

**Zeitschrift:** Das Werk : Architektur und Kunst = L'oeuvre : architecture et art  
**Band:** 61 (1974)  
**Heft:** 8: Tourismus = Tourisme  
  
**Rubrik:** Summaries in English

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## Souvenir de la Suisse

système économique bourgeois-capitaliste qui ne divise plus la société en plusieurs mais en deux classes seulement, la bourgeoisie puissante et la classe ouvrière productrice. Une forte croissance de certaines entreprises grandissant sans cesse débute dans de nombreuses branches de l'industrie. Ainsi, le tourisme et ses média deviennent une véritable industrie grâce à l'amélioration des transports en commun. Il est évident que les ouvriers ne disposent ni des moyens financiers ni du temps nécessaires pour se payer un «beau voyage dans ce pays de rêves qu'est la Suisse». Le tourisme reste un privilège de la bourgeoisie jusqu'à la fin du XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle.

Le moyen publicitaire le plus important du tourisme est toujours la production graphique d'images, soit sous forme de feuilles isolées, soit sous celle d'illustrations dans des guides, mais là aussi se déroule une polarisation analogue à la transformation sociale. La vaste industrialisation et l'introduction générale de la répartition du travail entraîne, dans le secteur culturel, une séparation de l'organisation et du processus de manufacture, du travail manuel et du travail mental, c'est-à-dire

qu'on distingue un art pur et un art mineur, ou appliqués. Ce dernier se forme en dépendance directe des lois de l'économie libre; il satisfait et stimule les besoins de vastes milieux de la population. Le fort taux de croissance des voyageurs bourgeois permet de faire et contraindre d'atteindre une forte augmentation du tirage des feuilles de souvenirs; il mène droit à une mécanisation et à une amélioration croissantes des techniques d'impression (de la gravure à la photographie). Les investissements correspondants ne peuvent être faits que par ceux qui disposent des capitaux nécessaires et qui peuvent trouver la main-d'œuvre en nombre suffisant. Les grandes maisons d'édition suisses, telles que Füssli & Cie, Maehly et Schabelitz ou Isenring, prédominent de plus en plus; elles évincent les ateliers familiaux des petits maîtres tels que König et mettent à leur entière dépendance les artisans qui sont à leur service. Ceux-ci n'ont plus aucune relation avec le marché pour lequel ils travaillent et dont ils dépendent indirectement.

On reproduit essentiellement des curiosités urbaines, ainsi que certaines contrées rurales, centrales et pré-alpines qui sont facilement accessibles comme, par exemple, la région du Rigi. De tels paysages sont reproduits en miniatures isolées, bon marché, ou subdivisés en vues partielles de curiosités touristiques, rassemblées en feuilles d'albums. La prolétarisation définitive des artistes artisans fait disparaître de leurs images la teneur réaliste et spé-

ciale ainsi que la revendication d'y reproduire l'image représentative et réelle de leur vie et de leur espace vital. La réduction de certains détails et la prédominance de certains clichés n'en deviennent que plus manifestes.

La représentation du monde alpin indestructible et de l'originale vie libre de la population alpestre reprend de l'importance grâce à l'introduction des procédés de reproduction phototechniques. Car plus la bourgeoisie prend possession du paysage et le monnaie, plus l'influence de la technique et de l'industrie sur la vie quotidienne et sur l'environnement s'accroît et plus grandit le désir de les fuir. L'extension du réseau ferroviaire et automobile, par laquelle des sites jadis intangibles deviennent accessibles, éveille en même temps le désir d'une nature à l'abri de toute civilisation, de cette Nature même que l'accèsibilité détruit invariablement. Les modèles ruraux conservent la croyance en une uniformité et en une unité qui correspondent de moins en moins à la réalité. Les fallacieuses images transportent les paroles révolutionnaires de «Liberté, Egalité et Fraternité» dans une époque qui a depuis longtemps changé de devise. L'histoire de la société moderne est bien plus caractérisée par la vénalité de la liberté par l'élite et par l'esclavage imposé à la population; elle ne vit pas de l'égalité, mais au contraire de la polarisation des contrastes, elle ne vit pas de la fraternité mais du rendement imposé et de la compétitivité. Traduction: Jeanpierre Bendel ■

