

## **The Interactive Creation of Local Identity in Tourist Visiting Cities: A Comparative study of Nara, Bologna, and Santa Barbara**

Hiroyuki NAKANO <sup>a</sup>, Hiroko TAKANASHI <sup>b</sup>

<sup>a</sup> *Transport Researcher, Tokyo, Japan; E-mail: nakano-h2fs@helen.ocn.ne.jp*

<sup>b</sup> *Department of English, Japan Women's University, Tokyo, 112-8681, Japan; E-mail: takanashi@fc.jwu.ac.jp*

**Abstract:** This study analyzes the features of local identity and its interactional aspect through the case studies of the tourist visiting cities in Japan, the US, and Italy. Drawing on the notion of intersubjectivity as the analytical tool and ethnography as the methodological framework, this study illustrates that local identity is subject to constant reformulation through interactions between local and global engagements; on one hand, participants' local dialogues employ global resources, and on the other hand, such dialogues accrue to the creation of the collective ideology of local identity. With this respect, we observed that strategic approaches to present local uniqueness are taken in both individual and collective spheres of tourism activities. Based on such bilateral analysis, with the assumption that inbound communication can generate new values through dialogues between the locals and the tourists from overseas, we suggest the ways the local governance can take to effectively enhance the quality of tourism toward the locally-desired directions.

*Keywords:* Tourism, Local Identity, Dialogue, Intersubjectivity, Strategy

### **1. BACKGROUND AND PURPOSE OF THE STUDY**

The number of international tourists worldwide has been increasing and reached 1.32 billion in 2017 with the growth rate of 6.7% compared to the previous year. According to the forecast of UNWTO (the United Nation's World Tourism Organization), the high growth rate in the number of international tourists continues to be predicted by 2030, especially in Asia. In such a situation, foreign tourists desire unique and out-of-the-ordinary experiences at their destination. With the remarkably increasing number of tourists who want to experience the local cultures and activities, it is an urgent task for the host cities to let their uniqueness known to the tourists, which leads to the promotion of tourism in the community as well as the revitalization of the regional economy. Such efforts may maximize tourists' positive experiences and give solutions to relevant social issues such as the depopulation of the local area. In this respect, these efforts will become more and more needed as information becomes more accessible due to the advance of technology.

Nakano and Takanashi (2019) argue that Japan's current situation in terms of communication from both sides of supply (i.e., hosts) and demand (i.e., tourists) cannot be said to be desirable. One major issue is that hosts cannot adequately respond to the needs and expectations of foreign travelers, which is making tourists frustrated. Another issue is that there are communication insufficiencies between municipalities and staff working at the sightseeing sites. From a sociological standpoint, Urry (2007) underscores the importance of face-to-face interaction in the networking of social activities. This suggests the importance of strengthening the interconnection among local entities to enhance the mechanism of positive feedback. Furthermore, Simmel (1994) claims that a feeling of intimacy arises through the

involvement of “gaze,” which Goffman (1963) calls “eye to eye looks” and states that it may increase the awareness of mutual trust.

Taking the above concepts into account, this study examines the construction of local identity which is collaboratively created through the interactions between hosts and foreign tourists who have different cultural backgrounds from each other. We will use the term *inbound communication* to refer to this kind of intercultural communication in the tourism context. Based on our observations of inbound communication in diverse three tourist visiting cities, we will analyze the creation of local identity of those cities. It should be noted that our study focuses on qualitative aspects of local identity as pioneering research. It looks at the dialogic “micro” interactions taking the approach of ethnography, with the aim to link them to the broader “macro” interactions on the other side of the spectrum. Ethnography requires researchers to conduct qualitative analyses, and it takes a substantial amount of case studies before drawing any conclusion for a quantitative comprehension. Thus, our goal at this stage is to provide our qualitative analysis, which renders itself as the basis for the future study that can eventually demonstrate more enduring universal features of tourism through the accumulation of individual qualitative results.

In recent years local actors involved in tourism activities proactively utilize a variety of strategic tools so that they can present their uniqueness under the tough competition against other tourism cities. It can be said that the networked governance has now entered a new stage to demonstrate the local identity more strategically whereby the awareness of related parties is fostered, which can further contribute to the adjustment of the regional policies of each area. The role of governance is important in the networking among various actors including private ones as social alignments taken by citizens become interdependent and horizontal because they have come to be included in the processes of policy-making and implementation (Klijn, 2012; Torfing, 2012).

