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Article abstract

Wherever tourism develops, the local population is involved and affected. The BESTandermatt long-term and companion study described in this article has been investigating the sociocultural and socioeconomic changes provoked by the construction of a tourist resort in Andermatt (Switzerland) since 2008 and shows concerns of inhabitants at all stages of the construction and operation of the resort. In order not only to gain knowledge in the study regarding the subjective perceptions of the 25 respondents, but also to support the population in the process of change, the surveys were combined with activating methods, inherent to a “participatory action research” in which these respondents can influence both the direction and methods of research. After investigation, it appears that this approach promotes standpoints of local social actors in front of tourist officers and the authorities. Processes of development and change shaped in this way strengthen social cohesion and mutual understanding as self-awareness but also confrontation with otherness may enable the people involved to change their perspective.

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Socio-cultural effects of a tourist resort on the local population – BESTander matt long-term and companion study

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Partout où le tourisme se développe, la population locale est impliquée et affectée. L'étude BESTander matt de longue durée et d'accompagnement décrite dans cet article a recherché les changements socioculturels et socioéconomiques provoqués par la construction d'un complexe touristique à Andermatt (Suisse) depuis 2008 et atteste des préoccupations des résidents aux différentes phases de développement du projet. Pour ne pas uniquement obtenir des informations sur les perceptions de 25 répondants, mais aussi appuyer la population pendant le processus de changement, les sondages ont été combinés à des méthodes « d'activation » propres à une recherche-action participative, où ces répondants peuvent influencer la conduite et les méthodes de recherche. À la lumière des résultats obtenus, cette approche contribue à renforcer la parole de certains acteurs sociaux face à celles des responsables du tourisme et des autorités. Les processus de développement et de changement constitués de cette façon renforcent la cohésion sociale et la compréhension mutuelle comme connaissance de soi, mais la confrontation avec l'altérité peut aussi aider les personnes impliquées à modifier leurs points de vue.

Mots-clés : complexe touristique, changements socioculturels, recherche-action participative, Suisse.

Wherever tourism develops, the local population is involved and affected. The BESTander matt long-term and companion study described in this article has been investigating the sociocultural and socioeconomic changes provoked by the construction of a tourist resort in Andermatt (Switzerland) since 2008 and shows concerns of inhabitants at all stages of the construction and operation of the resort. In order not only to gain knowledge in the study regarding the subjective perceptions of the 25 respondents, but also to support the population in the process of change, the surveys were combined with activating methods, inherent to a "participatory action research" in which these respondents can influence both the direction and methods of research. After investigation, it appears that this approach promotes standpoints of local social actors in front of tourist officers and the authorities. Processes of development and change shaped in this way strengthen social cohesion and mutual understanding as self-awareness but also confrontation with otherness may enable the people involved to change their perspective.

Keywords: tourist resort, socio-cultural changes, participatory action research, Switzerland

Dondequiera que se desarrolle el turismo, la población local está involucrada y afectada. El BESTander matt estudio de larga duración y de acompañamiento descrito en este artículo ha estado investigando los cambios socioculturales y socioeconómicos provocados por la construcción de un complejo turístico en Andermatt (Suiza) desde 2008 y atestigua las preocupaciones de los residentes a las diferentes fases de desarrollo del proyecto. Para no conseguir únicamente informaciones sobre las percepciones de 25 entrevistados, pero también apoyar a la población durante el proceso de cambio, los sondeos han sido combinados con métodos «de activación» características de una investigación-acción participativa, donde estos entrevistados pueden influir sobre la conducta y los métodos de la investigación. A la luz de los resultados obtenidos, este enfoque contribuye reforzando la voz de ciertos actores sociales frente a las de responsables del turismo y las autoridades. Los procesos de desarrollo y de cambio formados de ese modo refuerzan la cohesión social y la comprensión mutua como conocimiento de sí, pero la confrontación con la alteridad puede también ayudar a las personas implicadas cambiar de perspectiva.

Palabras clave : complejo turístico, cambios socioculturales, investigación-acción participativa, Suiza.