# Summaries in English

## Expectations or tourism as a universal cure

by Françoise and Gerulf de Vries and Bea Schulthess  
(See page 916)

Particularly from politicians, but also from the press, stream forth continually waves about a euphoric development, in connection with which only tourism and only tourism in the "great out-fashioned outdoors" can offer a "healthy" development – certainly and suspiciously without the exact paraphrasing of the versatile adjectives "old-fashioned" and "healthy"...

This development consequently envisages that a route will be opened, that the number of lodgings for-the-night will continually increase, that the yearly account of the spa-association will be gratifyingly presented, that a sports centre will be planned...

The attitude of the politicians, who speak of a "deep conviction" about the use of tourism, necessarily rubs off onto the ordinary man, who is still in a stage of development and can only understand the sale of land, the sale of an apartment, or the construction of ski-lifts.

Out of the complex structure of tourism the only aspects to be frequently perceived are those particulars which can bring the largest material advantages in the shortest time, consequences and effects will be consciously or unconsciously pushed aside.

The optical ugliness will be perceived and criticized before anything else, the mess, the rush-job, the disfigurement of the land. More seldom does one come across critical voices about the financial burden of the community, yet mostly without exact analyses from the local budget requirements of the structure.

That the impetus and progress of the business is to the advantage of a select few – and it is true that

they are generally not natives of the area – will not be recognized or suppressed, the social and physical consequences and effects those that are connected with changing the functions of the community in a health resort, will finally be practically never mentioned.

Tourism – especially tourism connected with the holiday house – is regarded as a patent means of preserving the agrarian landscape with its alluring rhythm – meadows – pastures – flat arable land – rustic settlements – a farm will be saved from decay, stalls and stables built, spring pastures will be transformed, now and then a run-down meadow will be rejuvenated by ponies and the like. That in the immediate surroundings more houses are constructed will be mostly overlooked – also overlooked will be, that not every region or rural community is suitable for transformation into a holiday village.

The younger farmer, who has decided to remain in the village and to continue to carry on in his trade stands skeptically facing tourism. He views it as a "sacred cow", which devours enormous amounts of money, and to which one must sacrifice ones meadows as ski-pistes, and ones best level ground as a skating-rink or swimming-pool. The presence of strangers disturbs his daily routine, in his habits and mode of life, just as in his usual surroundings, the field and the village pub. An all too large a development in the tourist field is the rise in the price of land, so that one can no longer buy land for a reasonable price, to supplement his operation.

The older farmer, who has worked life-long without having ever seen better no times, looks often upon tourism with vehemence, and believes almost like a megalomaniac, that his land is the best building land for far and wide. After a wretched existence, he would like to see a little money in the twilight of his life. He is a fanatical supporter of the tourist trade and a fanatical seller of land, whereby he mostly believes, to have been extremely cunning

and to have made a large profit. That he has given his most precious goods away, from whose interest he has lived all his life and over which he could exercise command, he never recognizes or at the earliest, too late.

The younger generation, that is no longer occupied with farming, but who still lives within the community, looks upon tourism with a certain skepticism. As long as no strangers are there, they are lord and master of their own lands. In any event, they tolerate a certain degree of hotel tourism, but are averse to holiday houses.

The youths of the village expect from the tourist trade a change from the daily grind. There is something going on, one can go to a bar or go dancing. The youths of the village believe they behave and dress in city-style. Nobody bothers about the youth, neither the teacher, nor the associations, or the church. There are arrangements made or facilities on hand, whereby the youths can spend their leisure time. The village youth is not only abandoned, but it also has nothing to say.

