

Research Article

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Cross-border Shopping Tourism: A Switzerland-Germany Case Study

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Abstract: Border issues continue to be of interest in tourism literature, most significantly that which focusses on cross-border shopping (e.g., currency values, taxation, security). Borders as destinations are recognized in this area but the notion of shopping as a destination is perhaps less acknowledged. Following a review of the relevant literature, including the presentation of a table summarizing key areas of cross-border tourism research around the world, this paper presents a unique example of a border region with two-way traffic for cross-border shopping tourism: the border between Germany and Switzerland. The particular case is where two cities meet at the border: Konstanz, Germany and Kreuzlingen, Switzerland. An intercept survey and key informant interviews were conducted in both communities in the spring of 2015. The results indicate high levels of traffic for various products and services. And while residents are generally satisfied with cross-border shopping in their communities, there are emerging issues related to volume and, in particular, too many in Konstanz and not enough in Kreuzlingen. The paper concludes with a discussion that includes the development of a model cross-border shopping tourism that recognizes the multiple layers in space and destination. The paper concludes with a proposal to further investigate the particular issues related to the volume on both sides of borders where cross-border shopping is the destination.

Keywords: Shopping tourism; Border tourism; Switzerland; Germany; Retail economies

1 Introduction

Studies of the relationship between cross-border shopping and tourism activities are not new (e.g., Kreck, 1985; Timothy & Butler, 1995; Wang, 2004; Wachowiak & Engels, 2006; Sullivan, Bonn, Bhardwaj & DuPont, 2012) and studies that specifically focus on cross-border shopping tourism often take the form of a case study and are predominantly framed as two-country cases (e.g., Leal, Lopez-Laborda & Rodrigo, 2010). While the level of border restrictions affect levels of cross-border shopping, even in Europe, with the creation of the Euro-zone, has not eliminated cross-border shopping due to a range of issues such as economic disparities between countries, different prices for certain products and services, and differing taxation regimes. Stronger economic imbalances between two countries can often lead to more intensive exchanges of goods and services (Timothy, Guia & Berhet, 2014). Further complicating cross-border shopping issues within central Europe is Switzerland, which while maintaining some connections to the European Union (EU), still retains national control over several factors related to cross-border shopping including border security and currency.

This paper examines cross-border shopping tourism at the Swiss-German border of Kreuzlingen, Switzerland and Konstanz, Germany. For many years, Switzerland has been a comparatively expensive country for Germans to visit. With the latest sudden increase of the Swiss Franc against the Euro beginning in 2015, this situation has intensified resulting in significant advantages for the German retail economy and a comparatively difficult retail position for the Swiss retail economy along/close to the border to Germany. Currently, 40% of the turnover of German retailers close to the Swiss border is made up by Swiss clients with the Swiss Franc revaluation serving as an economic stimulus package for them. Switzerland,

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on the other hand, remains an ‘island of high prices’ for most goods and services. Furthermore, shopping tourism in Konstanz induces non-shopping tourism activity such as visitors frequenting restaurants or cultural institutions in the old town of Konstanz, stay overnight, or expand their demand for other goods and services such as wellness, medical care, car repair and real estate. Even if the number of Swiss shopping tourists starts to decrease slowly and slightly due to the Euro getting stronger in 2017, Swiss shoppers remain an important cornerstone of the Konstanz retail economy (Homann, 2018).

Based on the review and analysis of existing cross-border literature and the context of the border retail issues highlighted in media accounts in the Konstanz-Kreuzlingen region, four field research questions were developed:

1. What are the specific conditions of the Konstanz-Kreuzlingen cross-border shopping tourism?
2. In which way does the current situation of cross-border shopping tourism in Konstanz-Kreuzlingen confirm or reject the existing models of cross-border shopping tourism?
3. Can a new model be derived from the data?
4. In which way is this model transferable to other cross-border regions?

To place the research in context, this paper begins by reviewing the literature on border tourism generally, and cross-border shopping tourism, specifically. In doing so, a model is presented that illustrates the layers of visitor engagement even when the motivating purpose of the visit is shopping. Following a description of the research methods, including intercept surveys and personal interviews, the results of the research are summarized. A layered model is presented in the discussion section as a way forward in understanding the overlapping nature of tourist visits that include shopping. The paper concludes with remarks on the research and suggests future research needs and opportunities.

2 Literature Review

2.1 Border Tourism

Border tourism gained prominence in the tourism literature beginning in the mid-1990s (e.g., Timothy & Butler, 1995; Kanbur & Keen, 1993; Di Matteo & Di Matteo, 1996). This literature has primarily focused on the North Ameri-

can, China-Hong Kong, and European case studies. Table 1 provides a summary of the geographies and topics of study related to border tourism. Together, these examples reinforce the importance of understanding the complexities of border issues through regional case studies.

The research in this paper is rooted in the seminal works of Timothy (2001) and Wachowiak (2006). Both authors give an overview of former conceptualisations of tourism and borders and refer to several case studies. In particular, Timothy’s (2001) classification of the function of the border in tourism as a barrier, borderland tourism attractions, and borders as modifiers of tourism landscapes, provide a valuable pattern to analyse the interdependency of borders and tourism. Wachowiak and Engels (2006) provide a detailed overview on international research and literature on cross-border issues: cross-border co-operation in tourism, social, geographic, environmental, political, legal and economic aspects of cross-border tourism, and regional and national cases. Wachowiak (2006), furthermore, provides case study examples on the subject in Europe and North America. In the Konstanz-Kreuzlingen case, this literature is particularly noteworthy, as Switzerland maintains an autonomous, regulated border, and yet has close economic – including bilateral treaties and trade ties – with the rest of Europe through the European Free Trade Association, and is a member of Schengen area, which comprises European states that have abolished passport controls at border crossings.