Wherever tourism develops, the local population is involved and affected. One example is Andermatt, a mountain village in Switzerland which has changed greatly over recent years with the construction of a tourist resort. The BESTander matt long-term and companion study, described in this article, by the Institute for Socio-Cultural Development (ISE) at Lucerne University of Applied Sciences and Arts – Social Work has been investigating, in collaboration with Institute for Business and Regional Economics (IBR) of the Lucerne University of Applied Sciences and Arts - Business School, the socio-cultural and socio-economic changes provoked by the construction of the tourist resort in Andermatt since 2008, addressing the concerns of the local population at the same time. We shall be taking the BESTander matt study as an example to highlight the opportunities for the support of community and regional processes of development and change represented by the application of participatory and responsive methods of research. The focus of attention will be, in particular, the socio-economic part and the results of the third sub-study.

Baseline – a new tourist resort in an Alpine (tourist) community

The company Andermatt Swiss Alps (ASA) has been planning (since 2006) and building (since 2009) a tourist resort in Andermatt, a village in the Central Swiss Alps, at the initiative of Egyptian investor Samih Sawiris. By the end of the 1990s, Andermatt had been strongly marked by the presence of the military (in the form of a barracks and training grounds), with tourism being of secondary importance. In Andermatt, six hotels, around 490 apartments in 42 blocks, 25 private villas, an indoor swimming pool, conference facilities and an 18-hole golf course are planned for the final phase of the «Andermatt Reuss Holiday Village», over an area of 1.4 million square metres (Andermatt Swiss Alps, 2018). The adjoining skiing area will also be modernised and extended. Various buildings and facilities have been completed and opened since the start of construction. The 5-star hotel “The Chedi Andermatt” since the end of 2013, and seven apartment blocks with a total of around 130 apartments, a villa, the golf course and covered parking have been built in Andermatt since 2014. Another hotel, the 4-star “Radisson Blu” hotel with an indoor swimming pool and concert hall, as well as two apartment blocks are currently still under construction and are expected to open at the end of 2018 (Andermatt Swiss Alps, 2018).

ASA subsidiary, Andermatt-Sedrun Sport AG (ASS) also operates the consolidated Andermatt-Sedrun ski resort under the name “SkiArena Andermatt-Sedrun”, and has invested in the linking, modernisation and expansion of the ski areas. Overall, since the start of the project, 900 million Swiss francs have been invested in Andermatt (Andermatt Swiss Alps, 2018).

The short and long-term impact of the tourist resort on the social and socio-economic structures of the Andermatt community are difficult to predict. For the resident population they are bound up with a complex set of challenges, opportunities and risks. Although research on the cultural impact of tourism was instituted in the 1970s, in parallel with the greatest tourist development phase in the history of the Alps, few empirical studies have been published on this set of issues in more recent times. This applies in particular to the socio-cultural impact of tourism, as asserted by Bachleitner and Penz (2000, p. 51): “Tourism often provokes a package of socio-cultural, socio-structural and socio-ecological changes which interact with and have social and psychological consequences on the area visited that have not been adequately investigated.” Bätzing (2015, p. 197) even states: “The social and cultural problems associated with tourism are some of the greatest taboos never spoken about in public.” One reason may lie in the fact that tourism is primarily regarded as an economic phenomenon, and economic prosperity and satisfying the needs of the guests as far as possible take

priority in the development of tourism: The marketing concept co-opts the living space “location”, viewing it as a tourism product to be positioned as favourably as possible on the market. From the point of view of daily living however, a location is not a tourism product but a living space where people work and have their homes and where people relax (Ferrante, 1994).

The BESTandermatt study

This was the starting point for the BESTandermatt long-term and companion study, investigating socio-cultural and socio-economic changes provoked by the construction of the tourist resort in Andermatt. The study focuses on the social dimension of sustainable development. The long-term study structure permits the relevant situation of the population to be ascertained, as well as relevant evaluations and associated concerns at the individual phases of development of the resort. The first substudy took place at the start of the construction work on the resort (2009/2010) (Durrer Eggerschwiler et al. 2010). During the construction work (2012/2013), the second substudy was carried out (Durrer Eggerschwiler et al. 2014). By contrast with the first substudies, the third substudy (2016/18) was carried out during resort operating and construction phases (Durrer Eggerschwiler et al. 2018). This means that, for the first time, experiences of the population with “new visitors” and resort employees contributed to the results (Durrer Eggerschwiler *et al.*, 2018). The BESTandermatt study will conclude in 2020 with the fourth and final substudy. When the study was designed, it was assumed that the final phase of work on the resort would be completed by 2020, as the investor originally intended.