Contractors and handicraft workers always look favourably on the tourist trade. They expect a better turnover of business, if not big business. If they prosper from a change of job from carpenter in a building firm, they often also overestimate their capacity.

Hoteliers are likewise as positively disposed towards the tourist trade. There continues a certain conflict with the building contractors; the hotelier does not greet with relish the development of these hotel-substitutes (holiday houses and property flats). Here, in this way, are potential guests lost. The occupiers of the holiday houses seldom come to his restaurant, and they buy their groceries in discount shops in the cities below. A higher class of guests is almost always envisaged. Youth, mass and social tourism are despised.

The investor looks at tourism only in figures. A

doubling of the tourist trade by the year 2000 is for him a rosy outlook. The market for land, the price of land, and market possibilities are for him the most important criteria. Tourism is a business, in which the existing possibilities will be used scrupulously. A favourite playground for the speculators are the communities, which are at the beginning of a stage of touristic development. They produce for him the symptom of under-development, which promises the highest gains for him: the low price of land, trifling production costs with the local building trade or with imported prefabrication, little or meagre obstruction with reference to building regulations, no initial costs for the levelling, for the infrastructure, and in addition no detriment to the landscape.

The expectations of the guests are manifold, but they do not have any direct effect on the development of the tourist trade – because the stranger in the community has practically nothing to say. First as holiday home occupier, when he has established himself, he can be active: then often stirs in him the protector of the landscape, who tries to hinder further construction, particularly in his area. On the other hand, he expects always more and more services from the community, although he pays practically no taxes.

#### Plans in conflict – for example in tourism

*The object in view.* Specialists ratify, that a community or a region has seldom worked out a clear plan as regards the objects in view concerning tourism – in connection with which numerous important basic considerations are left out, and there are therefore, for example, on a national level, no actual tourist-trade politics and adequate statistics, which can give information about possible guest-trends and specific requirements.

Nevertheless the necessity exists for the examination of a community: will they develop it and – if so – how fast? – What sort of an image will they give it? Connected with this were the means and measures to ponder over, which make possible a promised, successful realization of the aims in view as regards tourism.

*The establishment of health resorts.* Private entrepreneurs invest their money preferably in lucrative transport businesses or in real estate – the establishment and furnishing of health resorts with their high operational costs and their poor yields, will the community relinquish. They like to make available the necessary land requirements for ice-rink, swimming-pool, and casino. Which of the original owners will give their land gladly to public enterprise, when for the same property much more money – for example through the building and sale of apartments – can be had?

*The settlement.* The subject of often expressed criticism is the form of construction and shaping of the new health resort. The wonderfully beautiful old peasant villages have been falling into decay for years, as a result of the economic situation of the community. Renovation costs much in comparison to the yields of it, and old houses will only be valued by a minority of the visitors.

Today's building men have something else on their mind: the highest possible figure of exploitation, that brings profit. In this area can environmental considerations no longer play a big part, because, most important, they will be proposed by one, who for decades – through the vandalism and disfigurement of the Mediterranean – had played a part or had said nothing.

Sleepless nights prepare the appointment of one of today's legally limiting zone-plans of the building-commission, if the brother-in-law or business friend has wrongly invested his money in it.

*Infrastructure.* The building land must be opened up; not only do the law-makers want this, but also

those from the community who are in favour of construction, who have pledged themselves by the separation of the zone. But opening-up costs money, especially in a well-dispersed building area.

In a community, which had segregated too much land for building land, the opening-up cost 47 francs per square metre, which for mountain regions lay on the frontier of what was acceptable. If one works out the opening-up costs as regards each permanent inhabitant: then the disproportion in the cost of the put-aside building-land becomes clear: 57,000 francs – is the cost per permanent inhabitant. – These are only, however, the opening-up costs for building land; to add to that are the costs of car-parks, public buildings and health resort-type equipment.

