

Project for Community-based Entrepreneurship Promotion:
The D-HOPE Project



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D-HOPE DPS-2
The Decentralized Hands-on Program Exhibition
(D-HOPE) Approach:
An Overview of Community-based Tourism and Importance of Local
Participation

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The D-HOPE Discussion Paper Series is aimed to present philosophical background as well as the basic concepts for effective development and implementation of D-HOPE Approach for rural and community development. We emphasize integration of theory and practice for designing the D-HOPE Approach. The Discussion Papers are targeted at practitioners as well as scientists working for rural and community development.



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An Overview of Community-based Tourism and Importance of Local Participation

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Abstract

Community-based tourism (CBT) is a popular development tool in both developed and developing countries. The definitions of CBT have four components: (1) sustainability of environmental and socio-cultural aspect of the community, (2) taking care of distributional and leakage problems for benefiting community, (3) importance of community control, and (4) concern about tourists to maintain CBT programs. CBT was developed as one of the alternative tourism which emerged to overcome the problems of mass tourism. To highlight the characteristics of CBT, three Japanese cases and two Lao cases are introduced in this chapter. A common issue found in CBT in Japan and Laos is how to guarantee local participation as CBT projects are implemented in a well-institutionalized setting where citizens tend to be reactive. The importance of local participation comes from normative and practical reasons. Levels of local participation have been conceptualized by scholars such as Mori and Arnstein. For example, Mori presented six levels of local participation. From lower to higher levels, they are informing, information gathering, consultation, placation, partnership, and self-mobilization. The major methods to facilitate local participation in Japan are organizing community development committees, holding workshops, participating in a committee as members, participating in surveys, attending discussion meetings and round-table conferences, submitting opinions in writing, visiting model communities, and attending symposia and lecture meetings.

Keywords

Community-based Tourism, Sustainability, Local Participation

1. Introduction

Community-based tourism (CBT) has been practiced worldwide as a promising development approach. In developing countries, CBT projects are implemented for various purposes such as poverty alleviation, economic development, diversification, environmental protection, community capacity building, etc. In developed countries, CBT is practiced to revitalize their communities as they experience community decline caused by depopulation, aging population, hollowing out of industries, etc. The growing attention to CBT in both developing and developed countries comes from environmental and socio-cultural problems in destinations caused by mass tourism development and CBT's potential to minimize such problems while developing the communities. In this chapter, firstly,

the definitions of CBT and its four components are discussed. Secondly, the background of CBT development is discussed, Japan as a case for developed countries and Laos as a case for developing countries. Thirdly, the idea of local participation is discussed, which is an important issue in both Japanese CBT and CBT in Laos.

2. Definitions of CBT

Although the purposes of implementing CBT are different in developing countries and developed countries, CBT has common characteristics expressed in its concept. Here are two definitions of CBT mainly developed in the context of developing countries. The first definition is Jamal and Dredge (2015)'s definition. They define CBT as "a form of tourism that is locally controlled through community involvement in tourism planning and development, generates net benefits to local residents (rather than external interests), and is environmentally, socially and culturally sustainable (p.184)." The second definition is by the Thailand Community Based Tourism Institute that defines CBT as "tourism that takes environmental, social and cultural sustainability into account. It is managed and owned by the community, for the community, with the purpose of enabling visitors to increase their awareness and learn about the community and local ways of life" (cited by Goodwin and Santilli, 2009: 11). Both definitions emphasize the sustainability of the community in environmental, social, and cultural spheres. They share that CBT brings benefits to the community. They also have the idea that CBT should be controlled by the community by the participation of local residents. Only a difference between these two definitions is a consideration for tourists. The latter definition adds an educational aspect of CBT for visitors.

A CBT definition in the developed country introduced here is a Japanese one. Morishige (2015: 24) defines CBT as "activities initiated by local communities that improve their attractiveness and vitality by using all local resources and promoting exchanges between local people and tourists." This definition considers visitors like the second definition above but does not explicitly mention the sustainability aspect of CBT. Here, sustainability is implicit as the improvement of local attractiveness and vitality utilizing local resources is not possible without considering it.