Methodical process

In the BESTandermatt study, the focus is on how changes provoked by planning, construction and the operation of the tourist resort are perceived and experienced subjectively by the survey respondents and are, therefore, of significance in the context of their daily lives. As, at the time of the development of the research design, there were hardly any studies on the relevant research issues, the research team opted for an open and exploratory approach in order to answer the following research questions:

- How do survey respondents experience the social and socio-economic impact of the tourist resort? What have they become aware of in this context?
- Is there any discernible impact on co-existence in Andermatt, on the relationship of the residents with one another and the attitude of the survey respondents towards Andermatt? If so, what is this impact?
- How do the survey respondents deal with the changes in the location? What have they observed concerning attitudes towards the change?

Using characteristic-specific sampling (Flick, 2012) a representative selection of the population is identified. In the context of the first substudy, groups were formed on the basis of the characteristics of age, gender and civil status, and people selected from these by quota sample¹. In order to be able to survey individual attitudes to the changes over a lengthy period of time, the same people were surveyed as far as possible in each round of questioning. In this way it has so far been possible to successfully interview thirteen people in each of the three substudies and

1. Eight people were questioned aged between 21 and 40 years, eight people between 41 and 60 years and nine people aged over 61 years.

seven people (second and third substudy) twice. Where people have had to be substituted, the substitutes were drawn and interviewed from the same gender and from the same age group from the sample in each case. Resorting to “substitutes” does not pose a problem for the quality of the results of BESTander matt, as all people share a structurally identical sphere of experience, and statements are therefore comparable (c.f. in this context Mannheim, 1980, p. 211–213).

The individual interviews were designed to be narrative interviews (Schütze, 1976, Schütze, 1977). The respondent was invited in an impulse question² to relate freely how they had reacted to the developments in Andermatt over the past two to three years. Priority issues and structures were set in each case by the respondents themselves. In this way those issues preoccupying people at the time of interview were the focus of the investigation. Using a checklist, – certain issues such as planning and building work around the resort, the opening of the Chedi Hotel and the opened apartment buildings, daily, personal and employment changes, perceptions of the new visitors, village life in Andermatt, personal future and the future of Andermatt and the Urseren Valley were inquired about in the second part of the interview unless they had been mentioned by the respondents in their narrative.

While the results of the first substudy, on the basis of content analysis, were centred on an explicit level, the implicit knowledge of the respondents was explored in the second substudy by further development of the methodical approach, (Durrer Eggerschwiler, 2016, p. 246ff.). By the focus on associated responsive research, interviews have been evaluated using the documentary method since then (Bohnsack 2014). The practical milieu-specific and collective orientational knowledge of the respondents was now the focus, determining perception and evaluation of the changes provoked by the construction of the resort and attitudes towards it. Knowledge is implicit and can be reconstructed on the basis of stories or descriptions. According to Bourdieu, as a rule individual but also collective patterns of perception, interpretation and action do not adjust to changed circumstances at the same rate as the changes themselves happen. Where new living conditions differ too greatly from earlier or expected conditions, this discrepancy becomes visible in the formation of habits (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1996).

The starting point for the BESTander matt study was the assumption that over time, people interviewed will experience different situations in connection with the planning, construction and operation of the resort. In addition, depending on the development of the resort and associated experiences, attitudes (for a description of attitudes, see p. xy) are influenced and shaped by the individual appraisal of the situation on the one hand, and individual and collective resources as well as individual and collective inhibiting factors on the other hand (Durrer Eggerschwiler & Störkle, 2016, p. 91; 2017).

Inclusion of the population

This methodical progression enabled the expectations that the research team had set itself regarding the companion study to be met more successfully. We will explore this in greater detail below. In order not only to gain knowledge in the study regarding the subjective perceptions of the respondents, but also to support the population in the process of change, the surveys were

2. In the third BESTander matt survey round, the impulse question was as follows: “The resort project in Andermatt is taking shape and is becoming ever more substantial. Perhaps you could tell us what your experience of the development in Andermatt has been when you think back over the past two to three years ... and what is it now? Just talk about everything that occurs to you. Perhaps just start to talk.”

combined with activating methods. The activating part is in theory embedded in action research applied when those affected by processes of change are to be actively involved (Reason & Bradbury, 2008). In the English-speaking area, the approach has expanded into “participatory action research”: The people affected are not treated as “objects of study” but active subjects of the research and can contribute to influencing both the direction and methods of research. To this extent the objective is not to do research on or for people but with people. (Durrer Eggerschwiler & Störkle, 2016, p. 87). In the context of the companion study, before every substudy a public information event is held in which the research design is presented to the public and discussed with those present. The suggestions of the participants are accepted and contribute to the relevant research design.