*Who gains from tourism?* It is established, that tourism brings in money. Many people are satisfied, but how is the cake divided? Observations produce the following picture. Those who earn least of all, are those who own land outside the development area. Those, who can sell land, are in a better position. The big profits will be accumulated by the building concern and removal firms. The capital is mostly from abroad, if not all foreign. The hotel trade, as a rule, has a good income, but will likewise often not be conversant with the local population. Public enterprise can indemnify itself by financial planning at the correct time, by adjustment of the taxes and fees, and by a reasonable and judicious selection of building areas. Incompetent public supervision of the community can just as well lead to a total error with all its negative effects. In this case the bills have to be paid by the local residents. ■

## Theses on touristic planning

by Fred Baumgartner (See page 922)

When one wants to catalogue retrospectively the economic, social, political, and technical development of a country or of a society generally, and to arrive at an assertion about the possible future development, one grasps as a rule a finished bundle of so-called guide lines. This bundle of facts also often contains the response of the value of free time and touring, be it the statistics on the number of nights lodged, the touristic expenditure, the capacity of the special means of transport for tourists, be it the increase in leisure time or the changes in balances of foreign traffic. The complex of "leisure time" forms certainly one of the most significant and not easily forgotten sources of expression in the development of society in the social, political and technical spheres.

#### Leisure time

Touristic planning is planning for leisure time. When, where, how and what is leisure time then, what are the boundaries of leisure time in relation to other free "times"? Numerous are the naked facts concerning numerical increases in leisure time and several of their forms of expression – consumption, traffic, built-up landscapes and so on – which tempt one to all kinds of mental conjecture and to rationalistic overpowering of the concept of leisure time. One too easily suppresses the eminently qualitative, ideological contents of the concept, one too easily ignores consequently the mother of leisure time: work time. The quantitative aspect of leisure time, especially the remarkable increase of it in the industrial countries since the first World War, is certainly not the starting point of a deeper understanding, it forms rather the illustrative expression of a society's process of development, in which leisure time – at least work-free time – will continue.

Leisure time, vacation, holidays are concepts, that one hardly knew during the first phase of

industrialization, still less in that social phase of development, in which time, work, and life formed an identity and from which was dependant a quasi natural God-given rhythm. First the moment of alienation from the work and the product, produced through the dictatorship of a rational, industrial organization of the daily life and laid the foundation stone of the progressive independence from the work sphere on one side, and on the other side the so-called sphere of leisure time. How far in our society leisure time extends into work time is proved by leisure time equalising or restraining performance of duty. Certainly it is work time, which free time leaves behind, which is limited and established at certain times of the day, and not the opposite. Sociologists claim that the leftover time from the fixed work time is to be differentiated from the sphere, in which leisure time is truly perceived. Behind that is concealed an emancipated object of view as regards leisure time, signifying a not only formal, objective separation from the decree of the machine and card-stamping clock, but also signifying an upsetting reaction, the work process being hindered by sentiments. The object of touristic planning is, therefore, leisure time as perceived leisure time within the acknowledged scope of time free from work. The goals of touristic planning are the preservation and creation from material and immaterial foundations, the quantitative and qualitative optimum of the scope of leisure time within the area of time free from work.

#### Tourism

Touristic activity is only one of many possibilities as regards spending free time. Conceptually, it covers in no way the broad spectrum of possible free time activities, but on the contrary takes place within the established concrete limits of this field. Touristic activity is apparent above all in an occasional change of habitat, that is to be sure of far-reaching importance as a change of scene and arena.

Modern tourism has made a greater impression on our countryside than industrialization. Be it Disney-World in America, the copied castles by the Baltic, the futuristic winter-sport centres in the Savoy Alps, or the house-building on the "Gold coast" in Spain. Not only for Switzerland, but for a constantly growing number of holiday countries, the tourist business represents an important prop for the means of livelihood of the community. In Switzerland the notion of a unified integrated tourist policy is gradually taking shape – an information guide and at the same time a statement of the local conditions of each "industry", which today covers still more than one third of the deficit of the Swiss foreign balance of trade.

