

Doctoral Thesis

The Influence of Setouchi Triennale's Rural Art Festival Tourism on  
the Revitalization of Islands in the Seto Inland Sea

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## Abstract

Japan's nationwide population decrease, accompanied by its shrinking rural through aging, depopulation, and stagnation is projecting a global trend of rural shrinking on a big scale. Aging, depopulation, and stagnation are serious problems for island communities in Japan's Seto Inland Sea. As a result, many of these communities have seen their distinguishing features and cultural identities disappear, and some face outright extinction. The Setouchi Triennale (ST) attempts to revitalize twelve remote islands with depopulating and aging communities by hosting an international art festival to promote tourism. Citing the presence of more than a million visitors during each festival iteration, Setouchi Triennale officials and the media have claimed that the festival is a successful mode

l for government policies aimed at community revitalization and tourism, leveraging new cultural assets to draw tourism-related revenue to the islands. However, the true understanding of the outcomes of artistic interventions within local communities lies in large part on the other side of the art intervention: the destination community's perspective.

For understanding how rural art festival tourism in Japan can be treated as an effective tool and model for rural tourism and community revitalization. This research explores the community level art festival tourism impact and revitalization outcome of the Setouchi Triennale as the biggest rural art festival in Japan in terms of receiving tourist number as well as the scale of the community. This study uses an interdisciplinary approach that combines art, tourism, and community studies in a relational perspective, which results in a theoretical framework that includes both relational and creative geography theories. Therefore, by reconsidering art as relational art sites, tourism as relational festival for social interaction, and community place-making as a relational process for community revitalization, are established into three evaluation axes: Rural Art Festival Tourism (RAFT) on the islands, RAFT for the island, and rural RAFT revitalizes the island. Through 5 year-length mixed methods fieldwork on examine island artworks, festival officials, community residents, small and new tourism business with both community and non-community members, this research defines revitalization as creating the conditions necessary to return a community to long-term sustainable viability – not simply “adding vitality” to a community. Early fieldwork and official interviews both highlighted the role of Small-scale Tourism Business (STB) that emerging after the festival influence is the main force on community building and revitalization agenda.

‘RAFT on the island’ tries to understand both positive influences and negative impacts brought by contemporary art as well as festival tourism. The impact from artistic intervention shows the different result of the impact on the local community, particularly, whether a top-down initiative can boost tourism while also leading to bottom-up, sustainable community development outcomes. At the core of the Setouchi Triennale is a network of site-specific installations by renowned artists and architects. The supposedly inextricable link between these attractions and their host communities and environments is a focus of festival marketing efforts. Outcomes were evaluated related to the provision of top-down elite art, and relational type social interactive art on the island. Findings revealed that elite arts effectively attract tourists but do not touch upon the deeper root of island culture in locals' way of life. Findings found evidence of cultural conflicts, especially when it comes to the local's understanding of ST art. Locals have their interpretation of the Setouchi Triennale art – compared by some to a ‘theme

park' or 'art Disneyland' – and their understanding of what constitutes 'art' – mainly the local collective memory that ties with natural and cultural landscapes of their island communities. This research demonstrates another possibility of artistic intervention that ST is in danger of becoming merely an exercise in tourism-focused place branding with shallow roots that do not intersect with community foundations. An area of concern is the tension between native cultural identities and the authorship of individual artists. Island residents believe that artists should achieve a deeper understanding of their communities to create artworks that are genuine reflections of those locations.

This part also examines how RAFT influences the island community. From a tourism perspective, good outcomes highlighted tourism-related development such as the increasing new in-migrants with STB, tourism-related infrastructures such as transportation, and enhance psychological depopulation through visitor-resident interaction. After it has identified the operation mechanism of RAFT's positive aspects, the further discussion also focusing on the various side effects brought by this 'good medicine' on community revitalization. The festival also deals with general negative tourism impacts such as the impact on the living environment, public area, burden, and interruption on local life. Especially for those shrinking communities that had no previous tourism development. For small businesses on smaller shrinking islands, the intermittent festival structure between over- and under-tourism cycles heavily impacted smaller islands where those areas were not tourist destinations before. This part also addresses the key development variables that should be put between tourism development and community revitalization. Especially the most important selling point of RAFT is trying to facilities social interactions and cultural exchanges between insider and outsider, local and visitor, and island and global. Therefore, the side effects of excessive social interaction and invasion of the ding the residents living space were also discovered within this section. Ensuring the quality of social interaction and without taking care of the opinions of the local level seems insufficient.

'RAFT for the island' demonstrated island communities' response after the Setouchi Triennale. The first step is by comparing two neighboring shrinking island communities with similar per-condition on population, size, accessibility to the nearby city, and artworks number among each festival – Megijima and Ogijima. This part sought to uncover whether, how, and to what extent this revitalization had manifested by comparing different islands. The findings revealed that disparate outcomes were tied to a uniform strategy of revitalization-through-tourism applied evenly by festival organizers to islands with highly varied local circumstances and dynamics. This in turn demonstrated that, while multi-community art festivals have the potential to facilitate community revitalization, unique challenges 'on the ground' are difficult or impossible for outside organizers to solve and require the involvement of the communities themselves. Both local-faced infrastructure and local leadership are necessary to reach revitalization goals. This study also found that, in the right circumstances, islands can successfully attract significant numbers of in-migrants with businesses despite the challenges of rural island life. These highlights both the development potential of festival-based revitalization strategies as well as the changes and challenges brought by such social restructuring in precarious communities.

After comparing all six case study islands, finding shows that in-migration patterns and STB types vary dramatically by island within the individual community, with similarly varied levels of reported success and satisfaction among business and community members. Ogijima,

Teshima, and Naoshima have shown better revitalization outcomes compared to the rest of the islands. The finding indicates that revitalization through RAFT requires co/efforts between exogenous (top-down) art tourism development and community endogenous (bottom-up) efforts to actively cooperate, interact, and respond. The development of art festival tourism has caused a corresponding increase in in-migrants to the islands which have established STB. The successful factors also including the increase of relational and creative type STBs. Those new businesses that favor both locals and tourists enhance resident-visitor interaction and help for building island-level partnerships and networks. In some cases, these relational and creative type STBs also play the non-business role that is involved with improving community resident quality of life. On the contrary, Inujima, Megijima, and Shodoshima show fewer of those changes and reflect on more commuter business that develops fewer roots with the smaller islands. The results suggest that a single approach to revitalization was applied with a broad brush across many communities, where local variables caused drastically different results.

‘RAFT revitalizes the island’ as the conclusion, for turning shrinking islands into the RAFT islands. A systematic perspective that combines rural art festival on and for the islands is both important to demonstrate the interaction and relational role of exogenous art and tourism development influence and endogenous community revitalization effort and process. Operating under an artistic ‘halo’, residents’ new type of relational and creative STBs appear as powerful agencies that help the community to embark upon a path of self-sufficiency and revitalization as an island supported by art festival tourism. A neo-endogenous way of community development and revitalization allows us to understand the operating mechanism of the art festival revitalization that is vigorously promoted by the Japanese government. In other words, successful rural art festival revitalization requires long-term co-effort from both sides of exogenous art development and endogenous community exertion instead of just participation by the locals. This research suggests that decision-makers involved in the art community need to clearly understand the positive and negative effects of the different possibilities of art revitalization in and for the community, and make corresponding plans based on the community’s social culture and develop it sustainably. Trying to maintain an appropriate balance in the revitalization outcome variables between ‘augmented rurality’ and ‘rural art themeparkification’.



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## Publications Arising from this Research

[Peer-reviewed, by writing orders]

Meng Qu, Carolin Funck, (Accepted June 2020 & Forthcoming in 2021), Rural Art Festival Revitalizing a Japanese Declining Tourism Island. In Nancy Duxbury (Eds.), *Cultural Sustainability, Tourism and Development: (Re)articulations in Tourism Contexts*. London: Routledge (Book Chapter based on Chapter 5 and part of Chapter 3.1)

Meng Qu, (2019), Art Interventions on Japanese Islands: The Promise and Pitfalls of Artistic Interpretations of Community, *The International Journal of Social, Political and Community Agendas in the Arts*, Vol.14, No.3, P.19-38. doi:10.18848/2326-9960/CGP/v14i03/19-38 (Journal article based on Chapter 2.2, 6)

Meng Qu, Yachen He, A. D. McCormick, Carolin Funck, (Accepted June 2020 & Forthcoming in 2021), Diagnosing Uneven Revitalization Outcomes Among Aging Communities in Japan's Island Art Festival. In E. Papoutsaki & S. S. Niaah (Eds.), *Island Art and Music Festivals*. Kingston: UWI Press. (Book Chapter based on part of Chapter 2 and 8)

Meng Qu, (2020), Teshima – From Island Art to The Art Island, Art on/for a previously declining Japanese Inland Sea Island, *Shima*, Vol.14, No.2, P.250-265 (Journal article partly based on part of Chapter 2, Chapter 3.1, 6, 9, and 10)

Meng Qu, A. D. McCormick, Carolin Funck, (2020), Community Resourcefulness and Rural Development Partnerships: Local Entrepreneurship in an International Art Festival. *Journal of Sustainable Tourism, Special issue of Tourism and Partnerships for the SDGs*, doi:10.1080/09669582.2020.1849233 (Journal article based on Chapter 9)

Meng Qu, Joseph M. Cheer, (2020), Community Art Festivals and Sustainable Rural Revitalisation. *Journal of Sustainable Tourism, Special issue of Events and Sustainability*, doi:10.1080/09669582.2020.1856858 (Journal article partly based on Chapter 2.3)

Meng Qu, Tom Miyagawa Coulton, Carolin Funck, (2020), Gaps and Limitations - Contrasting Attitudes to Newcomers and Their Role in a Japanese Island Community, *Bulletin of the Hiroshima University Museum*, 12 (Journal article based on Appendix B – a published Taoyaka Onsite Team Project report)

[Not peer-reviewed]

Meng Qu, (2017), Sustainable Development Research on Contemporary Art Intervening in Village Regional Regeneration, *Public Art*, No.2, ISSN: 1674-7038, P.72-81 (Journal article based on part of Chapter 4 and research fieldnotes)

Meng Qu, (2018), Regional Revitalization or Art Festival Tourism? Community field work research notes among 2015-2018 Setouchi International Art Festival *Public Art*, No.5, 2018, ISSN: 1674-7038, P.64-73 (in Chinese) (Journal article based on part of Chapter 4 and research fieldnotes)

Meng Qu, (2019), Book Review: Ten Innovative Ideas of Land Art Festival: How to Revitalize the Community by Japanese Rural Art Festival, *Public Art*, No.2, ISSN: 1674-7038, P.106-109 (in Chinese) (Book Review based on part of Chapter 2)

Meng Qu, (2019), After the Intervention of Art in the Countryside - Study of Setouchi Triennale, *Contemporary Artist*, ISSN: 1005-3255, vol.1, 2019. p.12-15 (in Chinese) (Journal article based on part of Chapter 4 and research fieldnotes)

## Other Publications

[Peer-reviewed]

Meng Qu, (2017) The Aesthetic Experience of Augmented Reality Art, In J. J. Arango, A. Burbano, F. C. Londoño, & G. M. Mejía (Eds.), *ISEA2017 Manizales BIO-CREATION AND PEACE*, Manizales: Department of Visual Design, Universidad de Caldas, and ISEA International

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Meng Qu, (2021), Book Review: Responsible Rural Tourism in Asia, *Tourism Geographies*, [https://doi.org/ 10.1080/14616688.2021.1878270](https://doi.org/10.1080/14616688.2021.1878270)

Meng Qu, (2019), Book Review: Conflicts, religion and culture in tourism, *Tourism Geographies*, 21:3, 556-558, ISSN: 1461-6688, <https://doi.org/10.1080/14616688.2019.1583274>

Simona. Zollet, & Meng Qu, (2018), Organic Farming and Agricultural Landscape Preservation for the Sustainable Development of Uttarakhand Mountain Villages, *Journal of Urban and Regional Studies on Contemporary India* 4(2): p. 41-53

Simona. Zollet, & Meng Qu, (2019), The Role of Domestic In-migrants for the Revitalization of Marginal Island Communities in the Seto Inland Sea of Japan. *MIRRA (Migration in Remote and Rural Areas) Research and Policy Briefs Series*. [http://rplc-capr.ca/wp-content/uploads/2019/09/MIRRABrief.Zollet.Qu\\_.pdf](http://rplc-capr.ca/wp-content/uploads/2019/09/MIRRABrief.Zollet.Qu_.pdf)

## Abbreviations

AFG	Art Front Gallery in Tokyo
AHP	Art House Project on both Naoshima and Inujima
AS	Art Setouchi (few Triennale artworks remain open to tourists after the festival)
BAS	Benesse Art Site Naoshima, also presented as Benesse Corporation or Fukutake Foundation
EFA	Exploratory Factor Analysis
Koebi	NPO Koebi Network (official Setouchi Triennale volunteer support team)
PPP	Public-Private Partnership
RAFT	Rural Art Festival Tourism
SIAF	Setouchi International Art Festival (Japanese way of saying Setouchi Triennale)
ST	Setouchi Triennale
STEC	Setouchi Triennale Executive Committee
STB	Small-scale Tourism Business

# Chapter 1 Introduction

## 1.1 Research Background

### 1.1.1 Japan's rural decline and the Seto Inland Sea island community

Rural Japanese regions, facing severe conditions of aging and depopulation, have sought increasingly novel approaches to mitigate population shrinkage and preserve cultural and community vitality. A nationwide depopulation trend in Japan has seen hospitals and schools close, town centers emptied, and entire villages abandoned and subsequently consumed by the encroaching wilderness. Japan's small islands, physically disconnected from mainland flows of human and financial capital, have experienced this declining crisis acutely. Trends of globalization and urbanization have resulted in many young people relocating from rural areas to mega-urban areas (Knight, 2016) like Tokyo and Osaka. This process has resulted in stagnating economic, social, and cultural development in smaller, disadvantaged communities throughout rural Japan.

With an area of 19,700 square kilometers, the Seto Inland Sea is Japan's biggest inland sea, located among the Honshu, Shikoku, and Kyushu Islands. With more than 3000 islands and a mild climate, the region has been a favorite destination for Western tourists since the Meiji Restoration (Gotoh et al., 2012). Japan's island communities in the Seto Inland Sea are no exception from this process, also face serious problems of aging and depopulation. For many islands in the Seto Inland Sea, with communities comprised primarily of elderly residents (Zollet & Qu, 2019) and with only a handful of children (or none at all), long-term viability is an issue of profound significance (Matanle et al., 2011).



*Figure 1.1 Abandoned resident house on Teshima, Author's photo, 2017*



Those islands suffered from a series of social issues, such as; depopulation, aging, and stagnation of social, economic, and cultural decline (Qu, 2019). Take one example from Teshima island, the National Census data indicates from 1965 to 2015, the overall population on Teshima (Statistics Bureau of Japan, 2017) dropped nearly 65 percent from 2815 to 867. In the 21st century, the increasing elderly population making up half the population from 42 percent in 2010 to 50.3 percent in 2015 (Statistics Bureau of Japan, 2017). As a consequence, due to the lack of job opportunities causing the mass migration of the working population, the shutdown of public facilities, such as the hospital and school, accompanied by abandoned houses (so-called *Akiya* in Japanese) being reclaimed by nature all contributed to this shrinking phenomenon (see Figure 1.1).