An early model developed by Timothy and Butler (1995) examined the relationship between distance and both frequency of trips and value of goods purchased. In an examination of North American cross-border shopping tourism, they found that people travelled more to close destinations but tended to spend more per visit in destinations farther from the actual border crossing. Other models applied to tourism and borders are also key including Kanbur and Keen (1993) research on the influence of different taxation systems and the Nash equilibrium, as applied by Ohsawa (1999), Lucas (2004), and Dascher and Haupt (2011) on transaction costs and price differentials. Very specific topics of tourism and borders relevant to this paper include cross-border lotteries (Garrett & Marsh, 2002), cross-border innovation spaces (Weidenfeld, 2013), cross-border tourism governance (Stoffelen, Ioannides & Vanneste, 2017), international border parks (Timothy, 1999), knowledge transfer in tourism collaborations (Makkonen, Williams, Widenfeld & Kaisto, 2018), border security and tourism (Dibb, Ball, Canhoto, Daniel, Meadows & Spiller, 2014), cross-border tourism and sustainability (e.g., Timothy, 2000, 2001; Gelbman & Timothy, 2011),

Table 1: Sample of the Geographies and Research Areas in the Cross-border Shopping Tourism Literature

Region	Topic	Author(s)
Non-European		
USA-Mexico	Discount outlet malls	Sullivan et al. (2012)
USA-Canada	Taxation and price	Di Matteo & Di Matteo (1996)
	Travel deficits	Timothy & Butler (1995)
	Security	Woosnam et al. (2011)
Hong Kong and Mainland China	Travel supply chains	Tsaur and Chen (2018)
	Shopping power	Haipeng et al. (2017)
Europe		
Cyprus	Border conflicts	Webster and Timothy (2006)
Andorra-France	Sovereignty issues	Timothy et al. (2014)
Spain	Taxation and fuel costs	Leal et al. (2009)
Denmark-Sweden	Distance and demand issues	Asplund et al. (2007)
Germany-Switzerland		
Germany-Poland	Economic class	Dascher and Haupt (2011)
	Place imaging	Snytniewski & Spierings (2017)
Germany-Netherlands	Difference and familiarity	Spierings & van der Velde (2013)
Germany-Denmark	Retail trade	Bygvra (2000)
Switzerland-Border Countries	Fuel tourism	Banfi et al. (2005)

and the conversion of borders into tourist attractions (Gelbman & Timothy, 2010). Second home ownership in border regions has been of more recent interest. Tourists in these cases utilize different services than shorter term tourists requiring temporary accommodation. They also interact differently and more often with permanent residents, including regular shopping and use of local infrastructure (Honkanen, Pitkanen & Hall, 2016). Similarly, another area of border tourism includes exclaves and enclaves (e.g., Gelbman & Timothy, 2011; Wachowiak, 2006; Timothy, 2001). Gelbman and Timothy (2011), for example, examine a border region in Belgium and the Netherlands with the slogan ‘One Village, two communities, two nations’ (p. 110). This unique region provides possible comparisons to the Konstanz-Kreuzlingen area given that the two communities have grown together at the German-Swiss border, as the percentage of foreign born in Kreuzlingen was 54.5 percent in 2016 (Thurgau Stadt, 2017).

Two anthologies by Pechlaner and Jochmann (2014) and Thimm (2013) focus on tourism and borders especially in the European context: success factors and barriers of cross-border tourism, development of cross-border tourism products and several case studies that illustrate the scope of the topic. Both anthologies demonstrate

among other things the complex interplay of economic circumstances, tourism, and consumer behaviour that still takes place along the European borders despite efforts in European integration.

2.2 Cross-border shopping as tourism

There are surprisingly few definitions of cross-border shopping tourism, perhaps because of the literal nature of the term. While Switzerland is not a member of the European Union, but is a member of the European Free Trade Association, for the purposes of this research, the EU-definition of cross-border shopping tourism is adhered to:

The definition of ‘cross-border shopping’ includes any purchases made from retailers or providers located in other European Union countries, either in person or via distance selling, including :

- Travelling to another country with the primary purpose of purchasing goods or services there;
- Purchases that are made in another European country on the occasion of a business trip or holidays (excluding goods and services which are part of the trip itself, such as transport, accommodation, leisure activities, meals, etc.);

- Distance shopping, via the internet, by phone or by mail from suppliers situated in other EU member states; and
- Purchasing from sales representatives based in other European countries who may come and offer their goods or services directly to consumers (European Commission, 2006).

Belonging to routine mobility (Groß, 2017), reasons for cross-border shopping excursions are many and are varied. They include, for example, taxation, currency exchange rates, and per capita income (Di Matteo, 1993; Leal et al., 2009). These factors can make a jurisdiction popular for particular commodities such as gasoline in Switzerland (Banfi, Filippini & Hunt, 2005). Di Matteo and Di Matteo (1996) explore the notion of shopping as part of the overall leisure experience that range from same day excursions to overnight stays. Such activities are what Timothy (1995, p. 527) calls ‘borders as tourism attractions’, representing one segment of a larger market that also includes, for example, casinos and welcome/visitor centres.