The definitions above show four components of CBT. The first component is to consider the sustainability of the community in the environmental, social, and cultural spheres. When tourism is introduced to a community, especially when it is a large-scale tourism development, it causes some changes to the community that can be positive and negative. Typical positive changes are economic growth, job creation, and the liveliness of the community. Negative changes are environmental problems such as trash, noise, damaging plants, and scarcity of water, etc.; social problems such as widening inequality among local people, increased crime rate, deterioration of morals, etc.; and cultural problems such as belittling their own culture and commodification of culture, etc. CBT tries to minimize these negative consequences. The second component is to bring benefits to the community.

Although tourism is an economic activity that generates wealth, when its distribution is distorted, the community does not receive a fair amount of benefit from the activity. Sometimes, most of the profit generated by tourism activities is transferred to the travel agencies outside the community. In addition, when foodstuffs are used in restaurants and hotels, and souvenirs are imported from outside, their economic contribution to the community is small. CBT seeks to minimize such leakages. The third component is community control. The two problems above can be reduced by increasing local control. Although outsiders who develop and manage tourism activities can consider the sustainability of and benefits to the community, it has been demonstrated that local control can maximize those aspects. This is reasonable because not all outside tourism businesses are interested in community residents, especially residents who are not engaged in tourism activities while local people are keen on their communities and local people know local resources and how to use them better than outsiders for environmental, social and cultural sustainability. The fourth component is a consideration for tourists. CBT is a type of tourism, and without tourists, tourism cannot exist. Also, to bring benefits to the community, the sustainability of CBT itself should be taken care of. Many CBT programs have been closed due to an insufficient number of tourists visiting destinations. To bring tourists to communities, the attractiveness of the programs and effective marketing are necessary, and they can be achieved through thinking about tourists.

3. CBT Development in the Developed and Developing Countries

Although the purposes of establishing CBT are different between developing countries and developed countries, CBT emerged from a discourse of alternative tourism. Modern tourism, which is characterized by the establishment of the tourism industry, popularization of travel, and movement of large numbers of tourists, was developed in the 19th century, and its development was accelerated after the Second World War when the middle-class segment become larger, and a large-scale high-speed transport like jumbo jet became available. Due to its characteristics, modern tourism is also called mass tourism.

In the 1960s, the development of mass tourism was welcomed as it contributed to economic development. It brought foreign currency and jobs to the community. Until the COVID-19 pandemic, tourism had been regarded as a promising growth industry in developing and developed countries. It is hoped that tourism comes back to the position of growth machine when the pandemic is controlled. In 2019, tourism's global GDP growth was 3.5%, while the overall growth of the global economy in the same year was 2.5%. The tourism sector generated 8.9 trillion USD and 330 million jobs: 10.3% of global GDP and 1 in 10 jobs globally (WTTC 2020). In addition, it has been recognized that tourism is a good means to environmental preservation, revival of traditions, and cultural promotion. Ecotourism can educate local people and tourists about ecology and biodiversity, and through eco-tours, local people earn money that is used for environmental protection activities. In some eco-tour

programs, tourists become volunteers for tree planting and/or cleaning seashores. Tourists' interest in traditional festivals and practices motivates local people to invigorate them. Thus, both insiders and outsiders promote traditional cultures.

However, the negative impacts of tourism on communities began to be noticed since the 1970s, especially in mass tourism. Large numbers of tourists visit a destination, and it puts a great strain on the community environmentally, socially, and culturally as mentioned in the previous section. Thus, although tourism has been regarded continuously as an economic development tool, the concept of alternative tourism that emphasizes sustainability was growingly used in tourism studies in the late 1980s. Alternative tourism develops and revitalizes communities while minimizing negative aspects of mass tourism. Yet, the word alternative is ambiguous and lacks content. Therefore, nowadays, sustainable tourism is used instead of alternative tourism. Sustainable tourism as the substitute for mass tourism has various types such as ecotourism, cultural tourism, community-based tourism, volunteer tourism, etc. Each type addresses some aspects of sustainability, and their emphasis determines the names. For example, ecotourism emphasizes environmental protection, while cultural tourism stresses the importance of preserving culture. CBT tries to ensure the community's sustainability in the environmental, social, and cultural areas focusing on local control.