## **2. THE INTERACTIONAL ASPECT OF TOURISM**

Identity has been studied in various fields including psychology and sociology. In sociolinguistics discourse analyses were conducted in some situated tourism contexts from the viewpoint of cross-cultural communication (e.g., Jaworski and Thurlow, 2013). However, the dialogic approach to tourism discourse that investigates the structure and characteristics is scarce (the exception includes the preliminary studies by Nakano (2018), Takanashi (2017), and Nakano and Takanashi (2019)). In terms of the strategic construction of “brand” at the regional level, the structural analysis of “place branding” has been conducted by scholars such as Anholt (2007) and Ashworth *et al.* (2015). Ashworth *et al.* (2015) discuss several types of place branding according to their components and agents. These lines of studies were mainly implemented in the fields of business sciences and geography. However, little attention has been paid to the dialogic process whereby multiple actors interact with one another. Moreover, it should be noted that collaboration across individual academic fields is uncommon. Therefore, this study aims at the progress of the interdisciplinary research to fill the gap.

The research by Takanashi (2017) and Nakano (2018) demonstrates that new values emerge through dialogic interactions, in which dialogism should be interpreted as the Bakhtinian notion of *multiple voicing* or *polyphony* (Bakhtin, 1981 [1934]). This research takes a slightly different focus by comparing the cases in which local identity is intersubjectively constructed in inbound communication in Nara, Santa Barbara, and Bologna. This is a preliminary study that examines tourism from the dialogic perspective, presenting practical and effective tools for the improvement of governance that deals with tourism. We

will analyze the viewpoints of both tourists and various local agents engaged in tourism activities. We argue that the collaboration among the local actors as the hosts under the common goal is indispensable in creating a rich environment for displaying local uniqueness to the tourists, and ultimately, to the development of the local community.

### **3. THE BILATERAL ASPECT OF LOCAL IDENTITY**

Inbound communication is an act of dialogue and its resonance creates new values through interactions between the hosts and the tourists from overseas. They exchange, negotiate, and create multi-faceted values during a limited time and opportunity in the country foreign to the tourists who come with high expectations for unique experiences. Besides, both parties will arrive at a mutual understanding of different cultures and customs and try to learn more about each other despite the information gap (Takanashi, 2017).

To analyze the process of the formation of local identity, this study draws on Bakhtin's notion of "dialogism" as one of the analytical frameworks. Bakhtin argues that the formation of an individual requires the existence of other's voice and the engagement between the two voices. Multiple voices produce new values in this tense relationship (Bakhtin, 1981 [1934]). This is the concept of "polyphony" where various voices may become amplified through multiple modes of interactions. Consequently, new meanings emerge in the difference of individual values. These meanings are ambivalent, reflecting various factors such as time, social status, and social group to which the speakers belong.

#### **3.1 The Concept of Identity**

Although the notion of identity is complex both within and across academic fields, also in different time periods and environments, its contemporary understanding has come to replace the previous notion in which its constituent attributes are rather fixed and permanent (Stevenson, 2006), with the one in which it is socially and dynamically constructed through the process of intersubjectivity performed by social actors. Butler (1990) argues that each person constructs identity through interactive actions with others. Along the same lines, Bucholtz and Hall (2004) discuss that identity is not a static but a dynamic entity which is co-created through the exchange of utterances. With respect to the dialogic dimension of interaction, Du Bois (2007) demonstrates the approach of stancetaking, in which "(s)tance has the power to assign value to objects of interest, to position social actors with respect to those objects, to calibrate alignment between stancetakers, and to invoke presupposed systems of sociocultural value" (p. 139). Yet, interactional exchanges require not only the momentary alignment but also the sequential development. Goffman's (1974, 1981) notion of *frame* with its layered nature illustrates such a continuous and dynamic progress of contextualization.

Additionally, stance can be conceptualized to involve enduring aspects and to have consequences to social life (Du Bois, 2007). Thus, identity can be regarded as a dynamic and relational configuration, which is calibrated among social actors, and which is closely tied to the historical and sociocultural contexts. In addition, in today's modern world the emergence of new forms of communication such as SNS and the new trends of globalization are setting up an opportunity for potentially more complex understanding of identity.

#### **3.2 The Collective Aspect of Local Identity**

Identity is commonly regarded as an individual or personal entity. However, the range of

identity can be extended to include collective features (Ohori, 2010). This study views local identity as a dynamic concept which can change over time and across the environment, and as both an individual and collective configuration. The two levels of identity (i.e., individual and collective) constantly affect each other at varying levels ranging from words, structures, and meanings (Figure 1). There may be a hybrid or overlapping relationship between the recognition *of*, as well as *by* individuals on one hand (e.g., personal feelings or attachments to the area), and collective perceptions on the other (e.g., impressions of an area shared by a certain number of residents who live there). The latter can be linked to the issue of regional revitalization and strategic area management (e.g., co-created values for the region). Henceforth, they will continuously be adjusted and adapted to the current trends due to globalization as well as competitions among multiple areas.