Tax competition has long been a barrier or attraction that fosters cross-border shopping (Ohsawa, 1999; Lucas, 2004). Ohsawa (1999), for example, examined taxation, country size and peripherality in the developing European Union. Leal et al. (2010) focused on tax differentials between nations as being the fiscal inducement to cross-border shopping that compensates for travel costs. In their study of Denmark-Sweden, Asplund et al. (2007) found that Denmark reducing taxes on alcohol resulted in increased purchases by Swedish shoppers. They further found that the side effect was the loss of tax revenue to the Swedish government. Studies such as this may be important characteristics in the Konstanz-Kreuzlingen case as Swiss shoppers purchase more diverse products in the Konstanz region.

Nation size and location have also been a focus on cross-border shopping studies (Nielson, 2002). Taxation rates in smaller, centrally located countries such as Luxembourg are lower, attracting cross-border visits for commodities such as gasoline and groceries. Countries such as Scandinavia, with their spatial isolation and lower population density, are in a better position to have higher taxation rates as it is more difficult for residents to simply cross borders for such products. In their study of the Dutch-German Rhine Waal region of Europe, Spierings and van der Velde (2013) offer a useful typology of cross-border shopping tourism: recreational (leisure, non-goal oriented), purposeful (non-regular, specific goods), and daily (regular, specific goods). The cross-border

movements at the Konstanz-Kreuzlingen border are a mixture of these three and even the cross-border shopping tourism at this border is not a mere one, since the shopping activity (purposeful) almost always is combined with leisure (non-goal oriented) and sometimes, to a lesser degree, with daily commuting.

Timothy (2001, p. 51) identifies seven factors that in general favour cross-border shopping: (1) currency exchange rates, (2) taxation levels, (3) economies of scale, (4) product/service selection, (5) customer service, (6) days/hours of operation, and (7) other non-shopping factors (e.g., entertainment, leisure, etc.). Friedrich (2005) found comparable success factors for shopping tourism, including: general conditions, type and extent of the offer, price, accessibility, infrastructure, and profile/marketing. Further, several of the regional case studies mentioned above refer to these lists or developed similar ones or are based on the frameworks of Timothy (2001), Kanbur and Keen (1993), Ohsawa (1999), Lucas (2004) and Dascher and Haupt 2011 (see above) as well as on the Nielsen (2002) model, especially referring to shopping tourism by explaining shopping tourism from smaller to larger countries. Leal et al. (2010) refer in their survey in cross-border shopping literature to some more authors like Trandel (1994), Scharf (1999), Haufler (1996), and Christiansen (1994, 2003) who elaborate this topic further especially regarding tax issues. Tsaur and Chen (2018) even developed a mathematical model for cross border travel supply chains regarding cross border travel from China to Taiwan. Haipeng et al. (2017) conclude in their critical review of tourist shopping research that – besides a general lack of theoretical foundations – most of the studies are of a quantitative nature and focus on four topics: customer satisfaction, motivation, culture and attitude.

2.3 Cross-border studies Northern Switzerland – Southern Germany

Several studies have been conducted on the economic interdependencies of Northern Switzerland and Southern Germany including the ones that focus on cross-border shopping tourism. A general overview of economic interdependencies and regional effects in this area is given by three different studies conducted by the researchers at St. Gallen University in Switzerland. According to Scherer and Wittmer (2013), the Zürich metropolitan area is inducing an economic pull on Southern Baden, especially on the counties of Konstanz and Waldshut due to commuters crossing the border to engage in shopping tourism in these counties. The same situation applies to the Swiss

city of Basel and the German county of Lörrach (Scherer et al., 2014). A St. Gallen University study by Rudolph et al. (2015) examines the cross-border shopping tourism situation after the 'franc shock', finding that food and cosmetics are the increasingly preferred items of Swiss cross-border shoppers who are willing to drive more than an hour for their shopping, predominantly in their own car. These studies illustrate the economic dependence that exists between the two regions.

Furthermore, online-shopping abroad is on the rise (Universität St. Gallen, 2017). Studies of Credit Suisse (2013, 2014, 2015, 2016), Hofer (2009) and GFK/IGDHS (2012, 2013, 2014, 2015) come to comparable results: the amount of shopping tourists and other tourists who combine their stay with shopping is constantly rising over the years, so is the distance the customers are willing to travel. Food items are the main goods followed by shoes/clothing, cosmetics, and household goods. While low prices and tax refunds are the primary motivators, the availability of specific products and a broader range of products also motivate shoppers to purchase goods and services abroad (Tages Anzeiger, 2015; Gagnon, 2017).

Regarding the specific situation of the Konstanz-Kreuzlingen border, two more reasons for preferring shopping in Konstanz over Kreuzlingen were identified in the preliminary research for the case study. Konstanz and Kreuzlingen are often perceived as one city with the centre of this double-city currently perceived as being Konstanz, but with Kreuzlingen responding to change that (A Utili-

zation Strategy, 2016). In addition, the centre of Konstanz with its old town is considered to be more attractive than the main road in Kreuzlingen where most of the remaining shops are located. Kreuzlingen does not have a centre at all, only roads of higher or lower importance – it is a town of polycentric shape (Hasler et al., 2014; GSP AG, 2014).

3 Study Area and Methodology

3.1 Study Area

The reasons for selecting the border between Switzerland and Germany for the case study of cross-border shopping and tourism were described in the second section (Literature Review) of this paper. Here, the reasons for selecting this particular border crossing are detailed. The two communities are also described. Kreuzlingen, Switzerland, and Konstanz, Germany, literally meet at the border (see Figure 1).