CBT development in Japan

In Japan, CBT is not a popular word, and when we search academic publications using the word, we do not have many articles on Japanese CBT, but there are many articles on CBT in developing countries written in Japanese. It is not that in Japan, we do not have CBT, but we have a similar type of tourism development called *Kanko-machizukuri*, which is translated as tourism-based community development that uses tourism to develop community. CBT and *Kanko-machizukuri* are different in terms of the final goal. CBT in developing countries is practiced mainly to alleviate poverty in communities, while *Kanko-machizukuri* is carried out to revitalize communities with declining and aging populations (Yotsumoto 2016). However, they try to achieve those goals by the same pursuit of sustainability. In this paper, we consider *Kanko-machizukuri* as CBT due to their same process and pursuit.

CBT has been practiced since the 1970s, although the name *Kanko-machizukuri* did not exist at that time. Here are three examples of CBT. The first example is Otaru City in Hokkaido Prefecture, which has a population of 113,000 in 2020. In 2016, 7.91 million tourists came to the city to see the famous Otaru Canal, a port facility completed in 1923 by reclaiming the coast. The purpose of constructing the canal was to connect the ship and the warehouse to facilitate loading and unloading cargo. In the northern part of the canal is called the "North Canal" and its wide width can moor traditional small boats. In 1973, the Otaru Canal Protection Association was formed by local citizens in response to a plan to dismantle the canal and warehouses. It led to the Otaru Canal Conservation

Campaign and formed a shared idea between the city and citizens that the historical scenery of the canal should be used for town development. In 1978, youths in the city held the first port festival as a part of canal protection activities. After that, various projects and activities were carried out that connected tourism and town development using the scenery of canal and warehouses.

The second example is Takayanagi District in Niigata Prefecture, a small town with a population of 2,245 in 2005 and incorporated into Kashiwazaki City in 2005. In the 1970s, young people began to think about town development as traditional thatched roof houses disappeared due to population decline. In 1985, some residents restored a thatched roof house planned to be destroyed to make it an exchange center. In the same year, Takayanagi town became the worst municipality of population decline in Niigata Prefecture. Alarmed by it, Takayanagi Town Furusato (Hometown) Development Council was established in 1988, which consisted of 40 town residents and 8 experts who advise them. It formulated a vision of town development by more than 200 activities, including meetings, field trips, and research work. They opened farm stays in thatched houses in Oginoshima and Kadoide areas. Oginoshima has thatched-roof houses scattered around the rice fields. This is a nostalgic landscape, which reminds the Japanese of their hometowns. At thatched houses, tourists can taste countryside dishes using locally grown wild plants and vegetables and stay overnight. They can also experience a traditional cooking method by making rice cakes with a pestle and a mortar. In Kadoide, about 40 households worked to make traditional paper during the winter in the 1910s and the 1920s. When tourists stay in a thatched house, they can experience traditional papermaking. They also started an annual fox's night festival that was created based on local folklore, and it attracts many urbanites. In 1989, the number of tourists was about 30,000, but in 2005, it became about 240,000.

The third example is Bungotakada City in Oita Prefecture that has a population of 22,500 in 2020. In the 1950s, the central area of Bungotakada had been thriving with more than 300 stores, but due to the trend of increasing scale of retail stores in society, many stores closed their businesses, and pedestrian traffic almost disappeared from the area. Then, young people began to discuss how to revitalize the central district. Initially, it was a discussion to revitalize the city's commerce. However, it gradually included a tourism aspect. To bring back a good crowd like in the 1950s to the shopping street, young shop owners, the Chamber of Commerce staff, and the city office staff got together. They decided to develop the city based on the theme of Showa Town, a town in the Showa Period (1926-1989), especially in the 1950s (Figure 1). Under this theme, four areas of restoration were promoted. The first area is called building restoration, in which the exterior of buildings and signboards are restored as if it were in the 1950s. The second area is historical restoration. This means that each store exhibits inherited equipment used in the Showa Period. The third area is merchandise restoration, in

Figure 1. Showa Town in Bungotakada City



(photo taken by the author)

which proud products are sold. The fourth area is merchant restoration, that is, to promote the seller-customer conversation during transactions which was an everyday scenery in the 1950s. In 2001, the opening ceremony of Showa Town was held that attracted the mass media. In 2002, Showa Roman Gura, a museum that exhibits life in the Showa Period, was opened. To advance the operation, the city established Bungotakada City Tourism Town Development Co. Ltd. In 2015, Showa Town attracted about 360,000 tourists.