### 1.1.2 Art, creative place-making, and festival tourism in rural context for community revitalization

Arts or art-related event like festivals are gradually showing their protentional on community-making, transformation (Duxbury & Campbell, 2011; Quinn, 2009b) and revitalization in rural context (Klien, 2010b; Tagore-Erwin, 2018a). Art and creative based development (Borrop, 2016; Duxbury et al., 2009), art and creative tourism (Bakas et al., 2020; Franklin, 2018) and new types of rural art festivals (Gibson & Connell, 2011; Mahon & Hyyryläinen, 2019; Mair, 2018) are increasing in number, scale and type in rural areas across the world, as well as in regional Japan (Fondevilla, 2012; Klein, 2010b). Art festivals have the power to encourage the revitalization of a region (Yamashima, 2014) by re-branding it as a creative destination (Prentice & Andersen, 2003; Quinn, 2009a) that can attract visitors (Richards & Wilson, 2006) who might otherwise never visit the region (Irshad, 2011).

Conceived largely in response to the current social issues that related to population declining and shrinking, the emergence in the last decade of large-scale, contemporary art festivals in rural areas that attract domestic and international artists and visitors has come to be understood as a new model of rural revitalization through art festival tourism (Qu 2019). The first, the Echigo-Tsumari Art Triennale in mountainous Niigata Prefecture, was created by Tokyo-based curator Fram Kitagawa in 2000. Based on the success of this festival, he was invited by Kagawa Prefecture to lead its own festival project, which was born as the Setouchi Triennale (Tagore-Erwin, 2018a).

The Setouchi Triennale (*Setouchi Kokusai Geijutsusai*, literally Setouchi International Art Festival, short ST) is one such festival and, unlike earlier mountain farmland examples in Niigata, it focuses specifically on islands. Located in the Seto Inland Sea region, or Setouchi (shown in Figure 1.2), the festival was organized to revitalize several aging island communities by linking them together in a triennial display of site-specific artworks. It was founded with the mission of addressing the socioeconomic decline of these island communities by leveraging new cultural assets to bring much-needed visitors as well as tourist revenue. The festival features a network of site-specific artworks installed and promoted on a recurring triennial cycle. ST organizers point to vast increases in tourists (more than one million in 2016) and revenue (JPY 1.39 billion in 2016) as primary indicators of success (Setouchi Triennale Executive Committee, 2017b).



Figure 1.2 The location of Seto Inland Sea and twelve Setouchi Triennale islands, Source of the map: (Geospatial Information Authority of Japan (GSI), 2016), Software: (QGIS Development Team, 2019), Author's illustration

ST began in 2010 across seven islands – Naoshima, Teshima, Shodoshima, Megijima, Ogijima, Inujima, Oshima – and two nearby mainland ports, Uno and Takamatsu. Starting in 2013 and continuing for the two subsequent festivals in 2016 and 2019, four other islands to the west were added for the autumn portion of the Triennale. While some of these communities had already been developed as sites for art tourism (Qu, 2019), for the majority of the islands, this was something new. The festival organizers define this revitalization as occurring through “community building and the celebration of the local way of life” (Kitagawa & Setouchi Triennale Executive Committee, 2016, p. 4). The Setouchi Triennale is held every three years, each edition divided into Spring, Summer, and Autumn sessions. In the Setouchi Triennale 2019, the 12 participating islands hosted 214 artworks and 35 art events (Setouchi Triennale Executive Committee, 2020).

Festival officials and the Japanese government considered the Setouchi Triennale to be a successful model of rural community revitalization through art and festival tourism (Kitagawa & Setouchi Triennale Executive Committee, 2016). More significantly, Japan’s national media and government agencies have devoted considerable attention to these nascent rural art festivals, which have spread throughout the country. As of 2017, there were more than eighty similar art festivals across Japan (Art Eienare, 2017), as shown in Figure 1.3. Among these, ST is currently the biggest, based on the number of visitors and geographic footprint. Due to the number of visitors, more than a million tourists per Triennale, the geographical coverage of the event among the Seto Inland Sea, and the long-term success of the festival-community building, the ST has become highly influential, to the point that other areas in rural Japan, as well as many other East Asian countries, are emulating its model.

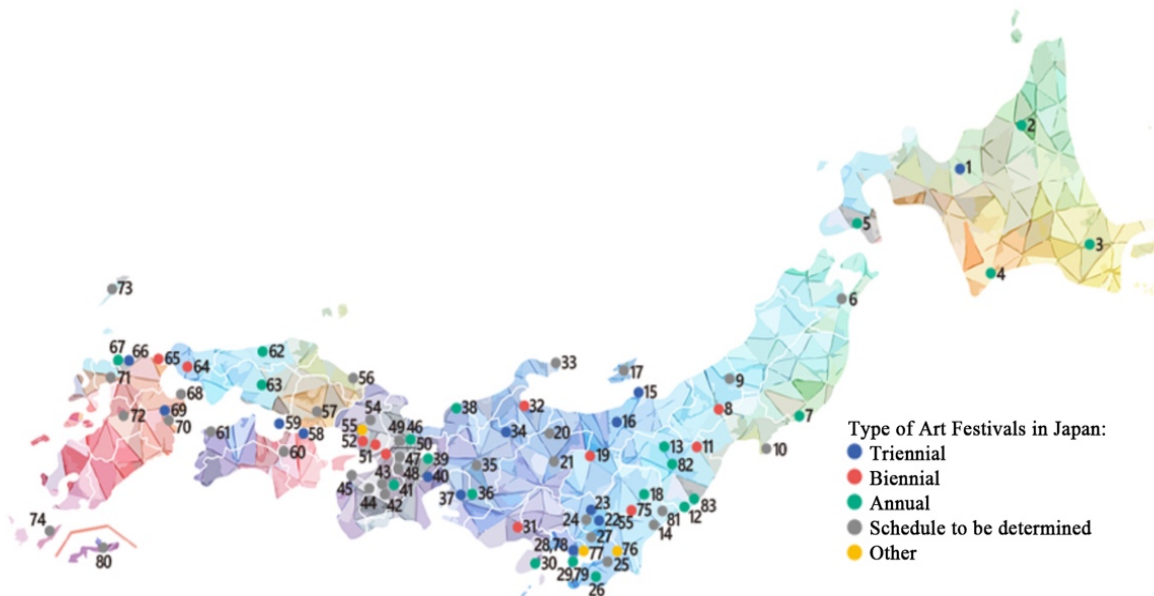


Figure 1.3 Rural Art Festival in Japan, Source: (Art Einnare, 2017), Author's translation

Under Japan's current rural declining background, the recent increase in rural art festivals was implementing for revitalization on a national and international scale. Formed through public-private partnerships (PPP) that merge government policy priorities with corporate planning and capital (Favell, 2016; Kanaya, 2014). They try to bring a much-needed visiting population as well as tourism revenue to those peripheral communities. Beyond tourist spending, organizers emphasize what are arguably creative placemaking benefits targeting regional revitalization, such as small business partnerships and cultural exchange (Setouchi Triennale Executive Committee, 2015). But whether these mega-festivals have triggered localized revitalization outcomes, and what that portends for the sustainable development of Japan's rural island communities needs to be studied in depth.

## 1.2 Research Significance and Aim

Recent research that aims at art, festival and their role in rural revitalization is increasing, not only in relation to rural Japan (Klien, 2010b; Kondo, 2012; Tagore-Erwin, 2018b; Yagi, 2010) but also to the wider global rural (Borrupt, 2016; Dunphy, 2009; Duxbury & Campbell, 2011). The Setouchi Triennale is currently the biggest regional art festival in Japan and attracts the highest number of tourists out of all the rural art festivals in the country (Qu, 2019). The national and prefectural governments, as well as community and festival officials all treat art tourism and festival revitalization as an effective antidote for shrinking regions. Therefore, this revitalization model is not only being rapidly imitated throughout Japan, but also in its neighboring countries in East Asia (Qu, 2019).

One feature of ST's art tourism is its relational characteristics, what we call here Rural Art Festival Tourism (RAFT). This term tries to connect concepts of relational art (Bourriaud, 1998), relational tourism (Richards, 2013), relational rural (Heley & Jones, 2012), and the festival social-cultural interaction (Klien, 2010b) into one. Previous studies on rural art festival tourism have rarely used an interdisciplinary approach that includes art, tourism, and

community as one relational framework (Heley & Jones, 2012). This may lead to one-sided, partial, or overly optimistic research conclusions from either art or tourism perspectives without examining the community aspect. Consequently, for evaluating the topic of RRAFT in community revitalization, research should not only focus on the positive art-related or tourism outcomes but also their negative impacts. Since shrinking communities are already facing their stagnation, paying less attention to the negative outcomes would cause extra damages that would bring irreversible consequences on the local level. More research gaps will be further explained in Chapter 2.5.

Since this research focuses on the intersection between rural community, art and tourism, the literature used in this study is interdisciplinary in nature, and therefore it is difficult to define a clear-cut boundary among disciplines. In relation to the intersection between art and rural community studies, the main disciplines represented are relational aesthetics (Bourriaud, 1998) and creative geography (Hawkins, 2015) both of which focus on the sociological transformation of art in the non-art fields of study. Common areas of research in scholarly works about community, tourism, and rural planning include festival/event tourism management (Mair, 2018; Quinn, 2009b), relational/creative tourism (Duxbury & Richards, 2019c; Richards, 2013), and tourism geography; in addition, rural sociology research contributed the concept of neo-endogenous development (Bosworth et al., 2016) and community place-making concepts of creative destruction and enhancement (Mitchell, 2013). Research on rural community tourism focuses on two important characteristics of RAFT –creativity and the relationality. Rural fields of study include rural planning and development fields, as interdisciplinary branches that combine social sciences and applied sciences. These field of knowledge however also cover relational geography (Massey, 2005), art island studies (Qu, 2020), peripheral creative place-making (Mitchell, 2013; Rota & Salone, 2014) and rural art festival revitalization (Klien, 2010b; Qu, 2019; Qu et al., 2020, 2021). From the perspective of classifying the research perspective of this study, all these diverse fields were reorganized into a relational-based interdisciplinary framework that includes art, tourism, and rural community (Figure 3.1) for art and creative rural revitalization approaches.

At the local level, without evaluating the island community outcomes from art festival tourism, especially related to the community's internal response and bottom-up efforts, there will be an insufficient evaluation of revitalization from a holistic standpoint (Matanle, 2007). Art cannot provide actual solutions that can solve community issues, but it can trigger an opportunity for solving them (Duxbury & Campbell, 2011). Therefore, research must focus on verifiable community outcomes of revitalization through rural art festival tourism. This is the only way to examine whether art festival tourism leans more towards the commercial festival tourism development, just with a borrowed name of 'community revitalization', or towards a path of actual community revitalization path.

### **1.3 Research Objective and Questions**

This research raises a series of research questions through three major focuses that include 1) art and tourism's impact on communities, 2) community response, interaction, and self-effort, and 3) art festival tourism community revitalization mechanism.

1) The first research question is relating to ‘RAFT *on* the island’. It tries to explore how does Setouchi Triennale’s art festival tourism and its artwork influence, impact, and interact with the island community.

2) The second research question is ‘RAFT *for* the island’. It tries to evaluate how island communities respond, interact, and collaborate from the local level. From a revitalization point of view, this part also tries to understand which community relatively successful or lacking improvement is compared with the other communities. This research phase tries to find evidence between both optimistic and pessimistic islands. Then the further discussion would focus on why a single art festival tourism model caused different revitalization outcomes.

3) The last and general research question is ‘RAFT revitalizes the island’. This phase tries to focus on what the successful rural art festival tourism revitalization mechanism is and outcomes of the community revitalization through the case of Setouchi Triennale by island community, paired with how the RAFT’s revitalization mechanism works?

In short, these three research questions reveal the three-step operation mechanism of how RAFT *on/for/revitalizes* the islands. For the first research focus of ‘RAFT *on* the islands’ from the art festival and tourism perspective, if the art festival just exists in the community without bringing extra benefits that relate to community development or help to slow down the shrinking, then this cannot be considered as a relational type of art festival ‘*for*’ the community revitalization. For understanding how the operation mechanism of art festival tourism works on community revitalization, it must include both questions one and two to build a relational framework. Furthermore, without considering both positions of RAFT *on* and *for* the island, it is hard to get the full picture for considering RAFT revitalization. On the contrary, only focusing the research on question two from the community side without considering the research question one would not successfully build a bridge that connects the tourists-art-resident and community level new-old resident interaction. Since this study covers not only one island destination, the concept of RAFT *on/for/revitalizes* an island might also cause different revitalization scenarios among islands. By focusing on the differences and the unique reason that caused the differences are also an important task of this research.

#### **1.4 Research Scope**

For answering those research questions with suitable and sufficient research scope, this research attempts to cut down redundancies of excessive focus through limiting case study islands, target respondents, and research phases. From a geographical perspective, the ST covers twelve hosting islands. Chapter 4.2 introduces how the case study islands were selected out of the twelve islands that participate in the Setouchi Triennale.

According to the research framework in Chapter 3.1, since all major research questions are mainly focusing on RAFT interaction and its community revitalization outcomes, this study is not considering artists or tourists as the research respondents. Despite the author did have extra interviews and surveys with tourist respondents on Naoshima, however, the findings did not strongly support the research objective and the question already been raised. The Small-scale Tourism Business (STB) is the interactive window between locals and tourists (Qu, 2019). However, there is an overlapping zone of small tourism business between the community STB that runs by new (I-turn for new in-migrants and U-turn for return migrant) and old long-term

residents and non-community STB that runs by commuters. Research only focuses on community businesses by residents would not illustrate a fully small tourism businesses scenario on the island. Therefore, more attention has been paid to community members, small tourism faced business stakeholders, and ST officials in this research.

Since the core mission of this study is trying to answer three major research questions, if any research question can be answered through the finding within the minimal number of the island, then it would not repeat the same fieldwork on all islands. For each discussion chapter, this study tries to ensure the research questions can be answered by topic rather than an island. Accordingly, the research method's design is varying into each discussion by chapter for answering each sub-research questions, which will be further explained in Chapter 3.2.

## **1.5 Definition of Key Terms**

### **1.5.1 Shrinking Island Community**

The terminology uses to describe the rural decline phenomenon varies based on the research context. In particular, the use of depopulation (Matanle, 2018; Yagi, 2010), disadvantaged and underdeveloped communities (Aquino et al., 2018), rural decline (Y. Li et al., 2019), periphery (Manzenreiter et al., 2020), shrinking (Qu, 2020), aging (Klien, 2010a) are the similar expression in different way and context. In Japanese rural studies, the terminology usage of *Kaso chiki* – depopulated in Japanese (Kanaya, 2014; Nakashima, 2012), *Kōrei ka* – aging (Kanaya, 2014; Nakashima, 2012), and *Shōshika* – declining birthrate (Nakashima, 2014) are also widely adopted in Japanese works of literature. This issue of depopulation is becoming one of the biggest obstacles in peripheral Japan. Within the community's social structure, the younger generations are few and far between. In some settlements, the population is at risk of disappearing altogether in the coming decades. The serious depopulation takes place all over rural Japan. This social issue can be considered as a precursor of what other developed (or even developing) countries will face the same scenario in the near future.