The municipality of Kreuzlingen is located in the Canton of Thurgau. In 2015, the population of the Canton of Thurgau was 266,510, the District of Kreuzlingen was 46,496, and the Municipality of Kreuzlingen was 21,499 (Thurgau Kantonalbank, 2016). This represented a 12% increase over 15 years from its 17,118 population in 2000. Kreuzlingen is the second largest community in Thurgau after the Municipality of Frauenfeld, which had a 2015

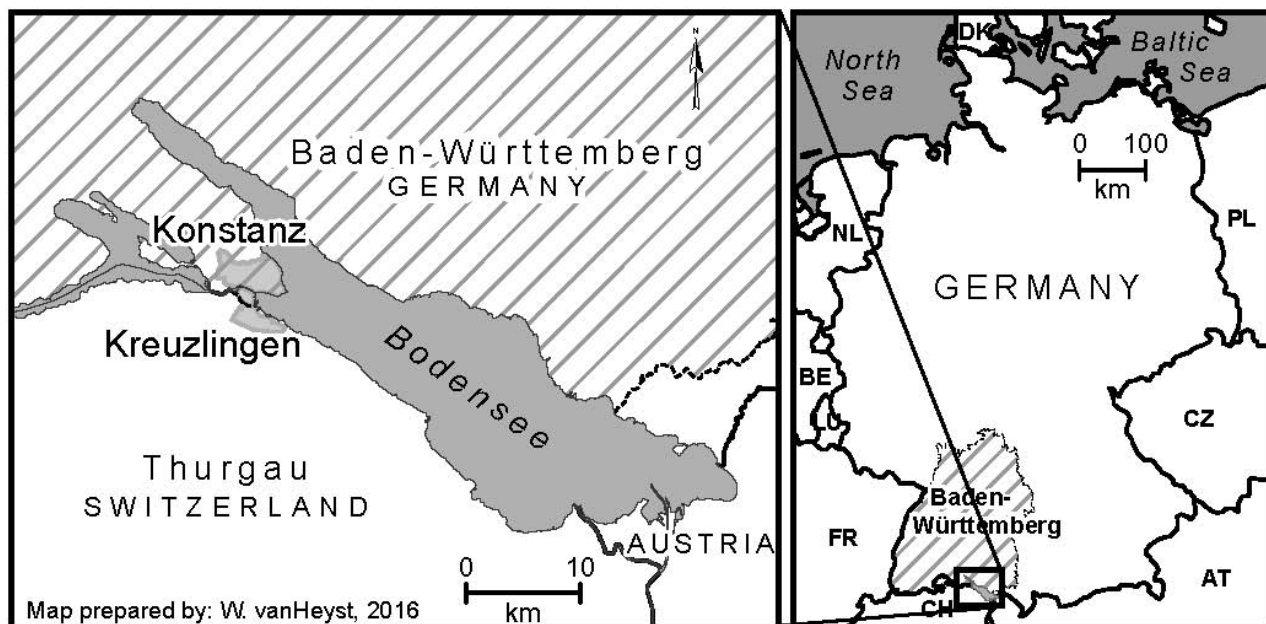


Figure 1: Border Region of Konstanz, Germany and Kreuzlingen, Switzerland

population of 24,733 (Thurgau Kantonalbank, 2016). The economy of Kreuzlingen is predominately tertiary, including more than 800 businesses.

The City of Konstanz, which had a population of 78,539 in 2011, is located in the Federal State of Baden-Württemberg, which had a total population of 10.7 million in the same year. By 2014, the population of Konstanz had increased to 83,179, an increase of 4,640 (6%) in three years (Stadt Konstanz, 2016). Often referred to as a university city, tourism and other services are also important economic sectors.

3.2 Methodology

This research employed a mixed methodology case study. Mixed methodologies include quantitative and qualitative research (Creswell, 2004). Case studies include multiple sources in research (Yin, 1989) and can be thematic and/or place-based in nature. The research in this case includes quantitative (survey) and qualitative (interviews, observation) aspects with the case study theme being cross-border shopping in a particular region of Europe (Germany-Switzerland). A media overview of issues related to cross-border shopping was also conducted. Further, it is a comparative case study, with cross-border shopping issues being examined on both sides of the Germany-Switzerland border. Consistent with Yin (1989), the multiple sources of case study evidence includes secondary (media coverage, shopping data) and primary (observation, photographs, intercept survey, key informant interviews) data collection and analysis.

Intercept surveys (Sheskin, 1985) were conducted in Konstanz, Germany, and in Kreuzlingen, Switzerland, between May 9 and June 3, 2015. Five undergraduate students supervised by a graduate student intercepted shoppers along primary outdoor pedestrian shopping corridors in both cities during times of peak pedestrian traffic. The sampling method was a convenience sample. The difference in samples size is due to there being less pedestrian shopping traffic in Kreuzlingen ($n = 193$) and Konstanz ($n = 377$), being a larger city that is dominated by retail and services in the immediate border region – a finding in itself. The questionnaires used in the intercept surveys in both cities included basic demographic information (age, gender, location) and sought information based on shopping behaviour and perceptions of changes in cross-border shopping patterns in the region in recent years. Some information is comparative (e.g., products purchased), while other information was distinct to each survey (e.g., perceptions of Swiss shoppers in Germany).