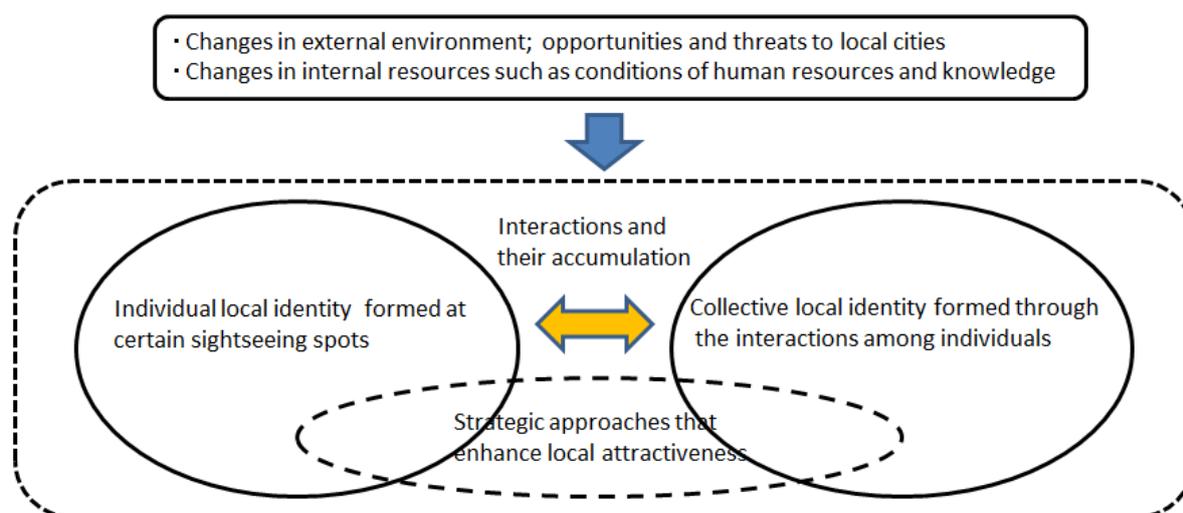
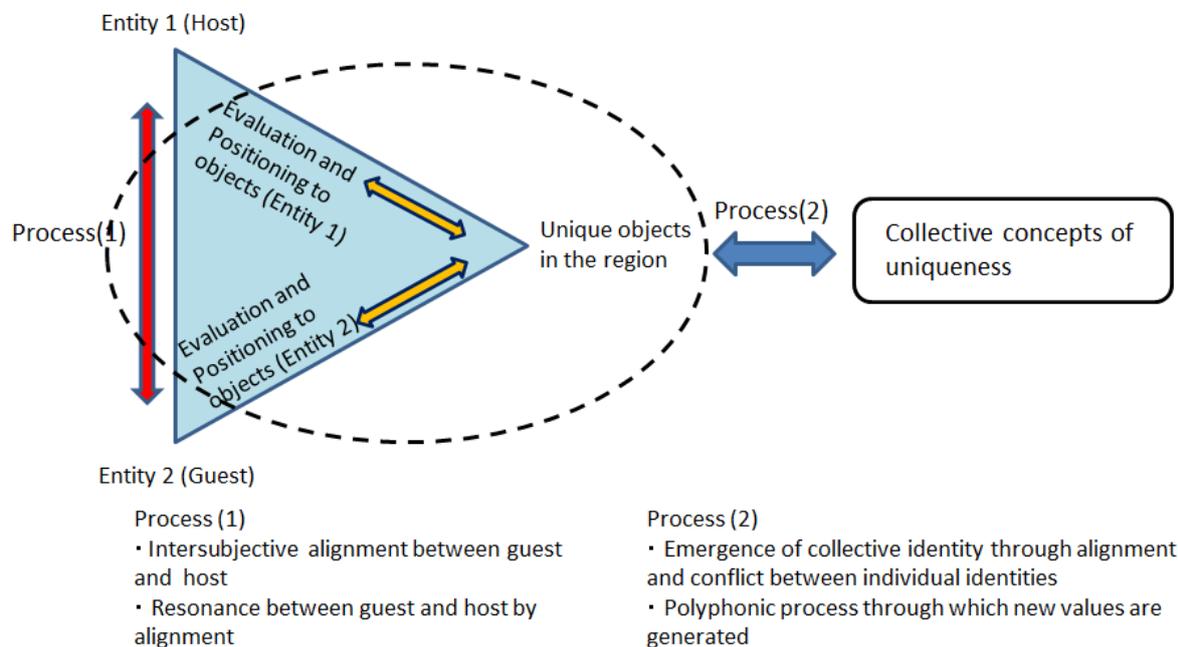


Figure 1. Framework of local identity construction in tourism

Now “resonance” needs to be introduced to better understand dialogic interactions. Du Bois (2014) defines resonance as “the catalytic activation of affinities across utterance” (p. 359). Through the dialogue and its resonance, the engagement of various individual voices (i.e., polyphony) of tourists and hosts gives rise to relational configurations based on affinities. In this sequential process, the individual local identity emerges dynamically as a product of the collaborative act. It should be noted that such individual identity is closely linked to the collective aspect of identity, formulating a cyclic relation whereby the individual and collective aspects affect one another. In this respect, Münch (1987) argues that “the relationship between microinteraction and macrostructures” (p. 335) is closely interconnected, which suggests the need to view interactions in a more comprehensive manner. This study pays attention to both the individual and collective aspects of local identity, which is interactionally constructed, reproduced, and accumulated by certain structured frameworks of dialogue. Moreover, it is intersubjectively transformed into something new in the present context. Powerful strategies for creating new meanings are often pursued by local actors to express the area’s attractiveness in an effective way. Elements of such strategies are coordinated and continuously reshaped through multiple interactions and their accumulation. Available local resources are collaboratively deployed to form unique local identity.