In addition, interested parties could register at the information event for the first substudy who wanted to act as members of a local support group; as a link between authorities, research team and the population. The support group has met about four times a year up to now and discusses issues in connection with the development of the resort that preoccupy the public at their meetings, facilitated by a research team member³. As the work of the support group has proved very worthwhile, it was recommended as a measure of the first substudy to continue the support group, i.e. to establish it as a committee that would meet two to three times a year from the end of the first substudy onwards. This was supported without contest by the Andermatt community and institutionalised, the costs of professional moderation being paid by the project management.

Since then, members of the support group have taken up the concerns and questions raised by the public regarding the resort and associated development, in strict observance of their duty of confidentiality which they pass on to the authorities or ASA. The 13 members represent different sectors (agriculture, education/training, business, tourism and residents) and cover most age groups. It is striking that most members have been there from the beginning, and personnel turnover is very low. In 2011, one young male and female representative were taken on as members in order to maintain a direct link with this important section of the public often overlooked in political decisions, and to be able to address their concerns. A very wide variety of issues around the resort development and the BESTander matt study were discussed at the meetings. In each case, they considered how to convey the concerns of the public to those responsible for the development of the resort or the political authorities. In this way, for example, requests were formulated to the municipal authorities and, where there was a need for clarification of outstanding questions, an exchange with the local council or representatives of the ASA or Mr Sawiris was organised. In all these discussions, mutual perceptions and perspectives could be reflected directly and constructive efforts made to find available solutions.

Moreover, the results of each substudy are presented to the people of Andermatt at an outcomes conference, discussed by those present and proposals developed for measures to be addressed to those responsible (local council and cantonal authorities, ASA). This approach corresponds to a participatory understanding of research. On the one hand, it stems from the objectives of the Institute for Socio-cultural Development and, on the other hand, ties in perfectly with the responsive approach to research (Durrer Eggerschwiler & Störkle, 2016, p. 92-93).

The BESTander matt study structure, as an academic long-term and companion study, and evaluation using the documentary method require careful, properly reflected handling of the data

3. To avoid role conflicts, the support group is moderated by someone in the project team not themselves active in conducting the interviews. See also <https://bestander matt.ch/menschen-2/lokale-begleitgruppe>.

gathered. Flick (2012, p. 23), emphasises that the reflectiveness of the researchers concerning their approach and their perception in the area of study is an indicator of quality in research practice. For this reason, evaluation and reflection sessions were held at regular intervals during the interview and evaluation phase, within the research team. Issues identified and reconstructed approaches to the changes were critically discussed, reflected on and adapted on the basis of discussion there.

Responsive and participatory research

What distinguishes a participatory and responsive research project? Participatory and responsive research focuses – as does socio-cultural animation – on local practice, as Hella von Unger (2014, p. 99) expresses it: “Whereas the majority of qualitative academic research is directed towards generating representations of social reality, participatory research lays greater emphasis on action in social reality.” Responsive research as applied in the context of the documentary method (Lamprecht, 2012; 2013), facilitates a process of reflection and learning among everyone involved – both at an individual and at a collective level. A crucial role of responsive research is seen as being to facilitate conversation between the different groups or the stakeholders involved (Lamprecht & Althans 2013a; 2013b).

According to Bohnsack & Nentwig (2010), responsive research enables access to the implicit knowledge of participating stakeholders, on the one hand. On the other hand, it is important to guarantee the various participating groups mutual access to this empirical knowledge that guides their course of action. In this way, responsive research enables those involved to engage actively with the results of the research and to decide in what areas measures are necessary to improve a situation, for example. It should be noted that “participatory research” cannot be equated with independent or compulsory methods. Rather, it is a style of research or a research strategy and means “that interests in findings and research questions develop from the convergence of two perspectives, i.e. from academia and from practice” (Bergold & Thomas, 2012, Section 1).