The survey was accompanied with structured interviews conducted between 31st of July and 2nd of September 2015. All interviewees came either from the Swiss or the German administration, for example, commerce associations or city management in Kreuzlingen (2 interviewees) or Konstanz (4 interviewees). Informed consent of the interviewees was obtained and the content of the interviews is quoted anonymously. The media coverage overview includes the time just before, during and just after the survey and the interview periods.

4 Results

4.1 Media Overview

The first two objectives speak regarding the specific conditions and situations of the Konstanz-Kreuzlingen cross-border shopping tourism. The following analysis of the regional media addresses these two objectives. This research investigated cross-border shopping tourism in Europe but between Switzerland, a non-EU country located in the centre of the EU. Due to current changes of exchange rates of the Swiss Franc against the Euro, the situation of the Swiss customers in Germany improved enormously: on 14th of January 2015, the Swiss National Bank eliminated the fixed exchange rate of € 1.20 for 1 Swiss Franc with the result that the Swiss disposed overnight of 20% increase in purchasing power in Euro-Countries. The Swiss National Bank could no longer afford stabilizing the formerly fixed exchange rate by continuing to purchase more Euros. The effects were immediate. German retailers and the German tourism industry in the southern German state of Baden-Württemberg, as witnessed with traffic congestion (Büchel, 2018, Rotzinger, 2018) at border crossings (Figure 2) and lines at customs offices (Figure 3) increased, while Swiss retailers, industry, and tourism industry faced losses. Smaller shops near the German border, including in Kreuzlingen, closed down (Domjahn & Herbermann, 2016).

Several measures are currently being discussed on both sides of the border, including a minimum concession of € 50 for a tax refund, since the German custom offices refund value added tax (referred to in others jurisdictions as general sales taxes) to Swiss shopping tourists, which is putting financial and personnel constraints on the German side due to the volume (Domjahn, 2016). Switzerland has also begun protecting its market with a ban on German taxi drivers providing services to the Zürich Airport, declaring food delivery like pizza as dutiable



Figure 2: Border Crossing into Konstanz from Kreuzlingen.

goods, and closing custom offices down so that traffic must switch to other border crossing points, which results in higher transportation costs for them (Köhler, 2016). The Gross Domestic Product (GDP) and exports of Switzerland fell both in 2015 and 2016 (Tagesanzeiger, 2015; Country Economy, 2017), which will most likely negatively affect the unemployment rate and buying behaviour in the near future. As it currently stands, Swiss shoppers profit from the situation threefold: (1) lower prices in Germany, (2) a favourable exchange rate, and (3) the tax refund (Hosp, 2014).

On the German side, new business models have been developed such as online-stores: Swiss clients order from German online-shops and let the items be delivered to specialized stores on the German side close to the Swiss border (Macho, 2015). Another new tourism business model includes hotels offering packages for Swiss shopping tourists that allow them to meet the maximum of tax refund when visiting for two days (Pfanner, 2016). The few products remaining that are bought by Germans in Switzerland are chocolate, coffee, pasta and spices (Becker, 2015). Another effect is a spatial one: the stronger the Franc the farther Swiss clients drive—now already up 100 kilometres for shopping in Germany. Regarding the drain of purchasing power due to Swiss cross-border shopping, it is estimated that Swiss retail trade loses 12 billion Francs per year, which equates 13% of the total Swiss retail trade (Handelszeitung, 2015).

Furthermore, Switzerland has become even more attractive for Germans to work and for Swiss companies to relocate production to border regions of Southern Germany (Mehr Flüchtlinge, 2016). In the long run, longer working hours and lower wages cannot be avoided in Switzerland (20 Minuten, 2015; Handelszeitung, 2016). Initiatives like ‘Ladies’ shopping nights’ in Bern or Thusis (cf.



Figure 3: Swiss Shopper in Line at the Border Crossing to Process Tax Forms.

Bolero, 2013; Verein Marktplatz & Zentrumsort Thusis, 2016) or a Swiss poster campaign in the Konstanz county by a Swiss supermarket in Swiss German dialect stating that by shopping in Switzerland, citizens would already be at home having coffee (see Figure 4), cannot prevent this development.

To illustrate the issue further, it is worth noting a sample of media coverage of the recent cross-border shopping between the Konstanz and Kreuzlingen regions. For example, an article titled ‘Franc highs send Swiss cross-border shopping’ (Swissinfo, 2015) notes the following: ‘Why shop locally when you can step across the German or French border and save 20%? Swiss shops are among the losers of the decision by Switzerland’s central bank to abandon the minimum Franc-Euro exchange rate.’ The British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) was more poignant about the impacts, as noted in an excerpt from the following interview:



Figure 4: Advertisement in Kreuzlingen to Encourage Staying Home to Shop.

...recently, Kreuzlingen has become too peaceful, eerily quiet in fact. Its main street, optimistically redesigned and renamed the Kreuzlingen Boulevard just four years ago, is empty. There are plenty of shops, but some are closed, and those that are open have few customers. (BBC, 2015)

4.2 Survey and Interview Results

The survey and interviews address the first two objectives: shoppers' perceptions of the specific conditions and current situation and issues related to cross-border shopping tourism. A total of 570 individuals were surveyed via the intercept survey described in the methodology section: 377 in Germany and 193 in Switzerland (see Table 2). In the German sample, slightly more than half (55.2%) of the respondents were female. The sample was dispersed across age categories, although most respondents were in the 45–64 age category. Almost all (94.4%) of the respondents indicated Germany as their country of residence. In the Swiss sample, slightly more than half (54.9%) were male. Like the German sample, it was distributed across age categories, although it was slightly more weighted in the 25–44 years and 45–64 years age categories. Virtually all (98%) claimed Switzerland as their residence. The following sections provide a descriptive analysis of the survey data. Each sample was analysed individually as the formats and questions varied for regional relevance. Further, it was not the intent to look at relationships between regions or within the sample (e.g., age, gender,

etc.), but rather to provide a complete overview of how all respondents felt about situations and issues (Table 2).