#### 4. THE ANALYTICAL PERSPECTIVE

This paper regards the act of taking a stance as crucial to the analysis of the identity construction in inbound communication, since stancetaking has the capacity to explain the socio-cognitive mechanism of human interaction and its consequences. Stance is understood as involving three simultaneous co-acts by a stancetaker: evaluating the stance object, taking up a position vis-à-vis the stance object, and aligning the stance in relation to another party's stance (Figure 2). Intersubjectivity is achieved by the completion of the third co-act, which is essential to the current study. This study employs stancetaking and examines how local identities are constructed and shared through the dialogic act of taking a stance by looking into the cases of Nara, Bologna, and Santa Barbara. (The dialogic analysis of the tourism communication in Santa Barbara and Nara is based on the research by Nakano and Takanashi (2019).)



Note) The notion of applying the stance triangle to inbound communication is referred to in [Takanashi \(2017\)](#)

Figure 2. Structure of local identity by applying the stance triangle to inbound communication

#### 4.1 Emergence and Development of Local Identity in Dialogue

Inbound communication occurs in a limited time where diverse voices construct certain relations between tourists and hosts. The elements regarding local identities emerge depending on the development of dialogue and its resonance. In functional terms, resonance dynamically emerges via communicative and collaborative activities whereby the participants negotiate and find their common interests. This process is closely related to personal views and personalities, as well as social factors such as traditions and customs of their home countries.

Since the staff and tourists have different backgrounds, their impressions of the area's identity are to large extent contingent upon their dialogue mediated by verbal and non-verbal semiotic devices, whereby their stances are exchanged. Elements such as humor may also

affect speakers' psychological distance and their positive/negative face (Brown and Levinson, 1987 [1978]; Norrick, 1993). Additionally, it is argued that speakers' self-disclosure may increase the sense of intimacy because it creates a friendly and pleasant atmosphere, which in turn results in the generation of mutual trust (Ando, 1990).

#### **4.2 Strategic Approaches to Encourage Visitors to Develop New Perspectives**

Strategic approaches are taken in the dialogic and collective phases of inbound communication. The former phase concerns when the host tries to be more proactive in conversation by offering opportunities which may be of interest to the tourists. Bucholtz and Hall (2004) maintain that identity, an entity based on social relationships, is created through "tactics of inter-subjectivity" in the process of interaction.

Positive impressions are formed through the factors such as speech participants' willingness to play their roles and to be cooperative. Several factors, such as certain language use and physical and environmental elements pertinent to the community's culture and customs, may also contribute to the creation of a friendly atmosphere in which they feel comfortable in speaking and taking part in the interaction.

Furthermore, some creative strategies can offer the hosts important insights about how to improve the uniqueness of the area and what potential businesses they can undertake. This issue should be pursued more in depth because it enables tourist cities to differentiate themselves from other competing cities.

#### **4.3 Local Identity in Bilateral Perspectives**

Individual identity formed at sightseeing spots is accumulated and the resultant collective images are most likely to be formulated as rather enduring stereotypes. This process may help form common grounds for local entities to come up with desired solutions which appear complex and challenging at present. On the other hand, we may face some issues that potentially lead to an unsuccessful attempt due to the unpredictable nature of social changes and market conditions.

The differences in perspective occur mainly due to the situation of the areas, the multiple viewpoints of evaluation including comparison between the areas' potential growth. They are continuously situated in a competitive environment, and therefore concerns arise that other cities may outgrow and thus the city may fail to attract potential tourists.

### **5. RESEARCH FRAMEWORK AND METHODOLOGY**

The tourist visiting cities of Santa Barbara, Bologna, and Nara were selected as the target of analysis mainly because the number of foreign tourists who visit the cities is similar among them (Table 1). In each city, walking tours held by volunteers or professional guides were observed (Table 2). In addition, although not a walking tour, interactions between the tourists and the volunteer staff at the visitor center in Santa Barbara was observed because they manifested voluntary and natural conversations. In order to supplement the observations, interviews were conducted to the travelers and tourism guides as well as local governments and their affiliated tourism organizations.