The rural island villages of the Seto Inland Sea suffer from severe depopulation, aging, and economic decline like most peripheral island communities across Japan. For understanding how serious the depopulation level on the case study islands presented in this study is, further data can be found in Chapter 4.3. All academic terms are expressing similar issues that relate to aging and depopulation. However, this research requires a unified English terminology that not only represent rural depopulation but also the site-specificness of the rural island. Therefore, “shrinking island” is a concise term that will be applied in this research.

For this study, the usage of the term ‘shrinking island community’ represents the social, cultural, and economical decline of the rural island society. It includes the crisis of local industries, traditional culture and knowledge, social assets, economic opportunities, and basic infrastructures. Community, presented as a small-scale social and cultural entity, is a core element, but its definition is constantly changing and cannot be easily generalized with a definition; the concept of community, however, is widely used in the social sciences by sociologists and anthropologists (Bruhn, 2011; Cohen, 1985). It is meant both a social process and as a cultural meaning for interpreting local relationships under the current globalizing world (Cohen, 1985). From a relational perspective, community is a social group who shares some common elements such as mutual goals, common sense of belonging, social values, and

way of life (Bruhn, 2011; Cohen, 1985). Those common elements differ by culture (Bruhn, 2011) among other social groups. The boundaries of communities have been defined in many different ways, such as according to laws, social beliefs, or geophysical barriers (mountains, seas, islands) (Cohen, 1985). Furthermore, as a non-urban social system, rural community has been considered as a community that contains both internal structure and external social relations (Brown & Schafft, 2018). Communities share common regional social beliefs, cultural values (Bruhn, 2011), a profound sense of place attachment (Vodden et al., 2015), island history, and collective memories from the specific physical island space bounded by the sea.

### 1.5.2 Artistic Intervention

Art or artistic intervention (Duxbury et al., 2019; Merry & Carraz, 2016) is a widely adopted term in art or art-centered studies but is rarely defined especially outside of art fields. Mouffe defines art as “intervening directly in a multiplicity of social spaces” (2008, p. 6) as miscellaneous artistic practices through active engagements in the public place. In other words, art attempts to change the existing social condition through intervention brought by the arts. Those changes include facilitating social innovation as well as creativity, and advancing community working conditions and skill enhancement through social interactions by the arts and host organizations (TILLT EUROPE, 2011).

In this research, art or artistic intervention refer to a community-based art project in the context of aging communities located in disadvantaged areas of rural Japan, which are commonly associated with the shrinking issue. A relational process occurring through public-private partnerships and multiple-stakeholder groups within an art festival-like event such as an annual, biennial, or triennial exhibition (Kanaya, 2014). In rural Japan, art intervention brings site-specific and community based public artworks, art projects, or events into a rural community. It imports typically non-local artistic and cultural elements that impact the local community’s original landscape, lifestyle, art, and culture. The outcomes of art intervention are not limited to artworks, but also connected to other fields and industries such as art tourism, festival tourism, art businesses, and products, landscape, and placemaking. The result of art interventions can be evaluated by the local community and its stakeholders.

### 1.5.3 Japan’s Rural Art Festival Tourism (RAFT)

Based on different research focuses, the application of research terminology uses for rural art festival tourism from the research perspectives between artistic intervention, festival tourism, and community revitalization are diverse.

From art and rural placemaking related studies (Klien, 2010b; Kondo, 2012; Tagore-Erwin, 2018a), the terminology use of ‘art’ and ‘art festival’ pay more attention to the role of art and community but lack of focus from the tourism characteristic of this type of art festival. On the contrary, the use of ‘art tourism’ or ‘festival tourism’ (Funck & Chang, 2018; Klein, 2010b) downplay the role of the socially engaged side from art. Moreover, the term use of festival tourism would not distinguish the difference between the rural Japan case with the western urban-based event-based art festival theories (Getz, 2008; Quinn, 2006). After each Setouchi Triennale period, another long-term art tourism product, so-called Art Setouchi (AS), continues with a few remaining artworks open to the visitors. This long-term planning effort makes ST

different from other normal short festival tourisms from the festival tourism category. Since this study is trying to focus on the mechanism among art, tourism, and community, therefore, a unified definition is needed.

Moreover, due to the translation difference between the English and Japanese name of the festival, the ambiguities of terminology use also exist between different studies. The complex naming between Setouchi Triennale (ST) in English and *Setouchi kokusai geijutsu sai* – Seotuchi International Art Festival in Japanese (SIAF), researches adopt both versions between ST (Favell, 2016; Tagore-Erwin, 2018a) and SIAF (Kanaya, 2014; Qu, 2019) to use different names for the same festival.

Additionally, as shown in Figure 1.3, a lot of rural art festivals in Japan are not limited to the Triennial or Biennale form. This misuse of creating new terms and the same research with different names is very confusing for the reader. Therefore, this research will use the Rural Art Festival Tourism (RAFT) to consolidate and present the term in an easy-understanding way.

#### 1.5.4 Art Island

The converging idea of the Art Island with the Triennale festival can be traced back to the Kagawa prefectural government plan of 2004, which was combined with the concept of Art Network from the Fukutake Foundation in 2005, and was subsequently backed up with the view of art tourism from Kagawa Prefecture Tourism Exchange Bureau in 2006 (Setouchi Triennale Executive Committee, 2010). After 2010, inspired by the successful art projects on Naoshima, island art and RAFT also radiated to the other neighboring islands. Art now plays an innovative role to create a diversified tourism space on Kagawa's aging islands (Funck & Chang, 2018; Qu, 2019). The author adapts the previous art tourism study from Naoshima to the Setouchi Triennale islands (Funck & Chang, 2018; Qu, 2020). Therefore, the 'art tourism on shrinking island' transform to the 'art island' for this study.

#### 1.5.5 Setouchi Triennale's Public-Private Partnership (PPP)

ST's RAFT has a complex partnership that is supported by two powerful players from outside of the island community. One is the private art corporation created by millionaire Fukutake and his Fukutake Foundation (also present as Benesse Art Site Naoshima). It bases on the effort of art island making (Qu, 2020) as well as its art tourism development (Funck & Chang, 2018). The foundation created several big-budget avant-garde art museums and facilities as major attractions effectively 'parachuted' into diverse locales without attempts to reflect and inter-relate with pre-existent cultures. Another key player is the father of site-specific art festivals in Japan - general director Kitagawa from Tokyo Art Front Gallery. With the integration of a new Public-Private Partnership (PPP) (Kanaya, 2014) by the Kagawa prefectural government through including those two key players, this big-scale transregional partnership became involved in the launching of the Setouchi Triennale. These organizational bodies also co-present as Setouchi Triennale Executive Committee. Therefore, in this research, Setouchi Triennale is present as a mixed body that is not managed by one single organization but through a diversified partnership that applies to different art islands through different forms.



### 1.5.6 Rural Art Festival Tourism Revitalization (RAFT) on a big scale

According to the Japanese government's definition, rural revitalization (*hiiki saisei* in Japanese), involves "creating employment opportunities, strengthening the economic base, and improving the living environment" (Naikaku-fu chihō sōsei suishin jimukyoku [Cabinet Office for Promotion of Regional Revitalization], 2005). Unlike other forms of rural revitalization through rural tourism development (Arahi, 1998), or the *mura okoshi undo* (village revival movement) that require the understanding of in-migration and rural entrepreneurship-related dynamics (Knight, 2016; Zollet & Qu, 2019), the role of big-scale art festivals for community revitalization cannot be considered with the same standards used to examine small scale festivals. ST as one of the largest international art festivals plays a revitalization role (Tagore-Erwin, 2018a) was introduced in response to severe depopulation and community collapse in rural Japan. In a Japan-specific context, ST had been a great opportunity to reach this rural revitalization goal.

A RAFT method through ST's art tourism and community revitalization is already being considered by Japan as a successful model for rural placemaking (Qu, 2019). Due to the complex PPP model, ST is not a simple art exhibition or art festival in an urban context, nor normal festival tourism with pure tourism or celebration purposes. It is a wide-range collaboration between private art corporation BAS (Benesse Art Site), rural site-specific art festival directory team AFG (Art Front gallery), and the government on a big scale. For this study, the author defines rural revitalization as creating the conditions necessary to return a community to long-term viability through sustainable socio-economy, socio-cultural, and environmental development – not simply 'adding vitality' to a community or making rural aspects more artistic. This study set out to gain further understanding of the different modes of rural revitalization between relying only on the art festival tourism revitalization through Setouchi Triennale and the long-term community revitalization through local-festival co-efforts.

## 1.6 Structure of the Thesis

### 1.6.1 Chapter 1 to 4: Introduction, Literature Review, Methodological Framework and Case Study Outline

This thesis is divided into ten chapters. Chapter one provides an overview of the thesis, including the background of the Seto Inland Sea, research aim, research significance, research question, research scope, and special terminology used in this paper. Chapter two tries to illustrate the relational linkage between art, tourism, and rural through a literature review. Within this part, the author tries to start the review from art, tourism, and rural concepts and theories into relational-based theories that connect those three disciplines. Additionally, this chapter identifies the current research gaps among the existing literature. Chapter 3 demonstrates the theoretical and conceptual frameworks that cover interdisciplinary research fields of art, tourism, and community studies. This chapter also tries to match the appropriate converge mixed research methods and data analysis methods with those frameworks. The ethical considerations and research limitations are also introduced in this part. Chapter 4 further introduces the background of ST, also explaining the case study selection methods and necessary secondary data from those selected art islands.

### 1.6.2 Chapter 5 to 7: Rural Art Festival Tourism *on* the island

Based on the research question one, Chapter 5 to 7 try to answer the first research question of RAFT's positive influences and negative impacts in three steps. Chapter 5 plays a fundamental role as preliminary research through applying Grounded Theory to explore the largest tourism island, Shodoshima. This phase tries to find out the overall good outcomes and negative impacts on a relatively good-conditioned island with a well-established tourism industry and population structure. Chapter 6 tries to evaluate the art festival outcomes through more emphasis on the art intervention and cultural impacts perspectives. This chapter examines the art festival and artwork impact on two art islands that under the double intervention between ST artworks as well as BAS private corporation invested art facilities and museums. Both Chapters 5 and 6 fully discussed art as well as art tourism's role of RAFT on island destinations. However, besides Shodoshima, the other smaller non-tourism industry-based shrinking islands under the Setouchi Triennale influences remain unexamined from a festival tourism perspective. After Chapter 5's findings from Shodoshima, Chapter 7 applies the upgraded version of the research survey to the other five islands, which are relatively smaller, less tourism development as pre-condition before art, and with more serious shrinking issues.

### 1.6.3 Chapter 8 and 9: Rural Art Festival Tourism *for* the island

After understanding the exogenous influences, impact, and interaction of RAFT from art, and tourism perspectives, this study leads to the second research question that focuses on the type of endogenous revitalization responses and efforts from the community side are. More importantly, examining the different outcomes among each community under the same RAFT method leads this study to look for the further reason that caused those differences. One of the biggest challenges in this session will be a suitable comparing method on different islands based on size, population, and background. Before starting to compare all six islands, Chapter 8 tries to select two islands that share the most similar conditions but shows obvious contrast results on each of their revitalization processes. Chapter 9 further evaluated all STBs among all six studied islands. The finding demonstrates the gap among each island towards different development paths of revitalization agenda, obstacles, and specific circumstances. This phase of research presents an overall image of how six islands respond, interact, and collaborate under the RAFT exogenous influence, which shows all distinct different outcomes and directions toward possible revitalization or reason of failure.

### 1.6.4 Chapter 10: Rural Art Festival Tourism *revitalizes* the island

In sum, Chapter 10 goes into a deeper discussion of the mechanism of RAFT revitalization that requires a systematic way by thinking of RAFT *on* islands as step one (Chapter 5 to 7), and RAFT *for* islands (Chapter 8 and 9) as step two as a non-stop cycle that keeps requiring interaction between exogenous art development and endogenous collaboration. For the island communities that already met this condition, it will facilitate a path to step three – revitalization through RAFT. This can then successfully embark on a co-sustainable development path without heavy reliance on the festival in the future. On the contrary, the islands that cannot

reach the second step remain must face the danger of shrinking or excessive artistic development as negative consequences.

## **Chapter 2 Literature Review: Rural Art Festival Tourism Revitalization**

### **2.1 Introduction**

This Chapter provides a literature review related to rural art festival tourism and its community revitalization role from global rural to Japan-specific case. Through five sections, this chapter tries to include all relevant works of literature covering art, tourism, and community revitalization in the rural context to demonstrate the three major elements of RAFT as well as match the major focus from proposed research questions. Section 2.2 and 2.3 corresponds to research question 1), and Section 2.4 matches to research question 2).

Section 2.2 discusses the site-specific art as a new type of social practice and interactive medium among people, that has the potential for community building in rural regions. This section also demonstrates the specific obstacles that art meets in the rural context while reflecting its social outcome on community revitalization. Therefore, a further discussion on the literature from tourism and festival are required to examine the social-ecological transformation role of art from ‘artwork’ into ‘relational art site’.

Section 2.3 reviews the characteristic of art and festival tourism under the regional development background, which differs from the urban-based festival tourism and creative initiatives. The RAFT establishes an interaction flow between urban tourists and the regional community. This relational feature connects the relational/creative tourism, creative and relational geography theories, as well as relational art site concept. However, this section also identified the research barrier for measuring social interaction from previous literature. Therefore, further research attentions were suggested through a community-level focus of evaluation on the RAFT revitalization outcome.

Section 2.4 demonstrates the current research discussion on two side effects that are brought by ‘festivalization’, which can bring different community-level results between creative enhancement and creative destruction. The literature base on dualization concepts between the top-down and bottom-up development also gets further discussed through an integrated way of thinking with the concept of neo-endogenous development.

Section 2.5 reveals the current research gap that lacking any single element of art, tourism, and community to consider RAFT as a whole would cause an incomplete conclusion. The issue especially critical reflects on the one-sided conclusions by either art or social science studies, which hard to be considered as a comprehensive research perspective to examine the social outcome on community revitalization. Other research gaps are specifically related to the geographical scopes of the case study, data collection, respondent samples, research topics, reference source language, and an explanatory relational framework for integrated RAFT revitalization research.

### **2.2 Art Interventions in the Countryside**

Within the wider background of art interventions in the global rural, it is important to characterize the socially engaged artworks involved in this discussion. The social-ecological transformation of art (Hawkins et al., 2015) has been widely considered by schoolers as a type of social practice for society (Bishop, 2012; Raunig & Ray, 2009). Art intervention in the rural community is a recent sociological phenomenon brought by the contemporary practice of site-specific art (Anwar McHenry, 2011; Kaye, 2013; Qu, 2019, 2020; Qu et al., 2020). Site-specific

art consists of contemporary artworks based on regional landscapes and local culture (Takeda et al., 2011). Such artworks emphasize local identities and their ‘site-specific’ characteristics (Rakić & Lester, 2016). Land art also carries “dematerialization or anti-aesthetic” connotations (Kondo, 2012, p. 120), taking art out of museums and placing it in the landscape. Other authors have employed varying terms describing the artworks, each with their associations and nuances. Examples include community-based art (Fondevilla, 2012; Ransdell, 2013), public art (Fondevilla, 2012; Kondo, 2012; Rakić & Lester, 2016; Yagi, 2010), earth art (Klien, 2010b; Kondo, 2012), land art (Kondo, 2012) and marginal art (Kitagawa, 2015, p. 154).