4.2.1 Opinions of Cross-border Shopping in Germany

Most respondents (80%) felt that shopping tourism was important to the region. The remaining 20% were equally divided between no opinion and feeling that shopping tourism was unimportant to the region. Respondents were divided about the impact of Swiss shoppers in Germany with 41.4% feeling such activity was a disturbance, whereas 28% felt it was either not a disturbance or they had had no opinion. Noting this, respondents were clearer in their perceptions of specific advantages (see Table 3) and disadvantages (see Table 4) of cross-border shopping in Germany.

Only nine (2.4%) respondents felt there were no advantages to cross-border shopping in Germany (see Table 3). Respondents were asked to respond 'yes' or 'no' to nine possible advantages of cross-border shopping in Germany. Most respondents felt that advantages included greater retail (85.9%) and restaurant choice and diversity (65.0%). Approximately half of the respondents noted the advantages of higher commercial revenues (56.2%), employment (48.3%) and the general pedestrian presence in town (45.9%). More than one-third of the respondents indicated the general prosperity of the region (35.8%) and overall variety in shops and restaurants (35.0%) as advantages of cross-border shopping in Germany. Fewer noted

Table 2: Demographic Characteristics of Survey Sample

Demographic Characteristic	Age	Germany Survey		Switzerland Survey	
		#	%	#	%
Age	> 65	56	14.9	13	6.7
	45–64	127	33.7	72	37.3
	25–44	90	23.9	70	36.3
	< 25	92	24.4	32	16.6
	Missing	12	3.2	6	3.1
Gender	Male	169	44.8	106	54.9
	Female	208	55.2	87	45.1
Country of Residence	Germany	356	94.4	2	1.0
	Switzerland	16	4.2	189	97.9
	Other	5	1.3	2	1.0

Source: Authors' Survey

Table 3: Advantages of Cross-border Shopping in Germany (n = 377)

Advantage	# yes	%
Higher turnover retail	325	85.9
Prosperous gastronomy	249	65.0
Higher commercial revenue	205	56.2
More employment in the service sector	185	48.3
Busy downtown	182	45.9
Prosperity of region	141	35.8
Greater variety of shops and restaurants	141	35.0
Intercultural exchange	89	19.9
Better offer of tourist attractions	71	15.1
No Advantages	9	2.4
Total Responses (average #/ advantage = 4.2)	1,588	n.a.

Note: All respondents responded to each of these statements.
Source: Authors' Survey, 2015.

cultural exchange and improved tourist attractions (see Table 3).

These survey results were broadly confirmed by some of the interviewees, in particular the greater variety of shops and restaurants (Interviews with G1, 31/07/15; G2, 26/08/15), but also the enhanced tourism experience that Konstanz offers with the old town and museums (Interviews with G1, 31/07/15; G4, 03/98/15) were highlighted. Interviewee G2 pointed out further that this tourism experience beyond only shopping has always existed in Konstanz.

Respondents were also asked about their perceptions of disadvantages of cross-border shopping in Germany (see Table 4). Only those indicating advantages were asked these questions (n = 195). Most respondents noted line-ups at cashpoints, traffic and parking congestion, and general overcrowding of shops and restaurants. Related to the latter, about 40 percent noted overcrowding in pedestrian zones. As noted previously in the paper, local and regional media has covered the issues of congestion and overcrowding in downtown Konstanz, which also became a security issue where emergency vehicles had difficulties gaining access (Drinkuth, 2016). Overall, the results of the survey reinforce these claims. When asked whether the behaviour of Swiss shoppers was a disadvantage, only 30 percent said that it was. In a separate question asking about relationships with Swiss shoppers, only 22% felt it was rather or very tense compared to 31% who felt it was rather or very relaxed.

Via the interviews, some of these disadvantages could also be confirmed, in particular, the traffic/parking con-

Table 4: Disadvantages of Cross-border Shopping in Germany (n = 195)

Disadvantage	# yes	%*
Line-ups at cashpoints	145	74.4
Traffic/parking congestion	131	67.2
Overcrowded shops and restaurants	130	66.7
Overcrowded pedestrian zone	79	40.5
Behaviour of Swiss customers	56	28.7
Waiting for appointments	20	10.3
Occupancy overcapacity	19	9.7
Other	15	7.7
Total Responses (average #/ advantage =)	595	n.a.

Note: * As only the 195 respondents who felt there was a disadvantage responded to each of these statements, percentages are of 195.

Source: Authors' Survey, 2015.

gestion (Interviews with G1, CH1 01/09/15), but also the modification of range of products and sales approach exclusively addressing Swiss clients (Interview with G3, 02/09/15). In addition, there was no doubt that Swiss retail close to the German border is 'eventually dead' (G3, G4). Another disadvantage was mentioned by G2, stating that competition regarding land use is getting fierce, since more space for trade business is needed, although there is already not enough room for housing and other industries.

Only 52 (13.8%) of the respondents stated that they shopped in Switzerland. Of these, 34.5% did so at least once a month, whereas 22.3% did so once a week or more. A specific question was included about buying gasoline in Switzerland because there has long been a cost advantage to doing so. Only 60 (17.1%) of the respondents, however, indicated that they engaged in such purchases. Of these, almost half (41.2%) stated that they refuelled in Switzerland at least once a month.