These examples show that town development by tourism started in response to the declining community by aging and depopulation. Local organizations were formed by the initiative of young people, and the community utilized existing local resources. Initially, their activities were not directly related to tourism, but they realized that a tourism aspect is important for their revitalization projects. It was believed that a good community to live in and attractive for its residents is also attractive for tourists. Because many communities became vibrant through CBT, the government began to see it as a tool to revitalize communities with aging and declining populations. In 1998, a study group called *Kanko-machizukuri Kenkyukai* (a research group for town development by tourism) was established within the Ministry of Transportation for formulating a policy. In December 2002, CBT was the major opinion in a report concerning “Tourism Promotion Policies in the early 21st Century” by the Ministry of Transportation (Nishimura 2009). Now, the majority of municipalities in Japan promote CBT to revitalize their communities. According to a survey by Han (2016), 95.9% of the 798 local governments (40.6% of municipalities in Japan) that responded to the questionnaire are working on CBT.

CBT development in Lao PDR

Lao PDR (Laos) received 4,791,065 foreign visitors and earned 935 million USD in 2019 (Ministry of Information, Culture and Tourism 2020). Tourism in Laos is an important industry to earn foreign currency. It is the number two earner after the mining industry. It generated 15 percent of the nation's GDP and employed 13 % of domestic workers in 2014 (Mori 2016). The government has targeted to eradicate poverty since the mid-1990s, and tourism development has been an important tool to do that. The government's policy paper, *National Growth and Poverty Eradication Strategy*, mentions that their favored type of tourism development is pro-poor and community-based tourism (Harrison and Schipani 2007). As the country has a rich natural environment and diverse cultures, community-based ecotourism development has been promoted. Many international development organizations such as Asian Development Bank, SNV Netherlands Development Organization, Japan International Cooperation Agency, and other international development organizations support it. The Nam Ha Ecotourism Project (NHEP) in Luang Namtha (Simonekeo 2011) and community-based ecotourism in Phou Khao Khouay National Biodiversity Conservation Area (NBCA) (Sirivongs and Tsuchiya 2012) are known for successful CBT projects in Laos.

The NHEP started in 1999 with financial and technical supports from the New Zealand Agency for International Development, the Japanese government, and other international organizations. It has four purposes: (1) developing trekking routes to ethnic minority communities, (2) training local guides, (3) generating income for locals, and (4) conserving nature (Harrison and Schipani 2007). The Nam Ha Eco-guide Service (NHEGS) was created that operates three trekking routes and a boat trip that goes through eight ethnic minority communities. In the first three years of this project, 89 guides were trained (Harrison and Schipani 2007). NHEGS earned 34,400 USD by trekking and boat trips between October 2000 and February 2002. In addition, the project created job opportunities for the locals, such as accommodation, guide, food provision, cleaning, cooking, massage, and handicraft making. The project gives the locals incentives to protect the forest and manage its resources to maintain tourists' attractiveness. In addition, the guides support the National Protected Area (NPA) staff in providing data for nature conservation, and trekking permit fees collected from the tourists are used for NPA conservation activities (Lyttleton and Allcock 2002).

Phou Khao Khouay National Biodiversity Conservation Area (NBCA) is a protected area of 2,000 km² that includes Vientiane Capital, Vientiane Province, and Bolikhamxa Province and was established in 1993 by Prime Minister Decree 164. In 2003, a community-based ecotourism project started in Na Village and Hatkhai Village in Thaphabat District, Bolikhamxa Province, with supports from the German Development Service, the Lao National Tourism Administration, and the Department of Forestry (Mori 2016). Na Village's ecotourism activities include observation of wild elephants, making handicrafts, and treks to the forest. In Hatkhai Village, ecotourism activities are a riverboat experience, observing orchards and waterfalls, and trekking in the forest (Sirivongs and Tsuchiya 2012). Phou Khao Khouay NBCA has 1 eco-lodge, 1 restaurant, 1 campsite, 1 information center, and

3 guest houses. Villagers can make money by becoming guides and providing homestays and food. In Na Village, there are 26 guides and 10 households that provide homestays, and in Hatkhai Village, there are 20 guides and 11 households that offer homestays. Tourists are required to pay an entrance fee of 5 USD to NBCA and a financial contribution of 5 USD to the village (Mori 2016).