It has been recognized that culture and art can play a key role in participatory models of rural revitalization (Crawshaw & Gkartzios, 2016; Klein, 2010b), community adaptation, and development (Dunphy, 2009). Art organizers play the key role of place-making planner and negotiator among residents, art agencies, and artists (Klien, 2010b). The artists in turn have the potential to ‘mediate’ the boundary between locals and outsiders by creating artwork that embodies local culture and place (Koizumi, 2016). This provides opportunities for artists to turn local communities into hubs (Sasaki et al., 2014) for this type of relational art. A relational model for artwork downplays its conventional interpretation as a finished aesthetic object, foregrounding instead of its socially-focused mode of artistic production (Raunig & Ray, 2009). This new type of site-specific art can be well explained by relational art and relational aesthetics (Crawshaw & Gkartzios, 2016; Favell, 2016; Qu, 2019). It emphasizes when art embodied as a social medium becomes a bond of interpersonal relationship through continuous interaction, which goes beyond the state of commodity exchange as social practice and interaction among people (Bourriaud, 1998). Relational art is closer to Gilles Deleuze’s “immanent event” concept from his *Event Philosophy* (Qu, 2017, p. 79) at its root, which emphasizes the meaningful and immaterial part of the event that strays beyond the visible power.

Artworks placed in rural communities invite the viewer to consider them not only as aesthetic objects in their own right but also as facets in the daily lives of locals (Fondevilla, 2012). Thus, art offers visitors a means to connect with ‘the local’ even if they do not engage with locals directly. Using this way of thinking, the development of community-based art festivals that reflect local culture (Fondevilla, 2012) can be evaluated as a communication tool to link visitors with those cultures (Fondevilla, 2012; Takeda et al., 2011). Regional art initiative attempts to revitalize rural island communities not only through increased tourism revenue, but also by targeting specific rural communities and turning them into attractive artistic environments (Fondevilla, 2012), therefore triggering urban-rural linkages that can ideally connect island residents with regional, national, and even global visitors.

This power of art and event through turning isolated rural areas into a dynamic population exchange flow, which matches the relational geography (Massey, 2005) point of view of shaping constant rural-urban spatial change. This discussion is not limited to the rural community as one point, but also an interaction flow between local and Extralocal (Bosworth & Atterton, 2012). From creative geography (Hawkins, 2015), it has been confirmed that the research scope of art in society should not be limited within the art world but also focus on the outside of its impact on the society. Creative geography considers a wider perspective on social practice art more geographically, from the ‘work’ of art to ‘art site’ (Hawkins, 2015). It provides deeper thinking on what work art does in the world through reviewing art's role as an agency and productive of effects (Hawkins, 2015).

Rural art-led initiative instigates a process of artistic intervention that escapes the ‘art world’ and instead embeds itself into the social context and location through interactions among artists, art consumers (the audience), and the local community (Crawshaw & Gkartzios, 2016). Authors have employed various interpretations of community-focused, public art interventions. The artistic intervention also plays a key role as a birthplace of creativity and social innovation that benefits creative activities, industry, and policy goals for regional development (TILLT EUROPE, 2011). These interventions have been evaluated as participatory models of rural revitalization and community development through creative tourism and creative placemaking (Borru, 2016; Crawshaw & Gkartzios, 2016; Klien, 2010b, 2010a).

Previous research proposes that public art interventions are especially valuable catalysts for community transformation, as they build a series of relational networks and elements in the communities (Balfour et al., 2018). Some scholars describe this phenomenon as a “diagnostic” experience, arguing that art intervention implies collaboration with local people and that art also functions to “read” the local community and its culture (Crawshaw & Gkartzios, 2016, pp. 136, 142). When relational art is introduced into rural communities, it can become a powerful cultural catalyst for community development (Balfour et al., 2018; Borru, 2016; Fondevilla, 2012).

In contrast to the advantages that art brings during the intervention process, arts organizers often cannot solve the cultural conflicts they create (Borru, 2016). At the local level, conflicts, adaptation, and resilience may manifest themselves in both tangible and intangible ways. One example is the cultural conflict between the community’s traditional culture and the ‘re-casting, re-articulation’ of this traditional culture by the art festival (Borru, 2016; Klien, 2010b). Two-sides of the dilemma within art interventions are equilibrium shifts between global/urban/non-rural colonial artworks with aesthetic values to the site-specific and a socially engaged style that put more weight on respect between regional socio-cultural contexts (Qu, 2019). In an ideal scenario, good socially engaged art can create relational ties to revive the community’s sense of place for local long-term residents (Qu, 2020). This sense of place and place attachment can be reused as a socio-cultural resource as an antidote for improvement of local quality of life, enhance cultural vitality and promote regional socio-economic and environmentally resilient (Vodden et al., 2015). On one hand, it has been proven to have the power for promoting art, tourism, the economic market, heritage, and nature protection for the destination community (Vodden et al., 2015). On the other hand, like all the other resources, mismanagement such as over commodification and excessive place branding can lead to negative consequences for the local community (Vodden et al., 2015). The former represents the exogenous top-down art development and implantation within the local territory, which is valued by the elitism and global taste (Tagore-Erwin, 2018a). Comparatively, the latter combines relations between top-down planning and bottom-up civil participation efforts (Klien, 2010b). Additionally, the ethical issues brought by art from art critics have pointed out that this type of rural art intervention uses ‘borrowed land’ to exhibit ‘borrowed artworks’ (N. Li, 2015). Further, Sheldon (2015) described how the phenomenon of ‘artwashing’, or the aesthetic glorification of neglected and decaying urban spaces, has become a marker of globalization and gentrification. Those phenomena need to be examined in-depth as well as in the regional context.

Regional art practices aimed at local revitalization are a new, socially-engaged and site-specific phenomenon in Japan (Crawshaw & Gkartzios, 2016; Tagore-Erwin, 2018a) created

through facilities with an expected role of community-engaged, specific artistic intervention and festival tourism, which unite to form and facilitate cultural interaction (Qu, 2019). Japan's regional art festivals commission large-scale, site-specific artworks (Klien, 2010b; Kondo, 2012) in each community. Within ST, individual artistic interventions occur within a relational site where interaction is encouraged between artists and residents and between residents and visitors. It is through this mechanism that festival organizers seek to facilitate artworks to be more site-specific as well as community-engaged and reflect 'the local' while bringing newcomers to the region. ST brings contemporary art, and its typically urban-born creators and consumers, into Japan's rural island communities. Artworks enter the daily lives of locals (Kondo, 2012). ST directly creates a relationship between local people and art by rooting the artwork in cultural and historical resources such as the Art House Project (Ihara, 2007). A collaborative relationship between artists and community groups and residents is also indispensable (Yamashima, 2014) for artwork that is truly 'socially engaged'.

Moreover, a dilemma is reflected in the art form itself: artists implant their art – which connotes the elite, global, and urban – into the rural context. Curators of site-specific art typically request that artists create their artworks in consideration of this interaction and of the local community and culture (Balfour et al., 2018; Kondo, 2012). On the one hand, if an artwork is overly constrained in its conception or execution out of respect for local culture, one might say that it has 'killed the author'. On the other hand, if an artwork is thrust upon a community without any connection to the specific place, one might similarly understand it to have 'killed the local' (Kondo, 2012; N. Li, 2015). This tension suggests an inherent conflict between the priorities and preconceptions of artists and the daily realities of island residents that art organizers are tasked with bridging. Accordingly, the first part of this research will examine the perceived success of the relationship between art and locals. Whether locals believe that artists really understand local culture when making artworks is a significant factor through which to evaluate the claims of ST organizers that the festival is a bridge between art and community.

From the art perspective, the mere presence of artworks and art events in a rural locale is insufficient to trigger sustainable community revitalization (Duxbury, 2010), whereas the degree of community stakeholder involvement in those works and events is of far deeper significance (Karampela, 2017). Artistic interventions with a relational or participatory structure offer the best outcomes for sustainable rural community development through the social field where art extends (Crawshaw & Gkartzios, 2016). Additional research attention should be paid not only to the art side of intervention but also beyond it through the festival tourism form and community revitalization outcome. Additionally, the relational art from relational aesthetic should not limit the art's "collective interaction" (Bourriaud, 1998, p. 15) that only from the art point of view without trying to apply relational art into the entire ST hosting islands as an art community site (Qu, 2020). The core notion of ST's art tourism is partly grounded in Benesse Art Site (BAS)'s "Naoshima Method" that tries to use art as a sightseeing medium to facilitate local-visitor interaction between young and old (Fukutake & Kitagawa, 2016, p. 45). The entire islands, even the whole region, can be considered as an integrated relational art site that includes not only artworks but also tourism activities and community interaction. In other words, the interaction between visitor-resident and new-old residents through art events should be further discussed from this research. Furthermore, the community bottom-up outcomes from art initiatives should not be limited by Klein's discussion

on civil participation (Klien, 2010b) but should focus on further local level collaboration and results of their efforts without the direct support from the art organizers.

### **2.3 Art Festival Tourism in Rural Areas**

Festival tourism in general, has very often been mentioned as event tourism (Çelik & Çetinkaya, 2013; Higgins-Desbiolles, 2018). As Quinn pointed out "The use of the term 'festival tourism' is problematic because it implies an undeserved degree of naturalness in the relationship between festival activity and tourism." (2006, p. 288). It is very normal for researchers to think of festivals as an outside-community periodic visit. On the other hand, for assuming festival as tourism attraction automatically builds a relationship between festival growth and tourist need. There is no doubt that the rapid growth of art festival tourism is knitting the concepts between art tourism (Funck & Chang, 2018), festival tourism, event tourism (Getz, 2008; Quinn, 2006) and art festival, or so-called Triennale Tourism (Klien, 2010b) into one merging social phenomenon.

Art festivals have the power to shape destinations into creative places by promoting cultural tourism (Prentice & Andersen, 2003) and packaging creative experiences as attractions to draw festivalgoers to rural areas (Richards & Wilson, 2006). Recent research has shown that a significant number of art festivals in both urban and rural settings are the result of bottom-up or grass-roots initiatives, conceived at a small scale by local, deeply dedicated creative placemakers (Quinn, 2010). Festivals provide not only leisure and recreation for tourists but also improve destination infrastructure for residents, improve social development, and foster exchanges of ideas and information (Cudny, 2013). Oftentimes, the explicit aims are to attract young urban tourists to rural areas and these are considered to be effective community capacity building strategies (Crawshaw & Gkartzios, 2016). Art festivals thus present a relational or participatory model of rural development, contributing to the tourism economy while also foregrounding and even strengthening community relations (Crawshaw & Gkartzios, 2016).

Art and allied events are often initiated by the organization's and/or individuals with artistic zeal, well-established networks, and entrepreneurial capacities (Borup, 2016; Mahon & Hyyryläinen, 2019). From a population retention point of view, festival and creative industries have been seen to lure out-migrants, or former residents with a link to the community (Duxbury & Campbell, 2011). Art events also help establish a stage to help retain and reproduce localized knowledge and creative expressions (Quinn, 2006), as well as helping to expand creative networks (Anwar McHenry, 2011; Duxbury et al., 2009; Richards, 2011). Insofar as cultural tourism development is concerned, festivals can stimulate creative tourism (Richards, 2011) and innovative placemaking (Borup, 2016). Such destinations comprise complex experiential experiences that attract tourists with global predilections (Prentice & Andersen, 2003). In some cases, they also have the potential to trigger a rural community's creative energies and to attract creative lifestyle in-migrants (Woods, 2012; Zollet & Qu, 2019).

The number of art festivals worldwide has surged in recent years, dominating in the developed countries (Cudny, 2013). Pointing to the sharp increase of art festivals in urban locales, Quinn (2010) argues that this rise has not resulted in a corresponding increase in local prosperity. Such issues have followed festivals as they move to rural locales. Alongside the potential and actual benefits of these festivals, observers have pointed to negative impacts to



host communities and sites, including damage to natural environments, disruptions to daily life and local infrastructure, and conflicts between locals and tourists (Cudny, 2013). The creative outcomes in rural transformation must acknowledge the tensions between creative destruction (Mitchell, 2013; Woods, 2011) and creative enhancement that can often emerge simultaneously (Mitchell, 2013).

As distinct from festivals run in urban settings, rural art festivals and arts-based projects are highly constrained where human capital, funding, and policy support at the community level are concerned (Anwar McHenry, 2011; Higham & Ritchie, 2001), and in terms of the novelty and cutting edge nature of creative outputs (Qu, 2019). From a community revitalization and creative rurality perspective, art, and creative economy initiatives in rural contexts, generally do not align with urban-centered economic development theories (Duxbury & Campbell, 2011; Woods, 2012). The economic benefits of rural creativity may be indirect rather than direct, because of its small scale, that fewer people are involved and because the overall contribution to regional GDP is limited (Woods, 2012). Moreover, urban and rural contexts when it comes to the creative economy differ in terms of social network and interaction flows, innovation, connectivity, and creators (Duxbury & Campbell, 2011). What seems clear is that in evaluating the success and/or not so success of art festivals in rural contexts, assessments that transcend economic development are essential because the non-economic outcomes can contribute greatly to revitalization efforts (Crawshaw & Gkartzios, 2016).

Rural art festival tourism is considered potential vehicles for rural revitalization through global/urban/rural cultural exchange and human interaction, and is evidenced in the Japanese context (Cwiertka & Machotka, 2018; Klien, 2010b; Koizumi, 2016; Qu, 2019, 2020), through so-called socially engaged art festivals (Hawkins, 2013; Qu, 2019; Tagore-Erwin, 2018a) or community-engaged art festivals (Qu & Cheer, 2020). In rural Japan, which is almost universally aging and depopulated, the unifying characteristic has been an emphasis on the potential of art festival tourism to spur community revitalization (Yamashima, 2014). Also, Japanese rural art festivals tend to take the form of outdoor gallery style exhibitions within communities, often using unoccupied old houses as installation sites. Such festivals have the potential to offer a point of departure from (or even outright resistance to) the commercial, hyperglobal art market by re-situating contemporary art on unconventional, rural soil, commissioning artists to create site-specific artworks within host communities (Tagore-Erwin, 2018a). The Setouchi Triennale typifies this art festival model in the regional context, offering cultural exchanges (Nakashima, 2012, p. 86) between locals and non-locals through creative, relational, and interactive experiences.

Art festivals create spaces of flow from tourist-local interaction. The relatively dynamic urban and rural concept weakens, penetrates, and transfers the idea of local (Massey, 2004). Local community and places usually link with the concept of generating heterogeneity (Massey, 2004), which differentiates the local characteristics from urban perspectives. The corresponding concept of anti-heterogeneity was also adapted by the ST general director use to design the ST's rural intervention that differs from the urban context (Fukutake & Kitagawa, 2016). Setouchi Triennale's emphasis on community participation suggests that it can be viewed as a large-scale relational (you jump from heterogeneity to relational – the connection is not clear) art site. The rural art festival aims to promote a "culture of exchange" (Nakashima, 2012, p. 48) between locals and tourists through providing creative, relational, and interactive experiences. In the

Setouchi Triennale, art acts as a medium (Qu, 2019) for cultural exchange through interactions between tourists and residents within the festival period. Rather than just coming to the island to ‘see’ art, visitors have the chance to ‘celebrate’ with locals. Interaction between locals and tourists can be considered a “creative experience” (Richards & Wilson, 2006, p. 1221). In regards to interaction, this research combines the idea of relational aesthetics from art theory (Bourriaud, 1998) with the concept of Integrated Relational Tourism from creative tourism scholarship (Richards, 2013). This allows for a clearer focus on the three-way interaction among local people, art, and tourists, and for the creation of the new concept of Rural Art Festival Tourism (RAFT) to combine the idea of relational art site, creative/relational tourism, and urban-rural festival interaction. As a strategic approach for rural revitalization, this implies the imperative to build understanding between residents and visitors (Kondo, 2012) from different cultural backgrounds.