4.2.2 Swiss Shopper Survey

In addition to the demographic range of the sample outlined previously, a number of other factors are of interest to better understand Swiss cross-border shoppers in Germany. Most (91%) respondents indicated that they crossed the border to shop in Germany. Of those who did, the frequency of crossings was quite ranged. One quarter crossed to shop 1–2 times per year, 33 percent did so less than once a month, while 35.8% crossed more than once

per month. There have been attempts by Swiss authorities to stress the better quality of Swiss products or to call on patriotism in order to motivate Swiss citizens to ‘buy Swiss’ without any effect (interview with CH 1: 01/09/15).

Of the 193 respondents, slightly more than half (53%) travel 50 kilometres or less from Switzerland to Germany to shop. A further 36% travel between 51 and 100 kilometres. The range of expenditures is wide, ranging from 27.5% spending 100 Euros or less, 32% spending between 101 and 150 Euros, and 33.8% spending more than 150 Euros. Three-quarters of the respondents (148 or 76.7%) indicated obtaining tax refunds for purchases made in Germany. Respondents were also asked how welcome they felt in Germany. Most (76.7%) felt welcome. Only 9 respondents (4.7%) felt unwelcome with the remainder having no opinion or not responding.

When asked reasons for travelling to Konstanz, the results are clear that the respondents had more than one reason (see Table 5). Most agreed that shopping was a reason compared to half who indicated other reasons for visiting Konstanz. Almost one-quarter indicated that restaurants and slightly more stated that groceries were part of their shopping purpose.

A second set of questions related to the purpose of travel asked respondents to specify the purchases they made in Konstanz from a list of twelve item types, including ‘other’. As above, the results illustrate multiple reasons for shopping. A total of 529 responses were provided, an average of 2.7 different types of purchases per respondent (see Table 6). Three quarters specified cosmetics, two-thirds clothing, and just under half specified groceries. Table six lists the range of items purchased by respondents. It is not surprising that only eight respondents stated purchasing fuel given the higher price in Germany. This could perhaps be based on need at the time. Since the survey was conducted, the price differen-

tial has diminished which is an illustration of the dynamic nature of cross-border shopping based on price alone.

To better understand the cross-border experiences, respondents were asked if more than price, there was a reason to shop in Konstanz (see Table 7). Most respondents provided more than one response. The most frequently cited reason was product variety (112 or 58.0%). Atmosphere, hours of operations, quality, and level of service were other reasons respondents gave.

5 Discussion

Evident from the literature and the research reported in this paper, cross-border shopping entails more than just shopping. The third objective of the research was to develop a new model of cross-border shopping tourism. Developing the concepts of Timothy (2001) and Spierings and van der Velde (2013), we advance a new model on cross-border shopping called ‘Multi-layered Space/Destination Experience of Cross-Border Shopping Tourism’ (see Figure 5). Based on the results of the Konstanz-Kreuzlingen study, in which we confirm that cross-border shopping is more than simply shopping, this model differs from others in that it illustrates the multi-layered experience, including shopping but also leisure, services, atmosphere, and cultural experience. In doing so, we provide thematic and spatial aspects to cross-border tourism, generally, and shopping specifically. Perhaps most unique to the Konstanz-Kreuzlingen case study, given the two communities meet at their respective international border, is the habit-

Table 5: Reasons to Travel to Konstanz (n = 193)

Reason	# yes	%
Shopping	134	69.4
Visit city	95	49.2
Groceries	56	29.0
Restaurant	45	23.3
Other	22	11.4
Culture	18	9.3
Total Number of Reasons (Average # per respondent)	370 (1.9)	n.a.

Source: Authors’ Survey, 2015.

Table 6: Purchases Made in Konstanz (n = 193)

Purchase	#	%
Cosmetics	145	75.1
Clothing	129	66.8
Groceries	93	48.2
Sporting goods	39	20.2
Drugs	27	14.0
Jewellery	25	13.0
Toys	17	8.8
Furniture	13	6.7
Alcohol	13	6.7
Electronics	13	6.7
Fuel	8	4.1
Other	7	3.6

Source: Authors’ Survey, 2015.

Table 7: Reasons to Shop in Konstanz Other than Price

Reason	#	%
Variety	112	58.0
Atmosphere	66	34.2
Hours	34	17.6
No other	33	17.1
Service	11	5.7
Other	9	4.7
Quality	4	2.1

Source: Authors' Survey, 2015.