As already described, an attempt has been made to fulfil this as well as possible in BESTander matt in the context of the companion study. Informal participation and cooperation of the people affected or “research subjects” in research and development projects with a socio-spatial focus is, therefore, a fundamental principle by which the Institute for Socio-Cultural Development is guided (Störkle et al, 2016, p. 9). In the BESTander matt study – as Bergold and Thomas (2012, Section 3) describe, participatory and responsive research is implemented in “research activity in the form of several participatory strategies [...] not in the interests of a standardised, converged methodological approach but as research strategies that constantly promote and require the inclusion of the research partners in the cognitive process from a new perspective.” To continue with Bergold and Thomas (2012, Section 6), it is therefore a question of “a change in the social reality on the basis of insights into practical life gained by participatory research i.e. by collaboration between academics and stakeholders”. Participatory research thereby enables people involved in Ander matt to gain a cognitive distance from familiar routines, forms of interaction and power relationships from the cognitive process, and to call into question and reconsider established interpretations of the specific situation and practical strategies as a matter of principle (Bergold & Thomas 2012, Section 1). One important basis for interpreting practice in the context of planning, construction and operation of the Ander matt resort is represented by the approaches reconstructed using the documentary method, summarised in the section which follows.

Approaches to changes in Andermatt

On the basis of the interpreted interview material, in the second and third substudies, we identified three different tendencies in approaches to the process of change in Andermatt. The reconstructed approaches of the third substudy (Bohnsack, 2014) are presented below and then correlated with the approaches reconstructed in the second substudy. In the third substudy, the changes perceived and experienced by the interviewees have been described on three different levels:

- In terms of space, i.e. the people describing how the space has changed.
- In terms of time, i.e. they described how things were before in Andermatt – by contrast with today.
- In terms of society, i.e. changes are observed and/or experienced personally, in the way people co-exist and in the social order.

On the basis of interviews, with respect to the perceived and experienced change, an ambivalent/ inconclusive tendency, a conservative/traditional tendency and an innovative/transformativ e tendency were identified. The three approaches differ in particular in that the space, time and society-specific changes in Andermatt are perceived, described and evaluated differently. It should be borne in mind that the three approaches in Andermatt present themselves not only in pure form, but also in mixed forms, in particular between the innovative/transformativ e and ambivalent/inconclusive type and the ambivalent/inconclusive and the conservative/traditional type. This means that among types with mixed forms, one of the two tendencies is more strongly emphasised and convincing, depending on the situation.

The ambivalent/inconclusive tendency

With regard to space-related experience of change, an ambivalent and inconclusive focus can be determined among this type. On the one hand, the new buildings and facilities are described as “positive”, “beautiful”, “remarkable and desirable”; on the other hand, however, they are also presented as being “too big” and “overwhelming”. Specific space-related exclusion episodes, such as forfeiture of land or moving away due to the housing situation are described from the observer’s perspective, but not affecting them directly, however. The responses show that people of this type have gradually become used to the space-related changes. The evaluation among this type of respondent of the time-related changes is as undecided and ambivalent as it is to the space-related changes.

The new times are essentially construed as being somewhat positive. People are aware that “things had to happen”; people respect the development, but feel unsettled by it. This type benefits to some extent from the “side effects” of the new times as regards the resultant occupational (for instance a new job) and/or personal prospects (e.g. additional rental opportunities), which are appreciated. At the same time however – once again from the observer’s perspective – experiences of exclusion are described in which people tell of seeming no longer to have a place in these new times, and feeling almost as if they have fallen out of time. Social experiences of change too, to a large extent, are described in an ambivalent or inconclusive way. People are aware that not all Andermatt residents benefit from the developments, and give examples of this. In addition, social changes are linked to the presence of the new guests and staff at the Chedi Hotel. For example, it is observed and described how the new guests and staff behave in the village and whether/how people greet one another.

“Yes, so, basically there are many positive aspects, perhaps that goes without saying, but this development has also brought with it some negative aspects; the residential space has become much smaller for local people, and more expensive. Because people from the Chedi and whatever else there is out there, they don't have their own homes etc. or anything like that.” (EP: B_10, 17-21).

“What is now certainly quite good, actually, for starters, though not absolutely necessary, is that the ski lifts have been upgraded. I think that is a very positive side effect, because I really benefit from this personally.” (EP: B_14, 31-36).

The conservative/traditional tendency

By comparison with the ambivalent/inconclusive type, there are some clearly negative attitudes among the conservative/traditional types. People feel as if they are being driven out by the space-related changes and “swamped” by the size of the structural development; structural changes are perceived rather as a threat. Time-related changes in Andermatt are described, somewhat negatively, as times being transformed from the “good old” days to “new times that are changing far too rapidly” so that people feel “steamrollered”. The people in this type category experience the change in the times as a development that is happening “far too quickly”. The narratives relate to the past.