Within Seto Inland Sea island communities, locals point out the particular festival artworks that link to island landscapes, local histories, and collective memories (Qu, 2019), suggesting that the characteristics of individual artworks are important to communities. On the other hand, both BAS and ST organizers prioritize interactions, not artworks themselves, as the vehicle for revitalization, describing how visitors celebrate with locals rather than just coming to islands to see art (Tagore-Erwin, 2018a). Some authors writing about rural Japanese art festivals have attempted to reinforce such ambiguous links between urban-rural interactions (whether tourist interactions or participatory artist-resident activities) and community revitalization, particularly as an aspect of placemaking initiatives (Nakashima 2014, Koizumi 2016).

However, efforts to measure cultural exchange have yielded incomplete and misleading data that do little to either prove or disprove revitalization claims. For example, a report on the island of Teshima carried out during the 2013 Setouchi Triennale revealed that only 8.3 percent of festival tourists said they were interested in interacting with locals (Yamamoto, Kawahara, and Hara 2014). Yet this report failed to establish what interactions did occur, or how long and how deep such local-visitor interactions were. Even if this data were present, such an evaluation would leave unanswered the critical questions of whether and how those interactions translated to specific revitalization outcomes. Furthermore, it also shows the limitation through conduct a quantitative method to measure qualitative influences – cultural exchange.

Authors such as Klien (2010) have discussed the influence of art festivals in rural communities in terms of ‘hard’ and ‘soft’ impacts. Interaction, as one of the soft type impact defined by Klien (2010), is difficult to be examined from the tourist side. Therefore, the soft outcome of social interaction through RAFT can be evaluated from the destination community satisfaction as well as people who engage with tourism-related businesses. For a further discussion to the outcome of community-level revitalization brought by interaction, which can fit the gap of the current socially engaged issues (Borrup, 2016; Klien, 2010b), whether or not those can be considered as a key for regional revitalization is another aspect that needs further research attention.

## **2.4 Community Revitalization through Rural Art Festival Tourism**

According to Matanle (2006), the goal of rural revitalization depends on whether local craft-based society can aim at developing local industries that can achieve sustainable and stable

development by the community itself without dependence on the urban. However, for the shrinking societies that are not able to rely on their regional craft-based industries, can RAFT triggers community revitalization among themselves? Art festivals as a device for rural revitalization have proven to be effective as creative change-makers for communities in rural decline from the global scale (Cwiertka & Machotka, 2018; Klien, 2010b; Koizumi, 2016; Qu, 2019; Tagore-Erwin, 2018a) and in rural Japan (Anwar McHenry, 2011; Borrup, 2016; Dunphy, 2009; Duxbury & Campbell, 2011).

Implicit in the discourse on rural art festival studies are linkages to festival tourism, rurality, art studies, and place-making (Crawshaw & Gkartzios, 2016; Qu, 2019) and a clear distinction is drawn with the urban-based creative economies. Arts, culture, and creativity-related events are considered vital to rural community building (Duxbury & Campbell, 2011) and revitalization (Anwar McHenry, 2011; Koizumi, 2016). Furthermore, art events in rural settings are considered crucial to nurturing neighborliness and social capital building (Rota & Salone, 2014) as well as enhancing social well-being (Anwar McHenry, 2011; Jackson & Herranz Jr., 2002). Unsurprisingly, that art has the potential to build community resilience, cultural capital, and innovation for small rural communities is prosecuted, and in the process, it tends to strengthen a greater sense of belonging, sense of place and more robust local networks and cohesive civic interaction (Anwar McHenry, 2011; Derrett, 2009; Mahon & Hyyryläinen, 2019).

At the local level, the differences between top-down and bottom-up approaches in the development of RAFT and placemaking structures are often discussed. Bottom-up approaches entail cooperation and collaboration between organizers and local stakeholders, which is missing in top-down approaches (El Asmar et al., 2012). According to Klien (2010), ‘top-down’ revitalization and ‘bottom-up’ participation between local and non-local stakeholders’ participation in those festivals. However, Klien’s ‘participation’ is not equivalent to collaboration. From Klien, two significant issues situated in the top-down approach are related to the art interventions themselves, rather than to tourism: insufficient interaction exists between artists and locals, and festival organizers fail to sufficiently explain the art to locals (Klien, 2010b, p. 539). A bottom-up approach that facilitates the locals’ understanding and consensus (Koizumi, 2016) is more likely to have a positive outcome, which cannot be achieved by relying on purely top-down approaches. However, these art-related findings are limited by the use of the festival tourism focus.

Despite evidence suggesting that regional authorities and tourism organizations can play key roles in festival development (Higham & Ritchie, 2001), the recent introduction of the term ‘festivalization’ has carried both positive and negative connotations. On one hand, it suggests superficial, commercialized, and privatized events; on the other hand, it implies the stimulation of cultural economies, creative experiences, and social capital (Richards & Colombo, 2017). A common aspect of art festival research from a tourism perspective is the emphasis on excessive commercialization (Balfour et al., 2018; Richards, 2011) and top-down development by tourism authorities without respecting community concerns (Higgins-Desbiolles, 2018). These issues often fracture the relationship between festival organizers and residents (Quinn, 2006). This is especially problematic when considering that rural art events depend heavily on human capital (Anwar McHenry, 2011).

Although studies have recognized the endogenous and the exogenous way of thinking, research has yet to systematically investigate the effect of building a further discussion into a

bigger picture that considers merging the common operating methods into one relational mechanism. Therefore, the inseparable joint operation mechanism between both the top-down and bottom-up efforts should further be integrated into one neo-endogenous way of thinking for RAFT revitalization (Qu, 2020). The concept of neo-endogenous rural development (Bosworth et al., 2016; Bosworth & Atterton, 2012; Shucksmith, 2010) tries to discuss the dualization of top-down and bottom-up into one entity. The concept of neo-endogenous development in rural areas relies on bottom-up initiatives that combine external influences with local internal potentials. As a new type of integrated rural development (Shucksmith, 2010) which highly relies on the integration of the regional knowledge, resources, and collaboration roots at the community level (Bosworth et al., 2016). The “local control of the development process” (Bosworth et al., 2016, p. 427) can be considered to be the key to evaluating the neo-endogenous development outcome.

Community micro-businesses and entrepreneurs play important economic and cultural roles in counterweighing the decline from traditional primary industries (Bosworth & Atterton, 2012). A neo-endogenous way of thinking on tourism entrepreneurs also highlighted the difference between in-migrants and commuters (Bosworth & Atterton, 2012) as well as local and ‘extra-local’ factors (Bosworth et al., 2016). Especially from a sustainable community development point of view, without the opportunity that allows diverse community population to enjoy the quality of life, variety of works, essential services, social network, regional employment, income, and prosperity development as the precondition (Bosworth et al., 2016; Bosworth & Atterton, 2012). The increase of commuter-based businesses would cause consequences for excluding certain community social groups (Bosworth & Atterton, 2012). Therefore, in this research context, the consideration of research focus must consider the co-existence among community, art, and festival tourism developments. Instead of aiming at all island micro-businesses, more specific attention should be paid to the small-scale tourism-related businesses to discuss the revitalization outcome for RAFT.

Next, I will move a step forward from top-down/bottom-up thinking. Another way of evaluating revitalization is through comparing the results from the outcomes at the community level. Mitchell’s (2013) suggestion for creative making by turning a few selected rural areas into new entertainment consumption spaces is not the only method for rural placemaking in a mass replication way. Figure 1.3 demonstrates how an exogenous single method has been mass replicated in a short period for rural Japan. This type of creative destruction cannot be applied to all rural societies as the only effective mean (Mitchell, 2013). Further, researches should put more attention on the non-metropolitan type of creative enhancement to shift destination from production unit based to multi-functional responses to both endogenous and exogenous influences (Mitchell, 2013). If the demand for tourism leisure is high, both creative enhancement and destruction would occur or shift over time; if the demand from tourism is low, then the rural place would shift strategy to sustain community livelihood and drive more on the creative enhancement path (Mitchell, 2013). In other words, with regards to a local culture’s “re-articulation” through art (Borup, 2016, p. 19), demonstrations and performances must respect destination image and culture or risk turning the community into an artistic “theme park” for tourism (Qu, 2019, p. 34).

How to effectively measure revitalization through a relational way of thinking among art, tourism, and community outcome at the local level is a critical issue. The PPP structure in

Setouchi Triennale is considered successful, but dissatisfaction among certain local groups highlights ongoing challenges (Kanaya, 2014). By considering the community as a whole, there are differences in perception among residents (Besculides et al., 2002), with some residents benefiting from the cultural exchange with tourists while others do not. Consequently, evaluating what denotes a successful ‘cultural exchange’ is one of the challenges for regional revitalization.

For answering the question of how does the Setouchi Triennale influence local communities and does it contribute to the bottom-up cultural, social, and economic development of local communities. Without examining the effectiveness of ST as a vehicle for rural revitalization, local communities are likely to be the most vulnerable stakeholders in processes of development that may be unsustainable in ways not previously understood. As Klien (2010) has observed, in the emerging rural art festivals in Japan, it is not simply art tourism but contemporary art itself that presents a possible medium for regional revitalization. No matter whether the revitalization power starts from site-specific art or through festival tourism, however, community revitalization requires solid evidence to show its outcome. Duxbury and Campbell (2011) provide two possible focuses for art in community development: one is a cultural development and the other is economic development. This research will emphasize ST’s socio-cultural development through a neo-endogenous perspective, examining both positive cultural tourism influences as well as conflicts. This research also employs Klien’s framework for bottom-up initiatives, where ‘soft’ influences focus on interaction and exchange between communities and tourists, while ‘hard’ influences include new or improved businesses, new creative activities or initiatives, and changes to physical infrastructure (2010b). Until now, efforts to identify social outcomes in Setouchi have been lacking. While valuable contributions to the literature on the Setouchi Triennale have been made in the fields of art history and criticism (Favell, 2016; Suwa, 2020; Tagore-Erwin, 2018a), evaluation of the Setouchi Triennale’s community revitalization outcomes requires a social science approach with interdisciplinary perspectives.

To better establish the presence of conditions for long-term community viability, the author turned to more tangible benchmarks. Duxbury and Campbell (2011) have suggested evaluating the success of art-and-culture-related development by the presence of a ‘creative class’ -as- ‘residents-with-businesses’ pattern. Whether communities in the art festival attract newcomers who start small businesses, thus creating a bottom-up response to the top-down festival structure, would be a significant and lasting outcome. Therefore, this study makes a further focus on research of both community and STBs through examining the community outcome from art-tourist-community interaction.

## **2.5 Current Research Gaps**

Current research gaps can be identified through previous literature that mainly reflects on the art, tourism, and community three research fields.

### **2.5.1 Difference between ‘society from an artistic perspective’ and ‘art intervention in actual society’**

The generalizability of most published art research related with art intervention in rural is problematic, especially from the social science side. Art studies often present the perspective

from the art side outcome without fully considering the social practice impact on the location or lack data from a community level to support their notions. Those art critics insist that art, however socially engaged, must stand on its aesthetic merits and not be judged based on “demonstrable outcomes” (Bishop, 2012, p. 7). Bishop suggests that artists working on relational or socially engaged projects do not necessarily need to act in ways that benefit the community to create successful art. Those findings are useful for building new art theories but less critical on its social practice outcome (see for examples Bishop, 2012; Favell, 2016; Suwa, 2020). Often they fully emphasize the artistry of aesthetic value rather than considering it to be social artistry, which is community-engaged issues in this case (see for examples Bishop, 2012; Suwa, 2020).

A typical example is to consider the RAFT standpoint as artists (Favell, 2016), tourists (Suwa, 2020) or the art market (Tagore-Erwin, 2018a) without other social aspects such as community stakeholders. Even art island locals already point out what they think about outside art as a Japanese fashion trend through entertaining consumerism for attracting urban youth who do not understand art (Qu, 2019). However, art historians still focus on how amazing it is that this art can bring sensory experiences and the creation of new social forms for tourist experiences. Such counterevidence has already been found on Teshima, indicated by cultural conflicts by distortion of understanding with art:

*Locals have their own interpretation of the Setouchi Triennale art – compared by some to a ‘theme park’ – and their own understanding of what constitutes ‘art’ – mainly the natural and cultural landscapes of their communities. (Qu, 2019, p. 19).*

Another similar issue to reflect on is the understanding of the landscape in rural tourism being different from art. Interpretations of the local landscape can be different depending on tourists as an outsider and local as an insider (Daugstad, 2008). Tourists escape from the noisy urban and experience a different pastoral landscape (Daugstad, 2008) through art in rural locations. Therefore, further research should not only just zoom out art into art’s sociological transformation but should also establish that a mutual understanding of art from objective perspectives is necessary to avoid neither cultural colonization from an art tourist’s perspective nor island culture-centralism interpretation from a declining society. Therefore, the art’s social transformation through tourism’s impact, influence, and interaction is beyond the capability of art.

Although there are many studies in the literature on the outcome of art, most are restricted to art historians and aesthetical perspectives. However, in forming the research question presented here, this research argues that an art festival premised on its ability to revitalize communities must be evaluated by its both aesthetic value as well as its sociocultural outcomes. Such an evaluation requires a social science approach. Within this research, the key consideration for evaluating the impact of RAFT is that a balance between the local community and external influences is indispensable (Duxbury & Campbell, 2011). However, previous attempts to evaluate such impacts have been problematic, insofar as they often omit the perspective of the community. Therefore, art on rural islands, as a new phenomenon that covers both art and society, more often connects with many other issues such as culture transformation,

tourism, immigration, and community place-making and their current social challenges (Qu, 2019).

### 2.5.2 RAFT research without considering art, nor festival tourism-related issues with impact and interaction

The previous section discussed the gap caused by research in different studies between art and its social intervention and impact. Art is also the fundamental attraction of art tourism and the trigger to accelerate rural revitalization. Further research gaps can be found in tourism research in art festival destinations, in that such research does not focus on art (Funck & Chang, 2018; Kanaya, 2014; Nakashima, 2012, 2014) or it examines community revitalization outcomes by focusing only on local perception, disregarding tourism or art aspects (Kanaya, 2014). Except for studies focusing on newcomer tourism businesses (Funck & Chang, 2018), creative class tourists (Funck & Chang, 2018; Yamamoto et al., 2014), art volunteers (Funck & Chang, 2018; Nakashima, 2012), and ecotourism (Masaoka, 2019), there remains a lack of focus on the specific issues caused by art intervention at the community level as well as the impacts of art festival tourism. There is a lack of efforts to systematically examine and analyze the varying approaches and effects that impact and determine the effectiveness of community level outcomes.