Now we will demonstrate the major characteristics of each city. First, Santa Barbara is located on the west coast of the US. It is well known as one of the most popular resort destinations in the US, where Chinese tourists have been particularly increasing in recent

Factors/Area	Santa Barbara		Bologna	Nara	
	County	City	Comune	Prefecture	City
Population (ten thousand)	44.8 (2017)	9.2 (2017)	39 (2017)	134.2 (2018)	35.6 (2018)
Area (km <sup>2</sup> )	9814	107.3	139	3691	276.9
Number of tourists in the city area (ten thousand)	720 (2016)		299 (2016)	1631 (2017)	
Number of foreign tourists in the city area (ten thousand) and the percentage of foreign tourists which accounts for of the entire tourists (%)	130 (18%)		170 (57%)	199 (12%)	

Note) Facts of Santa Barbara are based on the US Census preliminary figures and the survey of Santa Barbara South Coast Visitor Profile Study. Facts of Bologna are based on Statistiscs portal. Facts of Nara are based on the prefectural and city surveys.

years. Some educational institutions such as college and university are located in Santa Barbara, and many academics as well as socially and economically successful people reside there. Many retirees also live there, who often engage in volunteer activities including tourism. The city has a unique history: it was once a colony of Spain and Mexico, and the big earthquake in 1925 devastatingly destroyed the central district, after which the city was rebuilt integrating the Spanish-style architecture which is reminiscent of the Spanish colonial era.

Next, Bologna is the capital of the province of Emilia Romagna in Italy and has developed into a transportation hub and the center of agricultural products in this province. In addition, it is well-known as a city of rich food culture. It is known as an industrial city which manufactures packages and international trade fairs are held in this area. The city is also home to the oldest university in Western Europe, and regarding urban development, the city has been well-documented for its urban planning of preserving and maintaining historic townscapes from the 1970s.

Lastly, Nara flourished as an ancient capital of Japan. A multi-national culture was cultivated there because it was the end-point of the Silk Road. The city has many shrines and temples designated as World Heritage and it is famous as a historical city featuring Buddhism. Nara attracts many tourists from all over the world and it holds many traditional and local industries.

In European cities including Bologna, there are many volunteer activities with unique themes such as local cuisine, history, and music, and walking tour offers such thematized tourist activities run by volunteers as well as professionals. In Santa Barbara, walking tours held by volunteers are a recent trend and there are waterfront tours and architecture tours, to name a few. This trend of the increasing number of volunteered sightseeing guides and

	Observations of walking tours held by volunteers	Observations of tours held by professional guides	Interviews to the local government, local guides, and foreign tourists
Santa Barbara	Observations of the visitor center for 20 hours (January–March 2017) and 11 hours (August 2017). Observations of walking tours in the court house, traditional buildings in the city center, and the waterfront area for 8 hours (August 2017)	Observations of city bus tours for 7 hours (August 2017)	Interviews to Visit Santa Barbara and the Chamber of Commerce (August 2017). Interviews to local staff/guides and foreign tourists (January–March, August 2017)
Bologna	Observations of a walking tour for 2 hours in the city center, and of a walking tour at FICO for 3 hours (September 2018)	Observations of a walking tour of local food for 4 hours (September 2018)	Interviews to Bologna Welcome, Director of Contemporary Art Musium, staff, guides of various sightseeing spots and tourists (September 2018)
Nara	Observations of walking tours by a student guide for 7 hours (July 2017) and 4 hours (May 2018)	Observations of a bus tour to sightseeing spots for 5 hours (January 2015)	Interviews to Nara prefectural and Nara city office (May 2018), guides and tourists (July 2017, May 2018)

walking tours is also observed in Japan recently.

We adopted the methodology of ethnography for our study. Ethnography was developed by anthropologist Dell Hymes and it is an approach to explore the thought and behavior of the people in a certain community from an “emic” point of view, that is, the natives’ perspective, by examining the qualitative data collected through observations, descriptions, and interviews. Because of such an approach, it can find a meaningful connection between form and its implications. In this study, the following items were analyzed: 1) dialogues between hosts and guests, 2) interviews to staff/guides/tourists, 3) fieldnotes from the fieldwork, and 4) information gathered from related organizations concerning the situation of the target cities. By utilizing these data, we analyzed tourists’ reactions to their tourist experiences, and what aspects of local identity are expressed in what way, and what strategic approaches the host takes to appeal the city’s attractiveness. Since this is a preliminary study that examines tourism from an ethnographic standpoint, most of our analyses are qualitative in nature. We believe that for our purpose qualitative viewpoint is imperative but that in the future the accumulation of such qualitative studies enables to encompass quantitative viewpoint, which can explain the global propensity as well as some universality, if any, in tourism activities around the world. Meanwhile, it suffices that we cared for objectivity in conducting the research by incorporating the above-mentioned four sources, that are dialogues, interviews, fieldnotes, and information from organizations.

## **6. OBSERVATIONS AND ANALYSIS**

### **6.1 Emergence and Development of Local Identity in Dialogue**

In Santa Barbara and Bologna, it was found that the tourists’ impressions of the area are positively displayed as their curiosity grows when induced by the actions taken by the guides. In Nara, on the other hand, we found that the tourists’ use of humor facilitated the conversations.