The changes in Andermatt are hardly viewed as an investment in the future but rather as a degradation of people's own future prospects. The social experiences of change are perceived by this type as being increasingly exclusive. They describe no longer having any points of contact or, due to the size of the project, no longer having a fair say; people see their opportunities disappearing of finding a place and participating in developments in a social order which, to some extent, is being reshaped. This is linked to the feeling of being “side-lined” or of being “rejected”. People feel like “ordinary, little citizens” hardly having a say any more, by comparison to how they felt before in the village. People feel “displaced”, whether by those who now do have a “say” but also by the “arrogant tourists”.

“Because I actually liked Andermatt as it was, I liked the tranquillity. I liked the somewhat rural feel and of course, everyone always says ‘ what would have happened if...’ but we don't actually know. That is something that nobody can tell us.” (EP: B_5, 108 - 111).

“We had the feeling, of course, things would get big or go upwards, didn't we. But somehow people had the feeling that, we ordinary people can't do much about it, can we.” (EP: B_9, 39-40).

The innovative/transformational tendency

This type has a more positive experience of space-related change, as part of an overall picture which will gradually become ever more tangible. In some cases, natural metaphors such as “hotels grow up” or “time to blossom” are used to describe the space-related changes, indicating somewhat positive and familiar associations with the space-related changes. The time-related changes too are described as positive and forward-looking, closely related to the experience of progress and momentum. In some cases, criticism is even expressed because developments in Andermatt are perceived as too gentle, too slow or too “hesitant” and therefore not reflecting people's own dynamic ideas. People wonder “why things aren't progressing more quickly”.

For the innovative/transformational tendency types, there is no threat from the experiences of social change. Rather, people feel largely secure, firmly-rooted and integrated. Fundamentally, people see themselves as part of the change and indicated in their narratives that they were prepared and even wanting to contribute their own part to the current development. Also, they themselves are joining in the thought process and formulating ideas as to what Andermatt could

do as a community to actively keep pace with tourism developments. Criticism is then expressed where there is an impression that people in positions of political responsibility are not innovative enough and the developments have gone to sleep". It is apparent here that people are aware that creativity and the desire to shape things is important for the future development of Andermatt, and that this is to be expected from the authorities. This type includes explicit supporters of an increased "tourism focus" which might contribute to shaping developments in Andermatt.

"In times where otherwise things were at a standstill or going backwards, we are now, I think, on the up and up." (EP, B_6, 25-26.)

"The whole resort is involved, the skiing area etc. everything. I felt that it had become somewhat quieter; it had gone somewhat slower and at times almost too slowly. Now, all of a sudden, things have started to go faster, and we have seen that the hotels are springing up out there, as well as houses, and now also at the end of 2016, as regards the skiing area, ski infrastructure, valley station, snow-making etc., things have started to go a bit faster and it will now really start properly to accelerate in 2017 and get finished and I think that's a good thing. It shouldn't go too slowly." (EP: B_13, 9-21).

As explained, the tendencies are influenced and shaped in accordance with the development of the resort and the associated experiences. How have the described ambivalent/inconclusive, conservative/traditional and innovative/transformational tendencies changed by comparison with the tendencies reconstructed in the second substudy? In the second substudy, an identifying, an oppositional and a traditional approach to the changes can be discerned. The plausibility of the transition of the identifying approach into an innovative/transformational tendency can be evaluated against the tourist development. After the end of the second substudy, new visitors came to Andermatt, the organisation of tourism became more professional, and new services emerged. The development of Andermatt into a professionally managed tourist destination is increasingly apparent, although, from the point of view of those willing to innovate, the change could advance much faster.

In the context of the second substudy, the view was expressed repeatedly that the resort project would bring nothing positive for Andermatt. The emergence of the ambivalent/inconclusive approach can be explained by the fact that, against this perspective, expressed previously, part of the population is now apparently of the view that they can benefit from it in different spheres. At the same time, as before, there remain some widely differing uncertainties and questions regarding the future development of Andermatt.

The conservative/traditional approach is characterised by the sense of being at the mercy of the developments in Andermatt, of not having any points of contact or right to a say and of "having missed out". This type has already been identified in the second substudy and then described as a traditional approach. The opposing approach, as reconstructed in the context of the second substudy on the basis of the interview material available then, is no longer present in this form in the interviews of the third substudy.

In the case of all three approaches, learning and adaptation processes can be determined, in which the experiences of "old" and "new" orders are represented and linked in each case differently in terms of space, society and time. The results of the fourth and last substudy will show how the tendencies will be further adapted – according to the development of the resort and associated altered experiences.