These examples show that in Laos, tourism is promoted to alleviate poverty. Because of that purpose, international development organizations are the major actors who form a partnership with the Lao government. Many international development organizations have shifted its theoretical orientation of development from a trickle-down approach to an approach that considers more distribution of power and wealth. As one of the problems in mass tourism is the distribution of benefits, it is logical that they adopt the alternative tourism, especially community-based ecotourism. It is also reasonable that they selected ecotourism over other tourism types by considering the natural environment as what they have and the potential for tourist attractions.

A common issue in Japanese CBT and Lao CBT

Although the Japanese government takes the lead in CBT development nowadays by formulating relevant policies and supporting municipalities, initially, CBT was started by local citizens who are concerned about community decline, especially young people were important promoters. They did not have a mentality to rely on the government. By their efforts, the existing traditions, cultures, natural resources, and infrastructures were preserved and revived for better community life, and that began to attract tourists. Thus, CBT in Japan started from the total involvement of the local community. They succeeded in revitalizing their communities by bringing a large number of tourists. However, as the increasing number of successful cases of CBT for community revitalization become visible, the national government found an interest in those activities and started to conduct studies which eventually created a CBT model and formulated a policy to promote it in all municipalities of Japan. It is a process of institutionalization of CBT in Japanese national and local governments. In general, this is good for municipalities. We have many municipalities that have a population of less than 5,000. For example, the smallest city in Japan is Utashinai City in Hokkaido, which has a population of 3,062 in 2020. Many small municipalities like this do not have enough human resources and technical knowledge about CBT. The institutionalization of CBT means that financial support is made, technical knowledge is transferred, and local government staff are trained by the national government. It allows many municipalities to start CBT projects regardless of their difference in existing financial, technical, and human resource capacity.

However, it also means that many CBT projects start not from local citizens but local governments that are directed by the national government. Thus, how to involve local residents is an issue in recent CBT development in Japan. According to Han (2016)'s study mentioned above, when municipalities that carry out CBT projects are asked a question, "Does your CBT development

progress satisfactorily?”, 21.6% said “Yes”, 23.6% said “No” and 54.9% said “Neither”. Also, to a question, “Is the lack of citizen’s independence an impediment factor in CBT development?”, 40.5% said “Yes”, 10.8% said “No” and 48.7% said “Neither”. Furthermore, to a question, “Is the lack of citizen’s organizations an impediment factor in CBT development?” 27.6% said “Yes”, 18.1% said “No” and 54.3% said “Neither”. When CBT is institutionalized, it is critical to think about how to guarantee citizen’s participation. Based on the discussion so far, Japanese CBT development has two phases. The first phase is between 1970 and 2000 when local citizens identified local problems and tried to solve them using CBT. The second phase was after 2000, when CBT was institutionalized by the national government. In this phase, local participation became an issue as CBT was not initiated by local citizens themselves.

In Laos, international development agencies and non-governmental organizations are actively involved in development in partnership with the Lao government because Laos is viewed as a country that needs to be developed, especially in the area of poverty alleviation. Thus, like the second phase in Japan, CBT in Laos is also an institutionalized form of CBT without much experience of local initiatives which some Japanese communities had undergone. In the institutionalized CBT setting in Japan, the knowledge of CBT development is transferred from the national government to municipalities and to local citizens. The national government usually does not directly work with local citizens. In Laos' case, the knowledge of CBT development as a principle is transferred from the international development organizations to the national government and to local government, and finally to local citizens. Because of this long channel compared to the Japanese case, the knowledge transfer takes a long time and can have distortions. Therefore, in practicing CBT, international development organizations and/or the national agencies such as a tourism department and a forestry department send professionals to the CBT project sites and directly work with local governments and beneficiaries. However, in international development, the relationship between the staff of international organizations and local residents is characterized as a professional-client relationship. In addition, as Laos did not have the phase of locally initiated CBT development, the local participation can be more difficult to guarantee. Phou Khao Khouay NBCA is managed by the government. Local participation in CBT in the area is limited to partaking as guides or homestay hosts. That is, they engage only in an operational aspect. They do not take part in decision-making in the planning and evaluation of CBT. Therefore, local residents are less aware of the link between the natural environment and tourist attractions that will not nurture the disposition of environmental preservation (Mori 2016).

4. Local Participation

The review of Japanese CBT and CBT in Laos found the common issue of how to ensure local participation. In this section, I elaborate on the issue.

Why is local participation important?