#### Planning

The concept of planning is not unsimilar as regards the concept of leisure time, as it possesses just as much elbow-room with regard to the contents. Be it the planning for area and space, for the budget, for the family, be it a five-year plan or the operational turnover planning, different arbitrary contents constantly are included within the concept of planning. Just as in the concept of leisure time, the concept of planning is not entirely without valuable contents, as it has in the last few years produced a far-reaching ideology of the concept of planning.

Planning is no worthless procedure, but are on the contrary essentially utopian thoughts about goals. Its character endures solely through the correct application of appropriate methods, brainstorming, a Delphi-method, the economic value analysis, the technology of the system, the morphology, and so on. These more or less scientific methods are neither in the position to produce goals or

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to make decisions with regard to the disposition of permanently possible ideals, but still they take over the human and political responsibility. The utopian maxim about the goals of touristic planning is necessarily deeply intertwined with subjective valuable notions. Pressingly it appears to be less of a rationalization of this value, as a critical consciousness about the importance of these emotional, moderate feeling, socially political categories in a touristic doctrine of goals. The goals of touristic planning are therefore the preservation and creation from material and immaterial free periods the discovery of leisure time.

#### Architecture

The escape out of the tight chains of the grey working-day existence and the troublesome, difficult search for a promising, more colourful, freer and more playful leisure time environment, is also an escape from the architectural environment – from the apartment, from the residential district, from the city. But is it only an emotional trimming with the attribute of the work-period, the pressure of and the acquiescence to the mechanics of the punch-card clock or is it also change of environment which touristic mass migration awakens and kindles?

In the rank and file, in the sometimes grotesque super-elevation of the boredom principle, one finds the same holiday-receptacles in Miami, Torremolinos, Rimini, Heiligenhafen, on the communist Black Sea coast, in Innsbruck, Courchevel and Cervinia. Shapelessness, the predominant concrete blocks, the denial of object distribution or identification, as one calls the psychology of this pleasant process of unemotional object-linking, characterizes the archetype of modern touristic architecture. If leisure time is only perceived leisure time, if the touristic planning has to guarantee the free areas for perception, then both demand from the touristic architecture the concession – not the refusal – of leisure time feelings. They demand in addition, the establishment of an architectural construction vocabulary, which through its symbolic contents – play, exuberance, friendliness and warmth through its aesthetic quality – impulse, inquisitiveness and “instruction”, proffers. ■

### The style of the world touristic environment – dream and reality

*A prejudiced report with prejudiced pictures  
Text: Werner Jehle; Photos: Leonardo Bezzola*

(See page 939)

The photographed landscape, which is to be seen on travel and holiday brochures, is mostly empty of people. Up to two or three young couples, who sunbathe on the beach and on the rocks, sunburned playboys, who surf or laze around, is the limitless world of the brochures. There are specially favoured

landscapes in the travel agency: steely blue sky above yellow sand, the golden evening sun over the bay, white strips above alpine peaks. There are specially favoured styles of vegetation for the potential tourists: the cacti in the desert, the palm trees by the sea, the pine trees by the mountain stream. There are either primitive habitats or exotic unknowns, the heat of the tropics or the cold of the Arctic: therefore, extremes. The places, where simply the sun sometimes shines and sometimes does not, must allow themselves to be somewhat overrun. If the summer-traveller satisfies his wishes at last, then seldom is the promised magnificence awaiting him. There, where the travel brochure depicted thinly-populated regions and empty beaches, inviting the child of nature, is above all architecture.