At the Santa Barbara visitor center, the sense of intimacy and familiarity for the local area was created through humor/jokes or discussion about common interests between both parties, which resulted in reducing the psychological distance. In some cases, these humorous or friendly conversations occurred immediately after the moment of their first encounter. With respect to the progress of dialogues, conversations were deepened by the development of the topic such as the length of stay for tourists. In the waterfront/city tour of Santa Barbara, topics related to local features made conversations more enjoyable and increased the tourists’ interest in local cultures and customs.

In Bologna, the guides made efforts to let the tourists know the city’s uniqueness not only by words but also by providing them with an opportunity to experience the local cultures themselves, such as tasting the local food and making pasta. Another example of actual experience includes having a picnic lunch together with local foods and drinks, which triggered further conversations about the food culture of both parties’ hometown or home country.

Regarding Nara, the staff was observed to attempt at helping create a friendly atmosphere by asking questions suitable to each tourist based on nationality and what s/he does, as well as by exchanging stories about personal experiences. In addition, the guide explained and demonstrated the tourists the etiquettes visitors should follow at temples and shrines, such as how to cleanse hands before going into the main building where the Buddha statue is housed, and how to pray to gods at shrine. The tourists imitated the guide, and this

experience seemed to help the tourists make good impressions as manifested in their smile and positive verbal feedback.

## **6.2 Strategic Approaches to Encourage Visitors to Develop New Perspectives**

From the strategic point of view, we looked at the staff's behavior in all three cities which changed the tourists' psychological state of mind. Gestures and body language were also observed to play an important role as they show the participants' positions that flexibly shift beyond institutional roles as host and guest. The guides made efforts to merge different values such as modern and traditional. Moreover, they tried to show the uniqueness of the city which tourists cannot perceive without visiting the area by themselves. Such an attempt on the guides' part seems to become more and more important in today's modern world where people can easily get access to diverse information through technologically-mediated devices such as the Internet and SNS.

In Santa Barbara, we found that the guides tended to speak slower and more clearly for underexperienced travelers who are also non-native English speakers. This initial observation was corroborated by the interviews we conducted to the staff at the visitor center. The staff disclosed in the interview that they deliberately changed the volume and speed of their speech, as well as the vocabulary, to accommodate each tourist's needs and conditions. Regarding the overall impressions of the location, "Visit Santa Barbara," an organization affiliated to the Chamber of Commerce of the city, emphasized the city's beauty with nature and its friendly atmosphere through various media tools such as pamphlets and websites.

In Bologna, the key characteristics of the volunteer guide were natural and humorous utterances which often included slang. Professional guides impressed the tourists with the city's rich food culture by not only explanation but also letting them taste the local authentic food. Authentic tastes constitute a big part of the city's identity, which is in accordance with the municipality's strategy. The guides did not act in a business-like manner; instead they behaved very friendly. In fact, Bologna recently started a tourism organization "Bologna Welcome" because they are becoming more and more enthusiastic in promoting the city's unique culture to compete with the neighboring tourist visiting cities such as Florence.

As for Nara, the tourists looked relaxed but at the same time excited when they were experiencing the local or Japanese culture while conversing with the guides. In one case at a temple, the guide told the tourists that Buddha had similar emotions to humans', which helped the tourists feel the Japanese culture and thought closer than before. In the traditional districts in Nara, a tourist from Europe looked enjoying playing a Japanese traditional game with the guide and they both laughed convivially while they were playing it together.

## **6.3 Local Identity from the Bilateral Perspective**

As a common feature in all three cities, the guides were trying various ways to make the tourists understand the area and have good impressions about the area. In addition to the guides who directly interacted with the tourists, each region on the municipal level seemed successful in demonstrating the region's uniqueness distinct from its neighboring cities. This is very important because the competition with the neighboring cities is becoming more and more severe these days. Therefore, as a political and socio-economic strategy, the cities have started to make strenuous efforts to remain more resilient and sustainable in the future.

In Santa Barbara, the staff's sincere and frank responses in a relaxed atmosphere created favorable impressions on the tourists. However, the city could benefit from giving more efforts by introducing its local history, customs, and uniqueness to attract travelers to

stay longer than just a few hours, hopefully overnight. The staff at the visitor center told us in an interview that they were aware of this issue and seeking a solution. The municipality told us in another interview that they were also making efforts to analyze the trends of the travelers' behavior and prioritize the measures to particularly target at high income visitors, in addition to consolidating their public relations strategies.

In the walking tours in Bologna, the tourists were introduced to the city through the experiences of tasting as well as taking part in making local specialties, in addition to learning about the city's history and culture. "Bologna Welcome," an organization affiliated to the municipality, told us in an interview that they were aiming at making Bologna more innovative and sustainable, both technologically and culturally. The city has many historical structures and a rich array of local cuisine. In addition, they were trying to create an innovative city logo, provide memorable food experiences, and construct cutting-edge transportation systems. This way, the municipality is eager to provide comfortable and accessible space to tourists.