The importance of local participation is rooted in humanitarian or egalitarian ideas (Oakley 1991) and/or democracy (Arnstein 1969). In democratic societies, two types of citizen participation in the local community exist. The first one is called representative democracy, in which decisions are made by the head of local government and a local assembly, and citizen participation is said to be assured as citizens chose the head and members of the assembly. The second one is participatory democracy, in which citizens are encouraged to participate in decision-making processes as much as possible (Takajyo 2016). The second type became more important after experiencing citizens' movements such as the civil rights movement and environmental justice movement in the United States (Kanehira and Kimura 2001) and anti-nuclear power plant movement and anti-U.S. base movement in Japan (Takajyo 2016). As these examples of citizens' movement show, the decision-making by the first type is not adequate for integrating the opinions of socially vulnerable groups and opinions that are against the governing class. Also, small district-level decisions that are well-suited to the area are difficult to make as local situations can be captured well only by local input. Thus, in the case of Japan, many laws were legislated to ensure participatory democracy. When societies uphold democratic ideas, CBT should strive for a greater degree of local participation. It is normative (Berner et al., 2011), and thus almost everyone agrees to advance it (Arnstein 1969). Beyond the normative aspect, local participation is important for successful project implementation. Oakley (1991) provides four benefits of local participation in development projects. First, it increases efficiency in terms of time and energy as well as cost. Local participation reduces unnecessary time and energy caused by misunderstandings and differences between outside staff and local people. It also reduces the cost as local people who has a sense of responsibility procure resources by themselves. Second, it makes projects to be more successful as local people are involved in formulating objectives, supporting the project administration, and using their local knowledge, skills, and resources. Third, it nurtures self-reliance, that is, they are able to identify issues and plan and implement projects to solve them by using their resources or getting them from outside. Fourth, it increases coverage. Typically, development projects select beneficiaries who are only a portion of the local population. When local people participate in the projects, more people are covered than the project without local participation. Thus, local participation is important normatively and practically.

Levels of local participation

In the previous section, the significance of local participation was discussed. In this section, different levels of local participation are explained. Based on Inoue (2003)'s study, Mori (2016) categorized six levels of local participation in CBT. The first level is informing. This means that the results decided by the external experts are informed to the local residents. This is a one-way communication from outsiders to locals. The second level is information gathering, in which local residents answer questions that outside experts raised. This is also considered as one-way communication from local residents to outside professionals. The third level is consultation. At this level, external professionals consult and discuss with local residents in meetings and public hearings. However, local residents are not allowed to participate in analysis and decision-making. These three levels are characterized as a top-down approach of local participation. The fourth level is placation. At this level, local residents can participate in decision-making processes except for decision-making of important issues. This is an approach of local participation led by experts. The fifth level is a partnership. Here, local residents participate in decision-making and collaborative activities of the whole CBT process, including preliminary research activities, planning, implementation, and evaluation. Participation is not forced, instead, they participate in it as a right. The sixth level is self-mobilization, in which local residents take initiatives, and external professionals support them. The fifth and sixth levels are viewed as an intrinsic approach.

Arnstein (1969)'s citizen participation is similar to Mori's typology with some differences. She introduces eight levels of citizen participation in social programs in the United States, based on the degree of power that citizens hold. The first level is manipulation, in which residents are placed on advisory boards or committees just for approving the projects made by power-holders, and the projects are legitimized as local citizens participated in the process. It is distorted participation that is not for the local people but for the power-holders. The second level is therapy, in which the experts demand local citizens to attend a group therapy so that they can adjust their values and attitudes that are regarded as a pathology to the dominant value and attitudes that are considered as normal. She rates these two levels as nonparticipation since the participation has a fabricated characteristic. The third level is informing, which is similar to Mori's level. Citizens are informed of their rights, duties, and choices using the news media, pamphlets, posters, and feedback to the questions, but when it comes to the later stage of planning, citizens do not have much control. The fourth level is a consultation which is also similar to Mori's level. This is a step toward citizen's full participation, but it does not guarantee that their ideas and opinions are taken into account. The fifth level is placation that is comparable to Mori's level. The experts choose a few local citizens and place them on a board of directors. Thus, citizens can exert more influence, but as they are handpicked by the experts, the superficiality of participation still exists. The 3rd, 4th, and 5th levels have some degree of tokenism. The sixth level is a partnership which is resembling Mori's level. Through negotiations between the experts and local residents, the decision-making power is distributed among them. The seventh level is

delegated power, in which negotiations between the experts and citizens culminate in the power-shift where the latter gains the dominant power to shape the programs. The eighth level is citizen control, in which local citizens govern the programs and organizations that execute them. They have full control in carrying out social programs. The 6th, 7th, and 8th levels have some degree of citizen power.