As mentioned above, the specific impacts brought by the RAFT and the emerging STBs remain largely under the festival tourism impact and creative community place-making context instead of generalized tourism discussion. Especially there is a lack of in-depth study to compare the positive tourism influences and negative impacts among multiple island communities. Although the negative impacts by organizational structure were reflected from the top-down self-righteous manners, it has been considered as a challenge on the PPP festival organizational model (Kanaya, 2014). Moreover, Nakashima's interview data from ST 2010 demonstrate there is a difference among four ST hosting islands, but there is no further discussion on the specific differences; instead, the comprehensive findings are summarized by putting together all islands. Therefore, there is a lack of specific analysis through fieldwork data by comparing the partnership outcome on local levels among different islands.

It has been noticed that the key festival tourism feature of ST is trying to promote cultural exchange and social interaction that connects urban youth with the local elderly. There are different interpretations of the word 'interaction' concerning differences in how artworks and visitors interact and how art practice interacts with local/regional society. This social scale of interaction differs from the point of view of how artwork interacts with its surrounding environment (Suwa, 2020) as a representation technique or human-machine interactivity from digital art (Qu, 2017). Relational art and event philosophy breaks the limitation of the materialized art world relationship into social relations (Qu, 2019) that differ from traditional thinking like Suwa's consideration of art on the island as "work" and "objects" (Suwa, 2020, p. 235). Creative geographies theory posits disengaged artistic perspectives as unsuitable evaluation points for art as an aesthetic object and, instead, emphasizes social relations as a key (Hawkins, 2015, p. 244). Further, research already proved that locals have their way to define what is the boundary between outsider's art and their art with nature, and it did find evidence of conflict with Suwa's "territoriality of the art space" (2020, p. 242) on the islands caused by art intervention or cultural colonization (Qu, 2019). The notion that the island's artworks

undergo deterritorialization themselves into local ways of life (Suwa, 2020) needs a deeper understanding of the tourism impact on the community along with fieldwork data support. Additionally, as cultural barometers as well as windows of interaction between community members and tourists, the community STB plays an important ambassador role in the revitalization of the island (Qu, 2019). This also requires further study and discussion.

### 2.5.3 Community revitalization lacks geographical and interdisciplinary focus

Most of the existing body of research on the Setouchi Triennale is composed of domestic studies, which tend to focus on mainly art and community revitalization (Hara, 2012; Kanaya, 2014; Nakashima, 2012). Articles in Japanese often refer only to a small number of other Japanese publications with conclusions that mirror official reports (Hara, 2012). In the Seto Inland Sea region, many case studies only focus on one island, rather than on multiple ST islands (Kodama, 2015; Takeda et al., 2011; Yamashima, 2014). There is a lack of evidence from fieldwork data (Favell, 2016; Kondo, 2012; Nakashima, 2014), or only secondary data are used to evaluate ST's influences (Ihara, 2007; Kanaya, 2014). Finally, some works only focus on visitors rather than on locals (Yamamoto et al., 2014). Interdisciplinary research that includes contemporary art intervention, art festival tourism, island community revitalization, and sustainability has not previously been undertaken. Furthermore, the case of the Setouchi Triennale has also not been examined from a neo-endogenous perspective.

Problems found in English-language publications include the fact that the evaluation methods are limited to art theory and art history (Favell, 2016). Others only focus on the relationship between artworks and locals through two artwork-related case studies without systematically focusing on art's community influences and local people's perception of art in wider contexts (Klien, 2010a). These issues limit the effective examination of the real impacts of art interventions at the community level. None of those studies have brought clarity to the question of whether ST is a genuinely community-focused artistic event or simply a commercial venture driven by external interests. Despite this lack of clarity, ST grows every three years, incorporating new islands and expanding on existing ones. Municipal governments and hundreds of local businesses and organizations now base long-term decision-making on the expectation of an indefinite festival tourism cycle. Therefore, research that not only combines English- and Japanese-language works and primary and secondary data, but that also examines the effectiveness of revitalization as evidenced through the opinions of local stakeholders, is urgently needed.

From previous Japanese literature, a three evaluation axis suggested by Hara (2012) for evaluating art revitalization on ST islands was mentioned. It includes 1) evaluation as exhibition artworks; 2) evaluation as a community development project; 3) economic evaluation of tourism business. However, the literature review from this study already suggested considering the whole region and island as one relational art festival site. Therefore, the focus limited only on the artwork is insufficient. Furthermore, ST is not just a community development project, but a neo-endogenous development integrated under the art festival tourism development halo. In last, Duxbury and Campbell already suggested evaluating the success of creative residents-with-businesses would help to examine the outcome that reflects the cultural exchange through "growing cultural sharing practices" (2011, p. 114), which are the small scale tourism businesses under ST in this case. Although Hara's future research focus and the suggestion has



a lack of relational understanding. However, his suggestion is the only research that mentioned all those fields.

Qu (2019, 2020) suggested that research for a socially-engaged type of rural art festival should not only limit its focus on art on the island but the social impact and outcomes from the whole festival as well as island community as a relational outcome for the island. Therefore, a wider relational way of thinking that considers the changing of the island community, nature, landscape, artworks, festival tourism, and social interaction among art-tourist-community all into one big relational creative geographical framework. To further the topic of art island revitalization, the opinion from island long-term residents as well as newcomers, which termed lifestyle or creative class in-migrants entrepreneur (Zollet & Qu, 2019) became prerequisite barometers for those declining islands to have a sustainable future. Those in-migrant represent new residents with businesses pattern on the island (Qu, 2020; Qu et al., 2020). Base on three research questions, this research tries to provide further fieldwork evidence to points out the RAFT's role of 'on/for/revitalizes' island communities.

## **Chapter 3 Methodological Framework**

### **3.1 Relational Theories Matches Relational Framework**

Rural art festival tourism research relies on interdisciplinary research, as different research topics can be found under the same theme that cover art festival rural revitalization (Klien, 2010b; Qu, 2019), art community creative place-making (Ransdell, 2013; Rota & Salone, 2014), creative tourism research practice (Duxbury et al., 2019), festival tourism development (Mair, 2018; Quinn, 2006), rural-urban linkage (Qu, 2019; Vodden et al., 2015), local-global interaction (Tagore-Erwin, 2018a; Wong, 2006), and in-migrant entrepreneurship (Akgün et al., 2011; Kalantaridis & Bika, 2006). Therefore, a conceptual framework for this research cannot be limited to a single field of study but needs to reveal the interactive relationship between different topics. The terms ‘relational framework’ (Dicken et al., 2001) and ‘interactional framework’ for rural arts-based development (Balfour et al., 2018) includes social actors such as individuals, households, companies, industries, national states, and many other types of organization that can represent spaces of network relations in the global context (Dicken et al., 2001). For this study, a relational framework reveals the rural-urban linkages between shrinking island community members, art island visitors, organizers, tourism businesses, and other industries as well as their spaces of network relations, social interaction, and cultural exchanges.

In fine art studies, relational art (Bourriaud, 1998), rural art tourism, and art festivals evolve the art practices into social level interaction in rural context (Crawshaw & Gkartzios, 2016; Qu, 2020). Under this circumstance, both art and geography studies not only provide a co-critical criterion for each other, but also a framework that ascent beyond both visions (Hawkins, 2015). Therefore, the regional community is no longer considered as an isolated entity but an interactive site, or so-called Relational Art Site (Qu, 2020).

From creative tourism theory, it creates an opportunity to build local communities into creative destinations (Duxbury et al., 2019). Also, from an art festival tourism perspective, a relational network that combines local community, urban tourists, government, and external resources co-form the public-private partnership of the festival (Qu, 2019). Creative tourism is the relational process of co-creation between tourists and locals (Duxbury & Richards, 2019b; Richards & Wilson, 2006) to shape a networked community (Richards, 2013).

The art event, very often present through the art festival form in a rural community requires an interactional framework for further discussion on their role in local network building (Balfour et al., 2018). Therefore, this network is not limited to the outcomes from tourist-resident interaction, but also includes the community level interaction (Kalantaridis & Bika, 2006). As the consequence of interaction, art events can also attract in-migrant through both creative class (Funck & Chang, 2018) and entrepreneurial practices to shape a relational network (Balfour et al., 2018).

The relational art site, relational tourism, and festival-community networks bring interactive flows that connect urban-rural-global, which makes space as the result of active human-human and human-space processes from relational geography theory (Massey, 2005). The identities are formed through relations (Massey, 2004). In this research, the rural community is a dynamic complex spatial flow between urban-rural interaction and exchange, rather than an isolated entity. Under the globalization era, relational geography underlines the role of fast-changing spatial-time as a result of a relational human process (Massey, 2005). From the evolution of

Nonendogenous in rural as well, the local and extra-local factors are equally important (Bosworth & Atterton, 2012). As discussed in the last chapter, the ST promotes urban-rural population exchange flow through art festival tourism form. The linkage dynamic attributes of the relational population between urban tourists and rural resident’s interaction flow play a key role when considering the ST as a relational framework. ST is a very complicated socially engaged art practice through rural festival tourism form and aims at the goal of island revitalization on a big scale (Qu, 2019). It is common to find a case study that overweight the research perspective dominated by tourism (Funck et al., 2013), more shift on the art side (Favell, 2016; Tagore-Erwin, 2018a), or only focus on community aspects (Nakashima, 2012). Therefore, a relatively macro and multi-factorial relational framework is necessary to raise this topic to a deeper discussion to reveal the role of big-scale rural art festival’s operating mechanism on community revitalization. Therefore, the ‘relationalness’ way of thinking helps to connect different research fields and thinking directions to become a big framework.

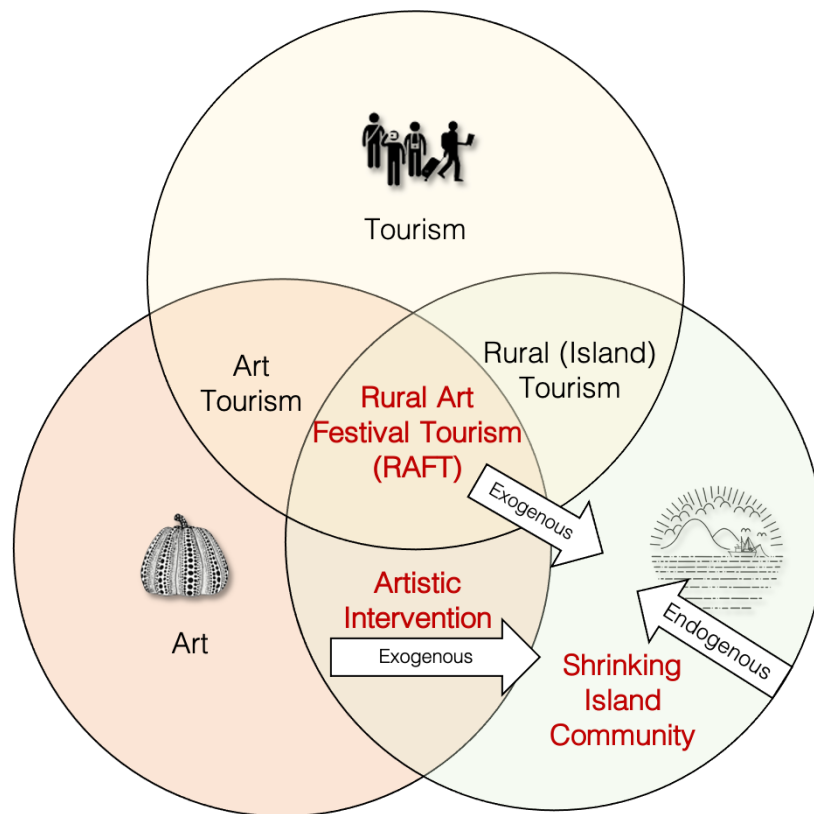


Figure 3.1 Research conceptual framework for Setouchi Triennale, Author’s illustration

The relational conceptual framework used in this study (Figure 3.1) relates to art, tourism, and rural island community revitalization and identifies three overlapping areas: art tourism, artistic intervention, and island tourism. RAFT plays a role in bringing new social capital as an attraction to the local community. Through the art place-making process, art changes the destination into an art island (artistic community) by creating conflicts, adaptation, and resilience through social interaction and knowledge exchange. It also provides new opportunities for visitors to rediscover the attraction and value of the island. This framework also helps position the relationships between exogenous art interventions and endogenous

activities by the local community. This chapter focuses on local tourism stakeholders and local communities, so the core of the study is located in the ‘island community revitalization’ circle. Three core focuses that are marked in red also matches with three parts of ‘RAFT on/for/revitalizes island’ for this study. The part of ‘RAFT on the island’ covers the studies between artistic intervention and rural art festival tourism under exogenous development. The part of ‘RAFT for the island’ demonstrates the island community revitalization under the endogenous effort and response. Finally, the overall picture of ‘RAFT revitalizes the island’ integrates all perspectives in one. Therefore, this study will focus on art, tourism, and art tourism that are not directly linked with the community focus. Additionally, the discussion of RAFT also including a rural island tourism perspective for non-tourism islands (except Shodoshima) in this study. Therefore, to closely answer the research questions, rural island tourism will also not be considered as the key research focus within this case.

Therefore, with the whole island as one big relational art’s social practice (Qu, 2019) and from a creative geographical perspective (Hawkins, 2015), this research partly adapts Hara’s basic concept that focuses on art, tourism, and community to build a detailed conceptual framework with the detail focuses into a completely new relational vision:

- 1) Relational Art Site (orange and overlapping color area)
- 2) Relational Rural Art Festival Tourism (yellow and overlapping color area)
- 3) Relational Rural Community Revitalization (green and overlapping color area)

This research assumes the rural art festival revitalization would cause different outcomes based on different rurality and community factors. Like Mitchell pointed out, in some cases, it will become creative enhancement but some might shift to creative destruction when the case is highly related to creativity and innovation in rural (2013). Just examine one island destination is not enough to demonstrate the gap of success of community revitalization. Therefore, this research selected six case study islands with geographical differences, which will be discussed in Chapter 4.

## **3.2 Mixed Research Methods Design**

### **3.2.1 Mixed methods research design**

This research was conducted in 4 years through four major stages. With a temporal sequence, the author conducted fieldwork on 1) Shodoshima in December 2016; 2) Teshima and Inujima between December 2017 to April 2018; 3) Ogijima and Megijima in December 2018; and 4) Naoshima between June and August 2019. The author sought to understand the influence of the Setouchi Triennale on local business as well as participating community development. Following both convergent (Chapter 5, 6, 8, 9) and explanatory sequential (Chapter 7) mixed-method design (Creswell & Clark, 2017), qualitative and quantitative data were collected simultaneously during field visits to six islands during non-Triennale periods between December 2016 and August 2019. Questionnaires were distributed to small scale community or tourist-facing businesses (STBs) (n=214) and 66 semi-structured and 11 unstructured interviews were conducted with selected questionnaire respondents by geographical location as well as the type of businesses, reflecting a grounded theory approach to tourism studies (Hall, 2010). This fieldwork took place during non-festival periods when small business respondents had the time and inclination to participate. This arrangement also allowed the author to observe

how many businesses were closed during off periods, compared to during the festival season. Secondary data were also collected from national government statistics, festival reports, local publications, and scientific literature. By connecting the data with the research framework of art, tourism, community, this convergent mixed method evaluated art influence and community outcomes through artwork analysis as well as by interviewing festival and community stakeholders.