In the case of Nara, its municipality strives to increase the number of accommodations and develop unique travel itineraries to attract tourists' interests because visitors tend to stay in the neighboring large cities such as Kyoto, and additionally, the number of visitors during the off-season is low. Nara has potential elements such as World Heritage and national treasures, and it is of great importance for local actors to make tourists know the city's attractiveness.

## **7. DISCUSSION**

Tourists visit places with expectations to understand the local values and experience the local resources. To fulfill such expectations, local actors seek to develop and show the region's uniqueness. We would suggest the following, which we hope will help the local actors to further their insights regarding how to develop the local identity and reflect the outcome on policy measures.

First, both similarities and differences in identity and attractiveness among cities should be recognized. It is also essential to understand the current trends of inbound tourists such as where they come from, what they are interested in, and so on. Thus, it is important for scholars to analyze the factors behind these trends and tourists' motivations for travel. In doing so, interdisciplinary research is of great importance across academic fields of linguistics, sociology, psychology, local politics and administration, local planning studies which deals with social systems and infrastructure, and so forth.

Second, information exchange among local actors in different sectors is necessary because activities are now primarily conducted independently in each sector (see Figure 3). The diversifying tourism trends including the increase of repeaters may enhance possible approaches to tourism strategies. This may also benefit the revitalization of cities/areas and the growth of their economy. Hence, positive feedback cycles should be carefully designed where local actors can share the information about how tourists feel and what types of measures can be effective in specific sightseeing spots. Such information frameworks can help local actors promptly improve their services.

Third, municipalities should play a key role to orchestrating partnerships of local actors who have different backgrounds, public or private, as well as professional or voluntary sectors. In addition, effective local platforms should be established by utilizing the efficient information exchange and its feedback cycles. In this scheme, each actor can constructively discuss social issues beyond each business interest, which, as a result, can make the more

effective governance of local networking. The human resources development is also essential in order to envision the potentials of the local areas and develop necessary means of effective implementation.

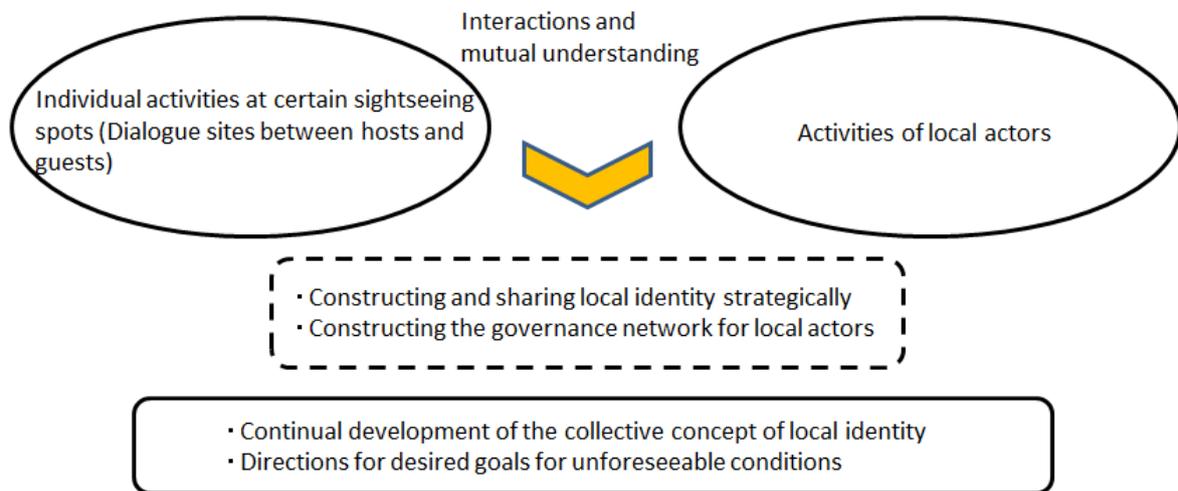


Figure 3. Local governance and local identity in tourism

## 8. CONCLUSION

In sum, this study found the following features in the analysis of the tourism interactions in tourist visiting cities in Japan, the US, and Italy. Our ethnographic analysis revealed that local identity is created in the interactions between the hosts and guests, based on the intersubjective and dialogic alignments which (re)produces new values. Intersubjectivity is a prominent feature of stancetaking, which suggests that any meaning-making, including local identity, is subject to mutual understanding and situated in the context of communication. We also found that such contextually situated interactions are linked to macro environment, and both constitute a cycle of the local and global, and the individual and collective. It is in this respect that the local (or micro) interactions can be accumulated and formulated into a larger configuration, which can provide the resources for making the region more sustainable in both economic and social terms. Likewise, this qualitative research should be continued and accumulated to arrive at quantitative results in order to make a more convincing claim in the future. The following is the summary of our three major findings, together with our suggestion for the enhancement of the tourist experience.