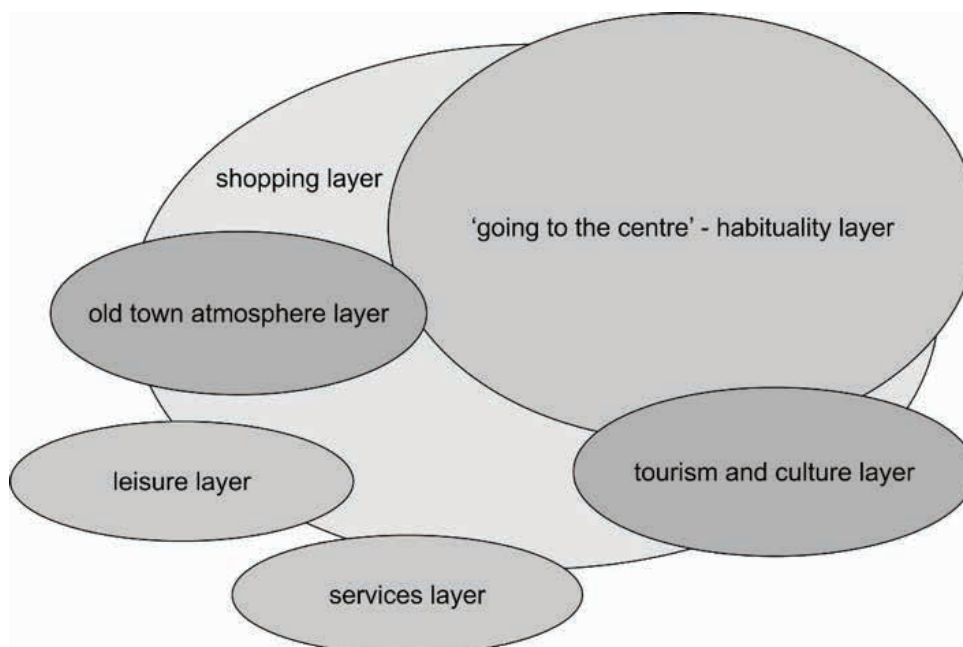
uality layer which we also refer to as 'going to the centre'. Of course, this is related to the other layers in the model, including leisure, old town atmosphere and cultural experience, as well as seeking out goods (shopping) and services. The model could be applied to other jurisdictions, particularly with respect to the aspects of layering.

Shopping is important and the 'franc shock' is the dominant motivation to cross the border from Kreuzlingen to Konstanz. In fact, this perspective needs to be differentiated since Konstanz has always been the natural centre for its hinterland, being the largest city at Lake Konstanz. That is, while people regularly visited Konstanz for the cultural atmosphere and shopping experiences prior to the franc shock, since then, the cultural atmosphere of

the old town could also be viewed as a pleasant 'add-on' to the shopping motive and experience.

The stagnating number of export permits in 2016, compared to 2015, issued at customs indicates that the growth of Swiss shopping tourist numbers has recently stagnated with the possibility of declines (Händler Kämpfen, 2016). Rent for retail space increased in some cases by 30% making it difficult for retailers to remain in business (Gagnon, 2017). Shortage of parking space, traffic congestion and beggar gangs from Eastern Europe discourage increasingly wealthy Swiss shoppers from convenience shopping visits. Some retailers consider 2015 as the peak retail year and are already fighting with a decline of Swiss customers. In fact, by 2016, some retail operators had given up on this as a growth market (Schuler, 2016; interview with G4: 03/08/15).

One concern with respect to the scale and dynamics related to the cross-shopping phenomenon is the apparent lack of strategy that is missing from both sides to handle the situation in the long-term or to make a change (interview with G3: 02/09/15). Because the drain of purchasing power is highest in immediate border areas (interview with G2: 26/08/15), strategies are particularly important in the Konstanz-Kreuzlingen case study because of being located directly at the border. Furthermore, the issues affecting cross-border shopping are changing, including price differentials (e.g., gas prices in Switzerland and Germany are now almost the same) and political change (e.g., the fear of U.S. tourism declining with the election of Donald

**Figure 5:** Multi-layered Space/Destination Experience of Cross-Border Shopping Tourism.

Trump), which only adds to the volatility in cross-border shopping contexts. In addition, since the fieldwork for the Konstanz-Kreuzlingen case study was conducted, the international refugee situation in Europe has taken place. Switzerland became a new transit country after the shutdown of the Balkan route (e.g., refugees try to cross from Italy) resulting in even stricter border controls by German authorities. Konstanz-Kreuzlingen and Basel-Weil am Rhein are now the two most important border crossings for refugees (Mehr Flüchtlinge, 2016), adding to the volume of people in border regions requiring goods and services. Together, this further illustrates the importance of going beyond secondary data analysis and conducting surveys and in-person interviews with shoppers, businesses, and professionals as well as government employees on both sides of the border. Recent political and economic events, such as looming trade wars instigated by the U.S. government and the ongoing nature of BREXIT negotiations, illustrate the importance of border tourism research which focusses on shopping as a destination.

6 Conclusion

The results reported in this paper are consistent with the existing models of cross-border tourism. Based on Timothy's (2001) model, one could argue that the Konstanz-Kreuzlingen case can be viewed as 'borderlands tourism'. Similarly, based on Spierings and van der Velde (2013), one could argue that this case can be classified as purposeful (non-regular, specific goods) shopping activity with recreational and daily aspects. However, the specific situation and location of the Konstanz-Kreuzlingen border crossing requires its own model representing a large shopping motivation layer overlapping with drivers such as the enjoyment of the old town ambience and atmosphere, tourist sites and attractions, a rich cultural life, and the mere custom of strolling through town in Konstanz. The argument could be made that no two border crossings possess the same characteristics. With modifications to reflect appropriate regional contexts, our model (see Figure 5) could be applied to other cross-border shopping areas.

Constant change around the globe as well as political turmoil in North America and Europe provide further context on the need to better understanding cross-border shopping behaviour. The research reported on this paper modified the existing models, and did so by engaging shoppers on both sides of a border region regarding not only frequency and purpose of crossing, but also assess-

ing perceptions of experience in travel. Future research should further examine the personal contexts and reasons for decision-making with respect to supporting one nation's economy over another. A combination of intercept surveys, online surveys, and other techniques should continue to be used to gauge opinions and perspectives regarding cross-border shopping and cross-border shopping issues.

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