mademoiselle, sprechen Sie Deutsch?), ist das allemal höflicher, als Menschen, die gerade Französisch gesprochen haben, einfach auf Hochdeutsch anzureden (Williams et al., 2009a, p. 409).

French
Any attempt to communicate in French will be very much appreciated, even if the only sentence you know is: Pardon, madame/monsieur/mademoiselle, parlez-vous anglais? (Excuse me, do you speak English?) you’re sure to be more warmly received than if you blindly address a stranger in English (Williams et al., 2009b, p. 375).

In the last example, the two versions only differ in that the German Lonely Planet adapts the sentence to the Germans (” . . . and it’s sure to be more polite than if you blindly address a stranger in German” (Williams et al., 2009a, p. 409).
Appendix B

Reference lists of the guidebooks


## Table 9  Number of common accommodation listings in the different guidebooks.

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PF = Petit Futé  F = Fodor’s  Me = Merian
GV = Guía viva  LP = Lonely Planet  B = Baedeker
GT = Guía total  RG = Rough Guide  MP = Marco Polo
Table 10  Number of common eating out listings in the different guidebooks.

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<td>Usually</td>
<td>Location, Décor, Exact prices</td>
<td>Location, Décor, Ambience, Price ranges</td>
<td>Location, Décor, Specific features</td>
<td>Location, Décor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sometimes</td>
<td>Specific features</td>
<td>Specific features</td>
<td>Specific features</td>
<td>Specific features</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 14  Information in the nightlife descriptions of the English guides.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nightlife descriptions</th>
<th>Lonely Planet</th>
<th>Rough Guide</th>
<th>DK Eyewitness</th>
<th>Berlitz Pocket Guide</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Usually</td>
<td>Location, Opening hours</td>
<td>Location, Ambience</td>
<td>Location, Music styles</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sometimes</td>
<td>Décor, Ambience, Music style</td>
<td>Décor, Opening hours, Exact prices</td>
<td>Décor</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 15  Information in the eating out descriptions of the Spanish guidebooks.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Eating out descriptions</th>
<th>Guía viva</th>
<th>Guía azul</th>
<th>Guía total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Usually</td>
<td>Location, Food, Specialities, Price ranges</td>
<td>Location, Food, Opening hours, Price ranges</td>
<td>Location</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Often</td>
<td>Opening hours, Ambience, Quality</td>
<td>Quality, Specialities, Ambience</td>
<td>Food, Ambience</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sometimes</td>
<td>Décor</td>
<td>Décor</td>
<td>Food, Ambience</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 16  Information in the accommodation descriptions of the Spanish guidebooks.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Accommodation descriptions</th>
<th>Guía viva</th>
<th>Guía azul</th>
<th>Guía total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Usually</td>
<td>Location, Décor, Price ranges, Quality (stars)</td>
<td>Location, Ambience, Décor, Price ranges</td>
<td>Location, Quality (stars), Specific features</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Often</td>
<td>Ambience, Quality</td>
<td>Quality (stars)</td>
<td>Décor, Ambience</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sometimes</td>
<td></td>
<td>Quality</td>
<td>Décor, Ambience</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 17  Information in the nightlife descriptions of the Spanish guidebooks.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nightlife descriptions</th>
<th>Guía viva</th>
<th>Guía azul</th>
<th>Guía total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Usually</td>
<td>Location, Music styles</td>
<td>Location, Ambience, Music styles, Opening hours</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Often</td>
<td>Ambience</td>
<td>Quality</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sometimes</td>
<td>Décor, Quality</td>
<td>Décor</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 18  Information in the eating out descriptions of the French guidebooks.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Eating out descriptions</th>
<th>Routard</th>
<th>Petit Futé</th>
<th>Michelin</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Usually</td>
<td>Location, Food, Quality, Specialities, Décor, Opening hours, Exact prices</td>
<td>Location, Food, Quality, Specialities, Opening hours</td>
<td>Location, Food, Quality, Specialities, Opening hours, Exact prices</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Décor, Exact prices</td>
<td>Décor</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sometimes</td>
<td>Ambience</td>
<td>Ambience</td>
<td>Ambience</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 19  Information in the accommodation descriptions of the French guidebooks.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Accommodation descriptions</th>
<th>Routard</th>
<th>Petit Futé</th>
<th>Michelin</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Usually</td>
<td>Location, Décor, Ambience, Exact prices</td>
<td>Location, Décor, Ambience, Exact prices, Quality</td>
<td>Location, Décor, Ambience, Exact prices, Quality</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sometimes</td>
<td>Quality</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 20  Information in the nightlife descriptions of the French guidebooks.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nightlife descriptions</th>
<th>Routard</th>
<th>Petit Futé</th>
<th>Michelin</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Usually</td>
<td>Location, Décor, Ambience, Music style, Opening hours</td>
<td>Location, Décor</td>
<td>Location, Music style</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Often</td>
<td></td>
<td>Opening hours, Music style, Ambience</td>
<td>Décor, Ambience, Opening hours</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sometimes</td>
<td>Quality</td>
<td>Quality</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 21  Information in the eating out descriptions of the American guidebooks.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Eating out descriptions</th>
<th>Fodor’s</th>
<th>Let’s Go</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Usually</td>
<td>Location, Décor, Food, Specialities, Price ranges Accepted Credit Cards</td>
<td>Location, Exact prices, Opening hours</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Often</td>
<td>Quality</td>
<td>Accepted directions, Accepted credit cards, Food, Specialities</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sometimes</td>
<td>Ambience, Opening hours</td>
<td>Décor, Ambience</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 22  Information in the accommodation descriptions of the American guidebooks