Arnstein's theory is more comprehensive than Mori's. Arnstein adds two levels of citizen participation that are false participation. In CBT as a development project, these two levels will be less likely to happen as promotion of local participation is to nurture self-reliance of local people and community. However, when CBT becomes a national policy and pressures local governments to implement it, there will be a possibility that false participation may be carried out. Mori's self-mobilization, the highest level of local participation in his theory, is based on a harmonious relationship between the local community and outside experts. In contrast, Arnstein's delegated power (7th level) and citizen control (8th level) assume an incompatible relationship between local people and the promoter of a project. Mori's harmonious relationship is more likely to exist between them as the project aims to develop the community. However, when a society has a conflict-prone minority-majority relationship, a project for the minority community can be understood better by Arnstein's theory than Mori's.

Normatively, a larger amount of local participation is considered to be better. However, the low level of education of local residents may not allow the project to start from Mori's 6th level of self-mobilization. It may start from lower levels of local participation such as consultation, placation, and partnership for the project implementation's efficiency and effectiveness. When local people are educated citizens, it can be set in motion from higher local participation levels.

How to involve locals in Japan

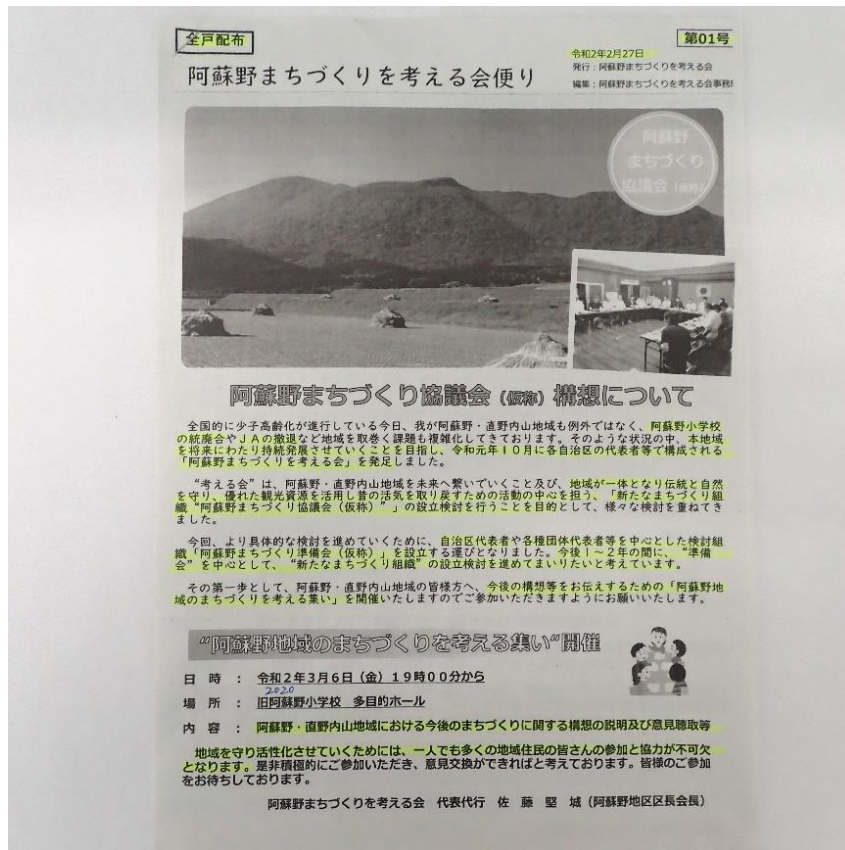
As mentioned above, nowadays, local governments are the ones who initiate CBT in Japan. They try to involve local citizens in various ways. Methods to involve local citizens are not specific to CBT, but they are general methods for local development that include drafting a master plan, infrastructure development, building facilities, environmental protection, landscape preservation, and so forth. Ministry of Land, Infrastructure, Transport, and Tourism (2002) identified what methods local governments use to ensure citizen participation in community development (including CBT) by surveying them. The most popular methods are organizing community development committees (20%) and holding workshops (20%) followed by participating in a committee as members (15%), participating in surveys (12%), attending discussion meetings and round-table conferences (9%), submitting opinions in writing (6%), visiting model communities (4%), attending symposia and lecture meetings (3%), and other types (11%) that include panel discussions, talk with a mayor, public hearings (Yokosuka City 2012), and information dissemination using citizen newspapers, flyers, and homepages (Kyoto City 2012).