In the densely populated holiday areas of Europe, where the ground has become so expensive, one builds in an international style, and, as much as possible, tall hotels, apartment buildings and other service-type buildings. The economic interest takes precedence over all “idealistic” considerations. A style of architecture, which from time to time pairs traditional domestic formalities with contemporary comforts, in which a trend is developing against the traveller and the business-orientated way of life, which in the scope of work spoils its customers, and to offer a substitute form. The hotel complex in Mallorca appears to be a mixture of mosques and Ronchamp, another on Ibiza as a creation somewhere between Bazaar and Kennedy-Airport. In Kenya a holiday colony is presented as an African Kral. Under the straw-covered cone-shaped roofs the air-conditioning plant strives to attain a stable temperature. On the sandy beach of Hammamet in Tunisia a monstrosity of card-house architecture and Byzantine cross and domed structure attracts the guests from the industrial countries.

Slovenly-constructed concrete buildings, covered with white plaster in Marocco, stuck together with wooden boards in the Alps, covered with straw in East Africa, are meant to impart to the traveller, that he is experiencing the history, the culture and the life of the region he is in. But in the hotels and club-villages he only meets people exactly like him, with the exception of the inferior staff, whose behaviour has been adjusted so as to be as inconspicuous as possible. This dwelling-style of architecture is exchangeable and permutable, as the sand is yellow everywhere. Only the length of the flight differs. Also the souvenirs, which one brings home from the various regions of the world, resemble each other. Elefant hair, antelope horns and leopard claws do not differ so much from chamois leather or Brienz wood-carvings. Also, when the owner believes, that he is carrying home a piece of Africa, Bavaria or the Bernese highlands, in reality he carries home a factory-made product specially made for tourists.

Holidays under pines and palms are relaxing, could be. But there are no commonplace holidays in a supervised world: this suggests merely a branch of industry... and a branch of architecture assists in this. In reality the hundreds of holiday paradises are the same, and in this way are recruited the hosts of those who will return. If one can imagine a world without sun, it would be bleak and disconsolate. ■

### Rising tourism is acting as obstetrician for the new medium of picture postcards

by Bice Curiger (See page 959)

The picture postcard, which experienced its heyday in the first twenty years of this century, became the most popular collector's piece, and thus crowned the first phase of technical reproduction, in which “art for everybody” began to blossom as a completely new medium. Since the start of the 19th century, man had known about lithography, and later photography followed. Until shortly before the emergence of the picture postcard, this was the method used, which we know from photos of that time: The “model” sitting in a prepared pose in a series of hardly-changing landscapes and backgrounds. As it was then possible, to photograph with short exposures, not only new subjects forced themselves to the fore, but also a method of operation which was full of fantasy.

Because lithography and photography were then combined in a new printing-process like collotype and photochrom-litho, the introduction of using photographs became obvious, illustrating daily life, because it could quickly place on record the changes in styles and habits of society. The picture postcard acted at the same time as a field of experiment for new graphical technicalities. Tourism in its first bloom acted as a proper mid-wife to the medium of picture postcards. The original picture postcards were also a continuation of the method known at that time, of printing sheets of note-paper crested with hotel names or sections of landscape. Immediately an enormous amount of cards was produced, which showed views of holiday resorts. Naturally, at that time the tourist did not own a camera himself, so the picture postcards were for him not only evidence of a journey, but also pictures with memories and carriers of atmosphere. Henceforth were the cards heartless and narrative, as they took on a new purpose as a means of communication: the picture postcard now allowed the unskillful writer to make known his thoughts and feelings, with a picture and a few words, about his doings.

The picture postcard quickly increased its number of possible uses in the ever-growing scope of mankind; editions, types and numbers increased. With the outbreak of the first World War, the producers were compelled by the drying-up of the tourist market to make up for the loss by using new subjects. Military postcards, love cards, but also those which portrayed the rural life secured a large proportion of the output with many political cards. Still the cards appealed to the feelings, but soon, before the Second World War, they began to fade in popularity. On one hand, one could now print clear photographic reproductions without artistic additions, and, on the other hand, through new media (radio, film) the liaison between the buyer and card grew further and further apart. From then on the picture postcard, with a few exceptions, served only to fulfil one function, to deliver the proof of an accomplished journey or sight-seeing expedition. ■