### 3.2.2 Quantitative methods

For the questionnaire, the STB respondents included obvious tourist amenities like bicycle rental shops and guesthouses, and other businesses, such as grocery stores and gas stations, that were likely to be frequented by locals as well as tourists. As distinctions among such STB categories are often fluid in small island communities, very often presented as a mixed business under the management with the same ownership. Some of STB's business periods and targeting customers will change by time as well as geographic location. Respondents included both business owners, managers, and members of staff. Staff members often consulted with business owners or managers by phone when completing business-related portions of the questionnaire. Respondents provided their biographical information (including residential classification), information related to the origins of their businesses and their customer base, as well as their opinions about the changes and opportunities brought by the festival.

During fieldwork, the author identified four major types of residents among respondents. The 'local' category describes people who have lived on the island for more than ten years; 'I-turner' describes in-migrants who moved from cities to the island less than ten years prior; and 'U-turner' describes people who grew up on the island, left (typically to move to the city), and then returned less than ten years before December 2017. This paper categorizes people who work on the island but live elsewhere as 'commuters'. Concepts of I-turn and U-turn in-migrants are based on prior research by Obikwelu, Ikegami, and Tsuruta (2017) and Matanle (2006).

Due to the fieldwork that not all STB was open during the non-festival periods, such as in winter or other off-season periods for island tourism. However, this study aims at those periods based on less busy respondents who also have more time for accepting the survey. The questionnaire was completed by 80 to 100 percent of STB that was open during the survey periods on each island. The questionnaire covers a range of questions that related to reasons for opening their business and changes through themselves as well as their business with multiple answers, both ST positive influences and negative impacts on the local community through Likert scale, as well as the bottom-up outcome through multiple answers.

From Table 3.1, as a typical tourism island, Shodoshima shows its capacity for holding the number of STB. For understanding other islands better, this research starts with Shodoshima as a preliminary study in Chapter 5 as well as separate from the Shodoshima from Chapter 7 for the discussion on tourism impact. However, to have an overview of the revitalization outcome by all six studied islands, this study takes Shodoshima data back into the comparison in Chapter 9.

Table 3.1 Overview of STB respondents (n=214), Author's calculation

Respondent characteristic	Value	Frequency (n=214)	Percentage
Residential classification	Local long-term residents (10 years or more)	103	48.1
	In-migrant (I-turn)	66	30.8
	Return migrant (U-turn)	20	9.4
	Commuter (Living off-island)	25	11.7
	No response	0	0.0
Location of the respondent by island	Naoshima	36	16.8
	Inujima	15	6.5
	Teshima	49	22.9
	Shodoshima	86	40.3
	Megijima	15	7.0
	Ogijima	14	6.5
	No response	0	0.0
Type of business	Souvenir shop	17	7.9
	Restaurant/Café	52	24.3
	Daily shop	20	9.3
	Tourism Facilities	21	9.8
	Accommodation facilities	29	13.6
	Transportation	7	3.3
	Mixed business	68	31.8
	No response	0	0.0

The questionnaire covers a range of questions that related to the reason people opened their business and changes through themselves as well as their business with multiple answers, both ST positive influences and negative impacts on the local community through Likert scale.

### 3.2.3 Qualitative methods

Through exploratory type Grounded Theory (Charmaz, 1996) method, overall 60 semi-structured, 23 un-structured, and 3 group interviews with 9 people were conducted with small business owners and a handful of other island stakeholders (see Table 3.2). Interview respondents were selected using purposive sampling (Creswell & Clark, 2017) to target four groups of community members on all islands (Krippendorf, 1987) and STBs. Community members which including 1) residents who interact with tourist and depend on it, such as community STB and local tourism associations; 2) local business does not engage with tourism who tend to consider tourism from a commercial perspective, such as non-tourism related industry and NPOs; 3) locals who partly rely on tourism like people who live within tourism area and more likely to interact with tourist, those people might not only get benefits from tourism development but also more critical about the short come; 4) residents who rarely interact with tourist or engage with tourism. The latter two groups are both identified within the community residents and retired residents. However, this research also identifies the new type of commuters, trans-migrants, and mobile food vehicles who runs STB on the islands that hard

to classified as a community member but closer to STB. Therefore, this study taking care of both community members as well as small tourism businesses on the island.

Table 3.2 Overview of interview respondents, Author's calculation

Respondent characteristic	Location/Island	Type of interview	Number of respondents
ST officials (n=14)	the general director of ST, AFG	**	1
	STEC official public spokesperson	*	1
	Benesse Art Site Naoshima official public spokesperson	*	1
	Benesse Art Site Inujima manager	*	1
	Benesse Art Site Stuff	**	2
	NPO Koebi manager and core stuff	*	3
	NPO Koebi core stuff	***	5
Shodoshima (n=19)	Local tourism association	***	2
	STB	**	8
	NPOs	*	3
	Non-tourism related industry	****	1
	Retired residents	**	5
Teshima (n=20)	STB	*	11
	Non-tourism related industry	*	2
	Retired residents	****	1
	Retired residents	*	3
Inujima (n=8)	STB	**	3
	Non-tourism related industry	*	1
	Retired residents	*	3
	Retired residents	**	1
Ogijima (n=10)	STB	*	5
	STB	**	1
	Non-tourism related industry	*	1
	Non-tourism related industry	***	2
Megijima (n=4)	Residents' association leader	*	1
	STB	*	4
Naoshima (n=18)	Local tourism association	*	2
	STB	*	8
	Non-tourism related industry	*	7
	Retired residents	**	1

\* Semi-structured interview

\*\* Un-structured interview

\*\*\* Group semi-structured interview

\*\*\*\* Respondents who have working and living experiences on more than one island

The interview questions covered topics related to respondents' understanding of Setouchi Triennale and its art revitalization; changes within the community before and after each art festival; positive influences and negative impact on the quality of life from both art and tourism perspectives; understanding and knowledge with art; if art is considered to be local-culturally rooted; the relationship and interaction with tourist and artist; if the ST facilitates any community changes such as increasing STB and newcomers.

Besides questionnaire and interview surveys, the author also conducted approximately 55 days of naturalistic observation as a visitor and 10 days of participant observation as a festival Koebi volunteer before, during, and after the art festival periods. Much more detailed research methods will also be discussed within each follow-up chapter based on the specific research topic as well as to adapt the suitable data set.

### **3.3 Data Distribution by Chapter**

Table 3.3 explains how data was distributed by each research topic. Under the 'RAFT on the island' part of this thesis, Chapter 5 lays the foundation for creating much more detailed fieldwork questions to separate two precise focuses on the discussion with art in Chapter 6 and festival tourism in Chapter 7. According to the research conceptual framework (Figure 3.1), in Chapter 6, art, as the core of the art festival tourism in rural, plays the fundamental role of tracing the art impact on community cultural intervention. Chapter 7 keeps discovering the non-art related impact, which shifts most of the focus on rural tourism and festival tourism-related influence, interaction, and impact. Unlike Chapter 5 which aims at a relatively big-scale tourism island, Chapter 7 mainly focuses on the smaller shrinking islands that had no tourism related development before RAFT arrived. For RAFT, art and tourism affect the body and soul differently to impact the community in different ways.

A further evaluation of the community side is highly necessary to complete the other half of the research. In Chapter 8, after the author examined two similar island communities with diametrically opposite outcomes of community revitalization, the finding from both ST official and community level implies the key role of island STBs. The STB included both residents such as local long-term residents and I/U-turners, as well as commuters who do not live on the island. Therefore, Chapter 9 aims to evaluate STBs' role in community revitalization, a systematic examination of all STBs among all six islands leads this research to the conclusion of 'RAFT for the island'.



Table 3.3 Data distribution by Chapter, Author's data

Chapter		5	6	7	8	9	
<b>Research Topic and Main Focus</b>		General impacts (Preliminary)	Art & cultural impacts	Festival tourism impacts	Community outcomes	STB outcomes	
<b>Conceptual Framework</b>		RAFT impact on a big tourism island	Art Intervention	RAFT impact on The small shrinking islands	Community Revitalization		
<b>Structure of the Thesis</b>		RAFT on the island			RAFT for the island		
<b>Case Study Islands</b>		Shodoshima	Teshima, Inujima	Teshima, Inujima, Ogjijima, Megijima, Naoshima	Ogjijima, Megijima	All	
<b>Research Methods</b>							
<b>Quantitative Data</b>	<b>Questionnaire with STB</b>	Basic Information **Q1-9	*Q7	**Q1-3	**Q1-6	**Q1-6	**Q3, 9
	*Appendix A-1 (Shodoshima)	Top-down impacts *Q10, 11	*Q10, 11	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
	**Appendix A-2 (The rest islands)	Bottom-up changes *Q12 **Q11 (same question)	*Q12				Compare *Q12 with **Q11
		ST impacts **Q10	n/a	**Q10.1-10.4 (art)	**Q10.1-10.11		
<b>Qualitative Data</b>	<b>Interview with community residents and STB</b>	Basic Information Q1					√ (STB only)
	Appendix A-3	ST revitalization Q2-7	√ (Shodoshima)	√ (Teshima, Inujima)		√ (Megijima, Ogjijima)	
		Residents and Art Q8-11	√ (Shodoshima)	√ (Teshima, Inujima)			
		Residents and tourists Q12-18	√		√		
		Community in-migrants Q19-20				√ (Ogjijima)	√ (STB number by island)
		Unstructured	√	√	√	√	
<b>Qualitative Data</b>	<b>Interview with STEC officials</b>	Basic Information Q1-5					√
	Appendix A-4	ST Revitalization Q6-13				√ (Koebi)	√ (All STEC)
		Art Planning Q14-16					√
		Tourism Planning Q17-19					√
		Resident-tourist interaction Q20-23					√
		Community in-migrants Q24-26				√	
	<b>Fieldworks and field observation</b>	Shodoshima: *Apr. 2016, Dec. 2016, *Oct. 2016, Dec. 2017, *May. 2019, *Oct. 2019 Teshima: *Apr. 2016, *Oct. 2016, **Jun. 2017, Dec. 2017, Apr. 2018, *May. 2019, *Oct. 2019 Inujima: *Oct. 2016, Apr. 2018, *May. 2019, *Oct. 2019 Ogjijima: **Aug. 2016, *Oct. 2016, Dec. 2018, *May. 2019, Aug. 2019 Megijima: **Aug. 2016, Dec. 2018, *May. 2019 Naoshima: *Apr. 2016, *May. 2019, Jun. 2019, Aug. 2019, *Oct. 2019, **Mar. 2020 STEC: Koebi (May. 2017, Dec. 2018, Takamatsu) and Pref. Government (Dec. 2018, Takamatsu), AFG (May. 2019, Megijima), BAS (Apr. 2018 Inujima, Jun. 2019 Naoshima)					

### **3.4 Mix-method Data Analysis**

#### **3.4.1 Quantitative analysis**

The secondary data used for this study, such as population from the national census and municipal resident registration data, have been re-organized through Microsoft Excel. All maps from this research were done by QGIS software. Before the data was used, all written information collected during the survey was carefully examined by assistants that made sure the non-response papers were minimal before collecting. All questionnaire data were organized and coded through Microsoft Excel documents. The descriptive statistics information is mainly done by Excel sheets before generating charts and tables.

The bivariate data were selected and processed in IBM SPSS version 23.0 to examine the relationship between two variables. Four major statistical techniques are used for this research. The statistical results are described by using Cross Tabulation through Chi-Square statistics ( $\chi^2$ ) and Multiple Response Analysis for multiple answers. Exploratory Factor Analysis (EFA) and Two-step Cluster Analysis in Chapter 7 and One-way ANOVA for Likert Scale answers. One-way ANOVA techniques were applied to compare the variability of response based on the means value calculated for both dependent and independent variables. EFA and Cluster Analysis examined the hidden structure of a large set of variables that were used to classify the potential relationships between measured variables.

#### **3.4.2 Qualitative analysis**

Each interview lasted an average of 40 to 60 minutes mainly in Japanese, a few in English, and one in Chinese. All non-English language interviews were translated by a native speaker to English before being processed for use within this study. According to the Grounded Theory (Charmaz, 1996) and Constant Comparative Analysis for Grounded Theory (Chun Tie et al., 2019) for coding and category development during each island fieldworks. For most of the chapters, the Open, Axial, and Selective coding techniques were employed to sort information from the interviewees and classify their opinions. The open coding processes transcribed all interview content into the Microsoft Excel sheets. The Axial coding by each pre-made questions by comparing it with each respondent and islands. The Selective coding by island, by Krippendorff's four groups of community members (1987), and by other attributes (STB member such as commuters who do not live on the island) of the interviewee. For Chapter 7, this part of the study is based on a pre-designed sample from Chapter 5 Shodoshima, therefore, a framework analysis (Srivastava & Thomson, 2009) was considered as a much suitable method for this session. Due to the privacy-related issue, the unstructured interviews were all written on fieldnotes. The same goes for the participant observation field notes.

#### **3.4.3 Mixed methods analysis**

Instead of presenting the results by each method, some chapters display the data through mixed methods directly. According to the convergent mixed method design (Creswell & Clark, 2017), this Chapter 5, 6, 8, and 9 applied quantitatively and qualitative research at the same time also emphasis equally for evaluating different focus of the tourism and community stakeholders. Chapter 7 conducts an explanatory sequential mixed method design (Creswell & Clark, 2017) through analyzing different stakeholders by following the 1) quantitative, 2) qualitative with

secondary data orders. To make those two types of results integrate and supplement the finding. Different following chapters applied the different ways of integrating and presenting the data based on each research topic and discussion.

### **3.5 Ethical Considerations**

For maintaining the respondents' privacy, the author as well as the author's assistants obtained the approval of the Hiroshima University Research Ethics Committee before conducting fieldwork. This research abides by the three principles that guide research ethics for the protection of human rights:

1) Informed consent: by providing respondents with an explanation of the research topic and purpose and on the measures that will be taken to protect the participants' privacy. The Hiroshima University and author's, as well as the author's supervisor's contact information, have provided for follow up questions and inquires.

2) Privacy and anonymity: all the individuals taking part in the research will be guaranteed privacy and anonymity. No information will be revealed that can be traced back to a specific individual. Therefore, all respondents were anonymized within this research.

3) Confidentiality: all the information provided to the researcher is already treated confidentially. All survey contexts that cover respondents' personal information for this study were recorded with the interviewees' permission. The information used for this research will never share with anyone else and stored in a safe place.

### **3.6 Limitations of the Research**

The limitation of the research by each research topic is also mentioned in each chapter. The general limitation including three major issues that are related to the availability of respondents, geographical-time distribution, and only socio-cultural focus. The availability of island community respondents cannot include more elderly respondents with more than 75 years old due to their healthy and mental condition, which holds the large population group on those islands.

Limitation relates to geographical-time distribution was primarily related to the size of the festival and a large number of businesses, which forced the author to divide fieldwork over four years and two festival periods (ST 2016 and 2019). Quantitative data also did not include businesses that were only open during peak periods. The data were bolstered with additional field observations during peak and non-peak periods, particularly on Naoshima, but it was ultimately impossible to produce exactly comparable datasets.

Finally, this study focused on socio-cultural impacts from the perspective of participants; additional research on the economic and environmental impacts of the Setouchi Triennale is needed to provide a more holistic accounting of the festival's sustainability.