In the context of the participatory and responsive approach to research presented, the results of the third substudy were presented in January 2018 at an outcomes conference and then the following questions were discussed among those present in moderated groups:

- What is our experience of the different approaches with the changes in our daily lives or in co-existence?
- What opportunities and obstacles do the three approaches offer for the issues that preoccupy the public?
- What need for action results for us from previous discussion?
- What measures should be taken by whom?
- Where can we become active ourselves? What opportunities do we see?

Discussions showed that the people involved see the ability to discuss the different approaches with one another as an opportunity. A mirror is being held up to the public, so to speak. This is important not only for the public but also for the local authorities. In this way people are aware that they have to look out for the village together. In addition, the discussion concerning the approaches also generated mutual understanding for differing life situations. Disinterest and passivity were cited as obstacles to the further development of Andermatt, perceived by those present among some of the public. Many Andermatt residents were said to have given up and would no longer take active part in the discussion concerning the development of the resort, but also Andermatt itself. Moreover, in future, innovative project ideas and developments might be prevented if the conservative/traditional tendency intensified.

The votes expressed at the outcomes conference indicate that there are local people who not only have the desire but also the willingness to place their expertise at the disposal of the general public. These people may act as key individuals and contribute new impetus or ideas locally. It was notable that there is now a section of the public that is increasingly articulating the desire to become actively involved in shaping Andermatt's development. There is also apparently a more self-critical attitude towards their own conduct. People are certainly aware that initiatives for the further development of the community and working through the issues under examination which have been addressed in interviews and at the outcomes conference must also emanate from the public. Although the public expects that the local authorities should be proactively engaged in the future development of Andermatt, at the same time, people are aware that not everything can be left to the local authorities, and that people have to take some responsibility themselves.

One theory from the research on the impact of tourism on the local population implies that (socio-cultural changes always lag behind structural changes in tourism development (Müller, 1999, p. 5). In this context, it is to be expected that attitudes will change further and become more differentiated with the onward expansion of the resort and the associated increase in visitor and employment numbers. There is an abundance of resources and potential among the general public, and they should be made the most of. Positive experiences in the spheres of active participation and co-decision-making can ultimately also affect the different approaches to the changes in Andermatt and lead to shifts – for example away from the ambivalent/inconclusive towards the innovative/transformational type (Durrer Eggerschwiler et al. 2018, p. 12-26).

What findings can now be derived from previous experiences in connection with the design, further development and implementation of the BESTanderMATT long-term and companion study for other projects in the sphere of socio-cultural community development? As we draw to a conclusion, we should examine these.

Findings for the support of development and change processes in (tourism) communities and regions

The experiences in practice in the BESTandermatt project and other projects by the Institute for Socio-cultural Development, in which work has also been responsive and participatory, have shown that responsive processes in combination with participatory methods are very well suited to awareness and activation processes in communities or regions. Responsive approaches to research – in particular when they are linked from the start with participatory and socio-cultural methods – from the point of view of the authors, represent major opportunities for regional development projects; in particular when different perspectives existing in a location or a region are to be recognised as location-specific local knowledge and included in activation processes – as has also been the case in this study. In the following, the experiences of research practice from the three socio-cultural substudies carried out so far will be the focus of attention, in which work will take place using qualitative and responsive processes.

The experiences from the BESTandermatt long-term and companion study reveal that the local public can take a self-confident approach to changes initiated from outside (tourism). This favours the possibility of influencing, if not the development of the resort directly, at least the future development of the community. As in tourist regions and communities in particular, there are often no real alternatives to tourism, it is important that the local public is included in the creative search for new or alternative means of tourist development. It is helpful when different perspectives and standpoints existing in a place or in a region are recognised by those responsible for tourism and the authorities as location-specific local knowledge. Self-confident engagement with tourism development means that the public has an awareness of tourism, along with a broad perception of tourism with all its advantages and disadvantages (Müller, 2008).

As determined by Müller (1999), the socio-cultural adaptability of the local public to tourism developments is often not taken into account, which can lead to a reduction in tourism-awareness. Müller refers to tourism awareness when a reflective attitude to the advantages and disadvantages of tourism exists among those affected. Following on from this, in order to strengthen tourism-awareness, the involvement of the public in tourism decision-making processes and a reflective attitude among local people towards the advantages and disadvantages of tourism is important. This is relevant not only from an economic perspective but also with regard to their everyday life situations and with regard to the prevention of “tourism weariness” among the local public (p. 5). This demonstrates that the potential for a participatory and responsive approach to research, in the context of change and development processes, is not to be underestimated.