First, in terms of the development of the dialogue and its resonance, we found that the psychological distance is reduced after self-disclosure from both parties. We also observed that the polyphonic voices and the exchange of personal experiences help create certain intersubjective impressions about local areas that go beyond their initial views. Especially in Santa Barbara, the staff was acting naturally so that the tourists could feel comfortable during the encounter.

Regarding the strategic dialogic tools used between the tourists and the staff, we found the interactions dynamic and constituted by multimodal resources including language, facial expressions, and gestures in the cases of Santa Barbara and Bologna. Regarding Nara, active involvements were mainly initiated by the tourists. There is still room for

improvements and it is important to build a framework to grasp foreign tourists' needs. In the case of Santa Barbara, the municipality was strategically making use of the historical background as once being under Spanish and Mexican rule. On the other hand, Bologna was making efforts to demonstrate its attractiveness by combining traditional values, modernized elements, and local specialties.

Finally, all the above three cities were seriously concerned about constant changes of tourists' preferences and improving their attractiveness as differentiated from other competitive neighboring cities. To them pursuing their local identity is a crucial issue because they would fail the competition with other tourism cities if appropriate measures were not taken promptly. Having a broad perspective is important, and one such example is to use big data to grasp the tourists' behavior and interests. Thus, it is recommended to construct local networks where both public and private actors can work together and demonstrate their core competence.

## REFERENCES

- Anholt, S. (2007) *Competitive Identity: The New Brand Management for Nations, Cities and Regions*. Palgrave Macmillan, New York.
- Ashworth, G.J., Kavaratzis, M., Warnaby, G. (2015) The need to rethink place branding. In Kavaratzis, M., Warnaby, G., Ashworth, G.J. (eds.), *Rethinking Place Branding*. Springer, New York, 1-11.
- Bakhtin, M.M. (1981) [1934] *The Dialogic Imagination: Four Essays*. University of Texas Press, Austin, TX.
- Bucholtz, M., Hall, K. (2004) Language and identity. In Duranti, A. (ed.), *A Companion to Linguistic Anthropology*. Blackwell, Malden, MA, 369-394.
- Butler, J. (1990) *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity*. Routledge, New York.
- Du Bois, J.W. (2007) The stance triangle. In Englebretson, R. (ed.), *Stancetaking in Discourse: Subjectivity, Evaluation, Interaction*. John Benjamins, Amsterdam, 139-182.
- Du Bois, J.W. (2014) Towards a dialogic syntax. *Cognitive Linguistics*, 25(3), 359-410.
- Englebretson, R. (ed.) (2007) *Stancetaking in Discourse: Subjectivity, Evaluation, Interaction*. John Benjamins, Amsterdam.
- Goffman, E. (1963) *Behavior in Public Places: Notes on the Social Organization of Gatherings*. Free Press, New York.
- Goffman, E. (1974) *Frame Analysis: An Essay on the Organization of Experience*. Harper & Row, New York.
- Goffman, E. (1981) *Forms of Talk*. University of Pennsylvania Press, Philadelphia.
- Jaffe, A. (ed.) (2009) *Stance: Sociolinguistic Perspectives*. Oxford University Press, New York.
- Jaworski, A., Thurlow, C. (2013) Language and the globalizing habitus of tourism: Toward a sociolinguistics of fleeting relationships. In Coupland, N. (ed.), *The Handbook of Language and Globalization*. Blackwell, Malden, MA, 255-286.
- Klijn, E.H. (2012) New public management and governance: A comparison. In Levi-Faur, D. (ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of Governance*. Oxford University Press, Oxford, 201-214.
- Münch, R. (1987) The interpenetration of microinteraction and macrostructures in a

- complex and contingent institutional order. In Alexander, J.C., Giesen, B., Münch, R., Smelser, N.J. (eds.), *The Micro-Macro Link*. University of California Press, Berkeley, 319-336.
- Nakano, H. (2018) A study to enhance the quality of dialogue between hosts and foreign tourists through the case study analysis both in the United States and Japan. *Transportation Studies*, 61, 117-124.
- Nakano, H., Takanashi, H. (2019) A study on the construction of regional identity through dialogue with inbound tourists in tourism. *Transportation Studies*, 62, 69-76.
- Ohori, K. (2010) Complexity of local identity. *Social Science Research*, 61(5/6), 143-158.
- Simmel, G. (1908) *Soziologie*. Duncker & Humblot, Berlin.
- Stevenson, N. (2006) Identity. In Turner, B.S. (ed.), *The Cambridge Dictionary of Sociology*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 277-278.
- Takanashi, H. (2017) An analysis of stancetaking in inbound communication: From the viewpoint of Bakhtinian notion of dialogism. *Proceedings of the 40th Conference of the Japanese Association of Sociolinguistic Sciences*, 72-75.
- Torring, J. (2012) Governance networks. In Levi-Faur, D. (ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of Governance*. Oxford University Press, Oxford, 99-110.
- Urry, J. (2007) *Mobilities*. Polity Press, Cambridge.