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Accommodation descriptions</th>
<th>Fodor’s</th>
<th>Let’s Go</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Usually</td>
<td>Location, Décor, Price ranges</td>
<td>Location, Exact prices</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Often</td>
<td>Pros &amp; Cons</td>
<td>Additional directions, Accepted credit cards</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sometimes</td>
<td>Specific features, Ambience</td>
<td>Noisy nightlife</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 23  Information in the nightlife descriptions of the American guidebooks.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nightlife descriptions</th>
<th>Fodor’s</th>
<th>Let’s Go</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Usually</td>
<td>Location, Ambience</td>
<td>Location, Opening hours, Ambience</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Often</td>
<td></td>
<td>Additional directions, Prices for drinks and snacks, Music style</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sometimes</td>
<td>Décor, Music style</td>
<td>Décor</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Table 24  Information in the eating out descriptions of the German/Swiss guidebooks.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Eating out descriptions</th>
<th>Polyglott</th>
<th>Marco Polo</th>
<th>ADAC</th>
<th>Baedeker</th>
<th>Merian</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Usually</td>
<td>Location, Food,</td>
<td>Location, Food,</td>
<td>Location, Food,</td>
<td>Location, Food,</td>
<td>Location, Food,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Price ranges</td>
<td>Price ranges</td>
<td>Food</td>
<td>Food, Price ranges</td>
<td>Food, Price ranges</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Often</td>
<td>Specialities</td>
<td>Décor</td>
<td>Specialities, Décor</td>
<td>Quality, No mention of restaurant bars</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sometimes</td>
<td>Décor</td>
<td>Specialities, Décor</td>
<td>Specialities, Décor</td>
<td>Specialities, Quality Décor, Ambience</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Table 25  Information in the accommodation descriptions of the German/Swiss guidebooks.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Accommodation descriptions</th>
<th>Polyglott</th>
<th>Marco Polo</th>
<th>ADAC</th>
<th>Baedeker</th>
<th>Merian</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Usually</td>
<td>Location, Price ranges</td>
<td>Location, Price ranges</td>
<td>Location, Décor/ Features</td>
<td>Location, Décor/ Features, Price ranges</td>
<td>Location, Décor/ Features, Price ranges</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Often</td>
<td>Décor/ Features</td>
<td>Ambience</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sometimes</td>
<td>Ambience</td>
<td>Décor</td>
<td>Ambience</td>
<td></td>
<td>Ambience</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Table 26  Information in the nightlife descriptions of the German/Swiss guidebooks

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nightlife descriptions</th>
<th>Polyglott</th>
<th>Marco Polo</th>
<th>ADAC</th>
<th>Baedeker</th>
<th>Merian</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Usually</td>
<td>Location</td>
<td>Location</td>
<td>Location, Music style</td>
<td>Festivals &amp; events</td>
<td>Location</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sometimes</td>
<td>Music style</td>
<td>Music style</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Ambience, Décor, Music style</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>