Here are two examples of local governments that try to include citizens in local development. The first case is Asono District, Yufu City, Oita Prefecture. The district is on the outskirts of the city, facing severe community decline. In 2020, its population was 410, and more than 50% of them are over 65 years old. The elementary school with about 200 children when the district was thriving was closed in 2019 because they had only 7 children. The main industry is agriculture, producing rice, beef cattle, and *shiitake* mushroom. The district has Kurodake Mountain, Oike spring, and virgin forest that are a part of Aso-Kuju National Park. In Yufu City's city planning master plan, it is mentioned that Asono District should be revitalized by utilizing local resources. First, hands-on tourism will be developed using natural resources such as Oike spring and Kurodake Mountain. Second, farm gardens for city dwellers and farm stay tourism should be developed using the rural landscape resources such as rice terraces (Yufu City 2013).

Under the city's basic plan, the district began to take action as they faced a critical point of community decline, which was a shutdown of the only elementary school there. In October 2019, the Committee to Think about Asono's Development was formed by representatives from each sub-area with a guidance from the city office. The purpose of the committee is to establish the Asono Town Development Council that will take the central role to make the whole district work on protecting the tradition and nature and utilizing good tourism resources for revitalization. It held the first meeting for all district residents to explain the community development plan and exchange ideas on March 6th, 2020. In the meeting, the Committee to Think about Asono's Development was changed to the Asono Town Development Preparation Committee, which expanded members, including representatives from various local organizations and general citizens selected by an open call for participants. To get more input from the local citizens, the committee sent questionnaires to all residents who are older than 13 years old. The committee holds a monthly meeting to which every resident are welcomed to attend and issues a newsletter for every household (Figure 2).

The second case is Aka Village, Fukuoka Prefecture. This is a small municipality with a population of 3,022 in 2015. Like other municipalities in Japan, the village also faces aging and declining population. The main industry is farming, producing hogs, rice, vegetables, and flowers. Local people have thought that the village has less prospect for development as the population is declining and the major industry is farming, which is not competitive. Thus, for the local government, it has been difficult to develop a CBT vision by the involvement of citizens. To overcome this problem, the village set up a community development committee and called for participants. Initially, the committee was guided by the municipality, but gradually it began to operate by themselves. Now, it holds regular meetings, and a couple of proposals were made, and they were implemented with support

Figure 2. A newsletter by the Committee to Think about Asono's Development



(photo taken by the author)

Figure 3. Aka Village local product center



(photo taken by the author)

from the municipality, such as operating a welfare bus service, holding a Showa Period nostalgic concert, and seasonal events at a local product center to attract tourists (Figure 3).

5. Conclusion

CBT has been implemented in both developing and developed countries as an instrument of alternative development that ensures the sustainability of community environmentally, culturally, and socially and fair distribution of benefit to residents. As it rests on an alternative development paradigm, local participation is an integral part of its implementation. Mori's self-mobilization or Arnstein's citizen control is the ideal level of local participation in CBT projects. In Japan, this level of local participation was achieved in some communities where local residents began to notice the signs of community decline and took action to overcome it by utilizing local resources that attracted many tourists. When CBT became a national policy around 2000 to revitalize communities, local governments became the promoter of CBT guided by the national government. In this arrangement, local residents became passive actors. In Laos, CBT is also a national policy to eradicate poverty and grow its economy. The national government and international development organizations are the promoters of CBT, and local residents are beneficiaries whose level of participation is far from self-mobilization or citizen control. Thus, in Japan and Laos, ensuring local participation and ways to move up its level are important issues to be taken care of. Japanese municipalities have employed techniques to increase local participation, such as establishing committees, holding meetings and workshops, administering surveys, and issuing newsletters. These techniques are useful to increase local participation, but unless local citizens are motivated to take action for local development by themselves, they can serve merely for a formality.

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