Processes of development and change shaped in this way strengthen social cohesion and mutual understanding as self-awareness but also confrontation with otherness may enable the people involved to change their perspective. Social cohesion, the strengthening of regional identity and the promotion of cultural diversity, according to the Swiss Federal Council (2015), are some of the areas of activity that should be strengthened in order actively to improve the underlying conditions for rural areas and mountainous regions of Switzerland in future. This, by and large, corresponds to the claims formulated in a charter⁴ (2017) on the social function of socio-cultural animation in Switzerland. “Socio-cultural animation generates encounters between people and groups with different day-to-day realities. It promotes active participation and self-motivation

4. The socio-cultural animation charter was developed in a process with broad-based support, with the involvement of socio-cultural specialists and organisations.

among people. Social cohesiveness and mutual trust are intensified by a common commitment to social and cultural co-existence.” Including with regard to procedures, there is consistency between the understanding of participatory and responsive research set out in the above article and the methodical approach selected in the BESTandermatt companion study: “Socio-cultural animation focuses on the resources of people locally. It observes the developments of social change and has a seismographic impact.”

Processes of development and change in tourist communities and regions are required nowadays to meet requirements of sustainability. It is apparent that in many places, technocratic approaches dominated by experts shape the discussion on sustainable development. The research concept described in the above article shows the “necessity for research that deals with day-to-day problems and opportunities to resolve them and which therefore requires the close collaboration of scientists and stakeholders” (Adomssent & Michelsen, 2011, p. 99). For the support of development and change processes, this means however that this is not only a learning process locally, but that researchers or experts involved are also on an ongoing learning curve. The result is that the concept of the expert changes. Expertise is contributed not only by specialists brought in from outside, but also people involved at a local level, experts in their own day-to-day lives.

As already mentioned, taking the BESTandermatt study as an example, this requires the researchers to be aware of their role when a distinction has to be made as to whether, in a certain situation, the content of the research is in the foreground in the context of long-term study or whether the expectations of the companion study must be met. Awareness of the intermediary role associated with this is helpful which in turn corresponds to a socio-cultural approach: “Intermediary entities conciliate between the social subsystems, between the more formal and bureaucratic worlds of the political/administrative system, the profit-oriented worlds of the economy and the usually somewhat ‘less sophisticated’ and less easily organised real-life situations” (Hinte et al., 2007, p. 163, cited from Hangartner, 2010).

Familiarity with and consideration of the “logic of practice” of a place are decisive, as reactions and conduct of local or regional stakeholders are significantly influenced by it. Disclosure, discussion and reflection of unknown or taboo local practices form the preconditions for enabling conscious change in behaviour in general, as emphasised by von Unger (2014, p. 46): “While participatory research therefore ties in with the perspectives of the day-to-day stakeholders, a learning process is triggered by the cycles of collective action and reflection, which opens new perspectives and strengthens people’s ability to take action.” This enables those involved to recognise that local practices and the predominating fabric of standards and values of a place are not set in stone but can (at least in part) be changed.” (Krainer & Lerchster 2012, p. 233). This happened in the BESTandermatt study as described with the reconstruction of different approaches and with the presentation and discussion of the results of the research at outcomes conferences. Taking such an approach, the abilities of the researchers to influence the irritation of the system are limited to lending the system the impetus to change (Moser, 2010, p. 91).

However, the long-term aim should be the establishment of a culture of change, which actively benefits learning processes in that, in addition to explicit knowledge, also the implicit knowledge of those involved is taken into consideration. In addition to corresponding underlying political conditions, personal and financial resources are also needed in order to define such processes and to involve external moderators and process facilitators, where necessary. In conclusion, it can be stated that the great advantage of responsive and participatory research for change processes

lies in the fact that aspects not directly visible that often decide the success or failure of a project are disclosed and discussed, thereby triggering changes that can lead to solutions. In the case of Andermatt, consideration should be given now to the opportunities that can be opened up to the public once the study is concluded, in order to ensure continuing reflectiveness in the approach to the tourism development in Andermatt, as the resort in Andermatt in the year 2020 – the year of completion of the BESTandermatt study – will still have a long way to go before it is completed.

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