## Chapter 4 Case Studies and Secondary Data

### 4.1 Background of Setouchi Triennale and Major Partnership

ST is co-directed by two key figures: the well-known curator Fram Kitagawa from Art Front Gallery and billionaire philanthropist Soichiro Fukutake. Kitagawa has organized several art festivals in rural Japan that focus on site-specific artworks, such as the Echigo-Tsumari Art Triennale (ETAT), the Japan Alps Art Festival, and the Oku-Noto Triennale. In both ETAT and ST, Art Front Gallery co-organizes and cooperates with the Fukutake Foundation and its corporate partner Benesse Holdings, entities with a history of art-related development projects on Naoshima, Teshima, Inujima, and other islands to turn them into a new type of art destination.

Artworks in ST include outdoor sculptural installations as well as old residential buildings and other structures that have been repurposed as ‘art houses’. Some artworks are permanent, while others change over successive festival cycles. Permanent artworks are typically commissioned privately by the Fukutake Foundation, whereas festival artworks are at least in part selected from proposals submitted through an open call issued by festival organizers each cycle (Setouchi Triennale Executive Committee, n.d.). Artists typically spend anywhere from a few days to a few weeks on-site, with highly varying levels of community engagement and participation (Kanaya, 2014). In some cases, volunteers and community members assist in creating the artwork. During ST, permanent museums operated by the Fukutake Foundation that predate the festival, such as Teshima Art Museum and Inujima Seirenscho Art Museum, also become part of the ST attractions.

By Kitagawa’s account, the expected role of community-focused, site-specific art in the festival context centers on themes of ‘discovery, learning, cultural exchange, and collaboration’ (Kitagawa, 2014). Drawing from his earlier experiences organizing the Echigo-Tsumari Art Triennale (ETAT), in ST he uses art to “encourage a sense of happiness in local people, while offering an enjoyable form of tourism for visitors from outside” (Fukutake & Kitagawa, 2016, p. 221). Fukutake, the main benefactor of ST, likewise describes ST as an effort to encourage exchanges of smiles (*egao* in Japanese, literally ‘smiling faces’) between the visiting urban youth and the local elders through the medium of art (Fukutake & Kitagawa, 2016, p. 45). These idealistic accounts suggest that the relationship between residents and art is central to the success of the festival, as is fostering inter- and cross-cultural connections.

### 4.2 Setouchi Triennale Islands Case Selection Method

From the economical perspective, the success of ST can reflect from ST official report on its 793 million JPY at ST 2010, 1015 million JPY at ST 2013, 1216 million JPY at ST 2016, 1319 million JPY at ST 2019 income (Setouchi Triennale Executive Committee, 2010, 2013, 2017c, 2020). From 2013 to 2019, The economic influence by ST on the prefectural level also increased by 31 percent (Figure 4.1). If studies only focus on the economic effect without fully examining the destination's social and cultural influence. Therefore, this will cause a positive image of the power of rural art festival. Issues can be reflected from more than 1.5 thousand positive media and official reports (Setouchi Triennale Executive Committee, 2020, p. 33) rarely offers a comprehensive picture and critical tone of ST’s influences on the community, especially the negative aspects. It is also difficult to get unbiased information from a large company the like Fukutake Foundation, which strictly controls information and rarely grants

interviews. There are also some differences in the content between the Japanese and English versions of official ST reports. In the English translation, negative views found in the Japanese version have been removed (Setouchi Triennale Executive Committee 2017a, 2017b) which will be further introduced in Chapter 4.4.

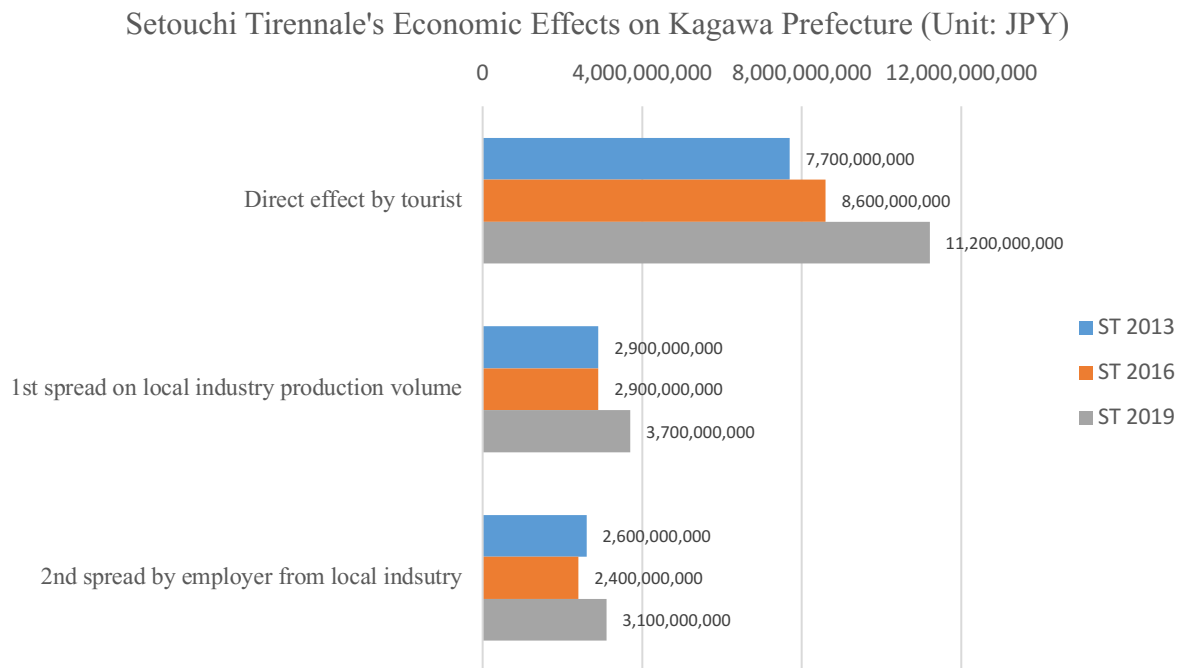


Figure 4.1 Setouchi Triennale's Economic Effects on Kagawa Prefecture (Setouchi Triennale Executive Committee, 2010, 2013, 2017c, 2020), Author's calculation and illustration

From the published official report from STEC by the visitor and artwork number after each Triennale as summarized in Figure 4.2 and Figure 4.3. Naoshima, Shodoshima, Teshima, Inujima, Ogijima, and Megijima are the major art site during each ST from 2010 to 2019. Shamijima received a certain number of visitors, however, its geographical location makes it cannot be counted as an island but a connected peninsula to the Shigoku mainland after the landfill project for making the Great Setouchi Bridge. Also, Shamijima joins ST after 2013 instead of 2010. This makes data incomparable to the other ST 2010 islands. Therefore, the same for Takamatsu and Uno port cities, they cannot be considered as a rural island in this research.

### Number of Visitors by Island between Setouchi Triennale 2010-2019

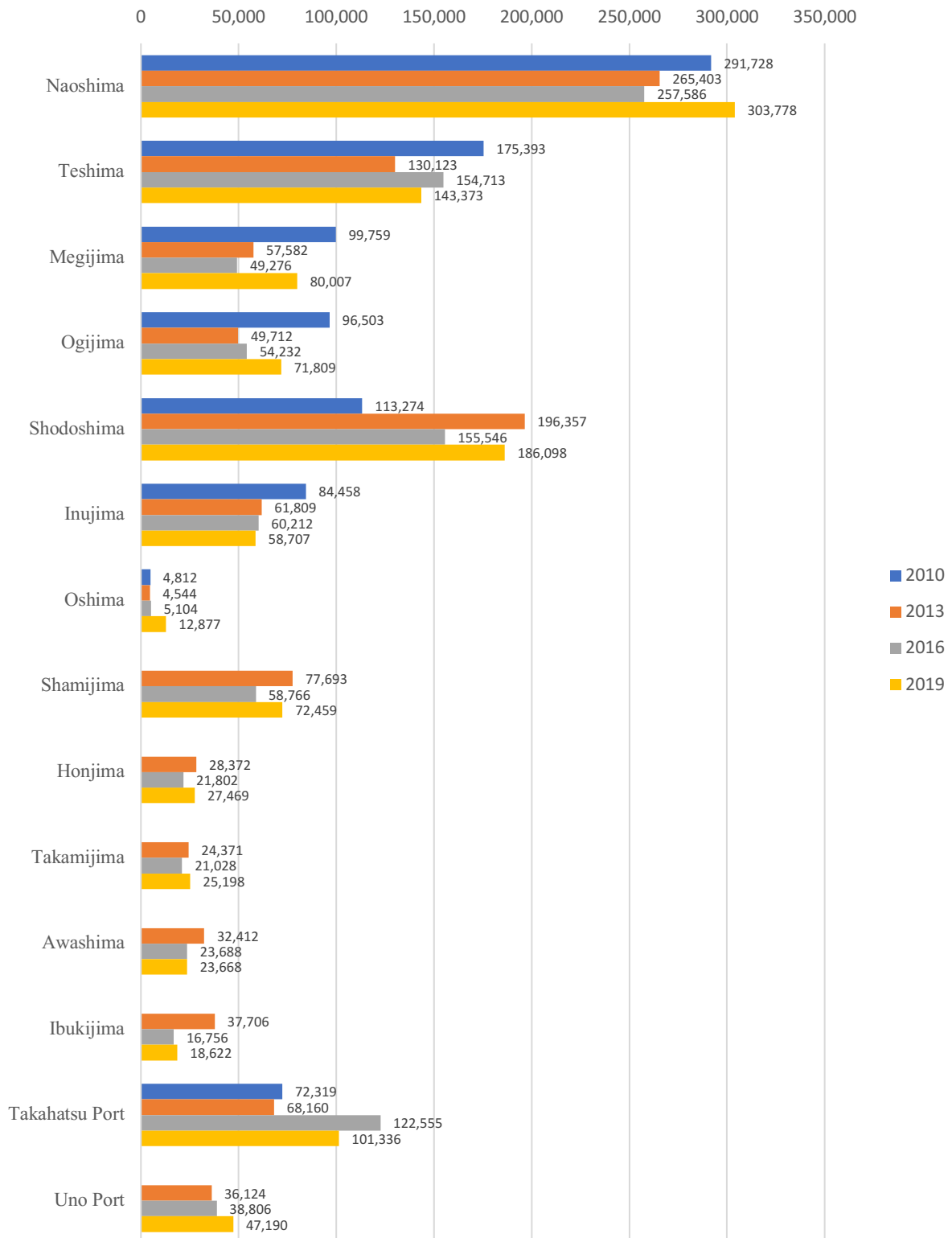


Figure 4.2 Number of Visitors by Island between Setouchi Triennale 2010-2019 (Setouchi Triennale Executive Committee, 2010, 2013, 2017c, 2020), Author's calculation and illustration

### Number of Artworks by Island between Setouchi Triennale 2010-2019

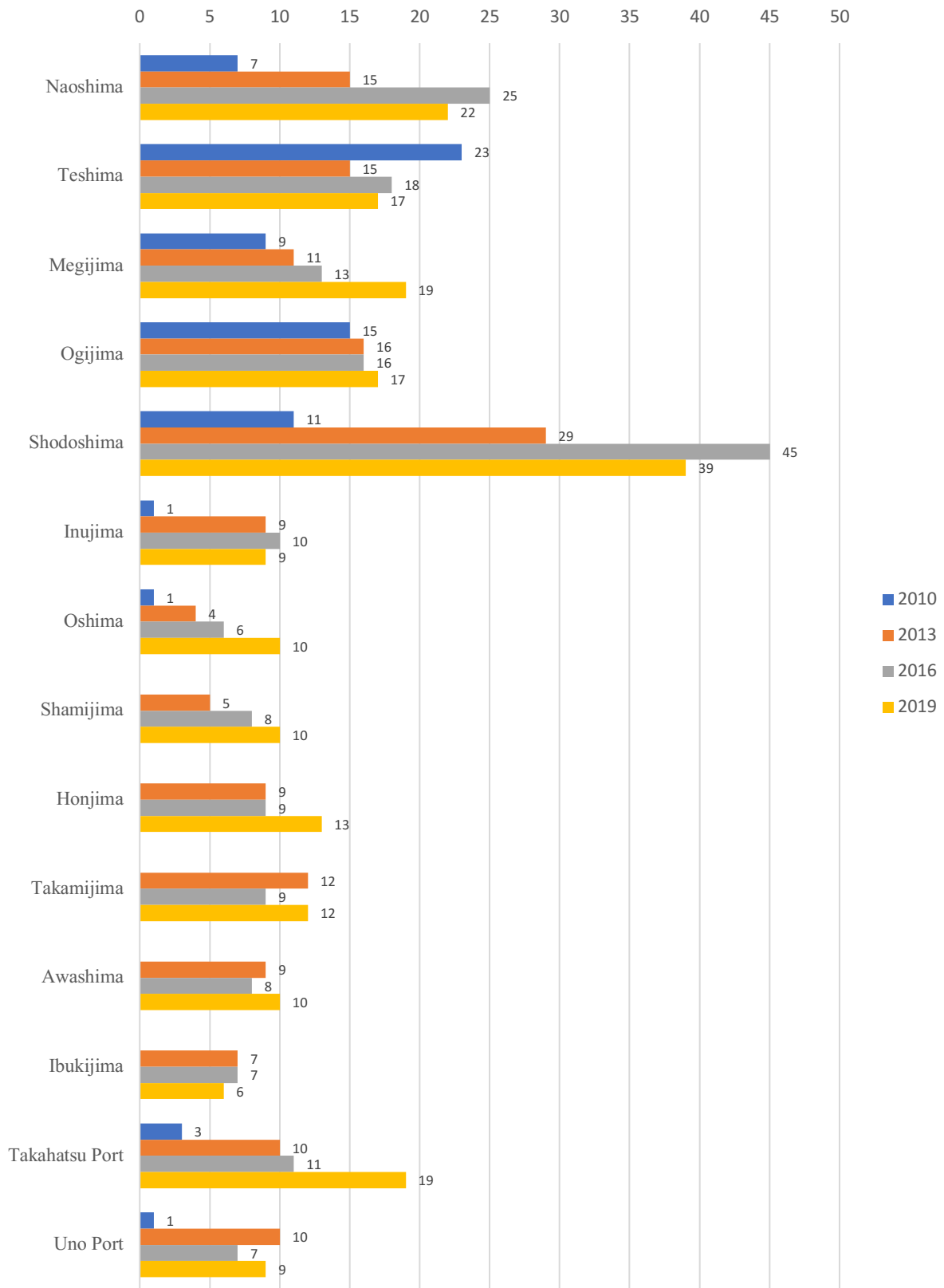


Figure 4.3 Number of Artworks by Island between Setouchi Triennale 2010-2019 (Setouchi Triennale Executive Committee, 2010, 2013, 2017c, 2020), Author's calculation and illustration

After the Setouchi Triennale 2010, starts in 2013, the ST develops into three festival periods that cover 107 days per festival (Setouchi Triennale Executive Committee, 2010, 2013, 2017c, 2020). It includes spring (from April 26 to May 26, 31 days), summer (from July 19 to August 25, 38 days), and autumn (from September 28 to November 4, 38 days) sessions (Setouchi Triennale Executive Committee, 2020). However, not all island destinations are fully involved in all periods. Ibukijima, Awashima, Takamijima, and Honjima communities only participate in the autumn session. Shamijima only joins the spring session. Therefore, the main festival venues are centered on the eastern Kagawa Prefecture islands as well as Inujima in Okayama Prefecture. Among the seven islands join the whole festival periods (from ST 2010), the historical background on Oshima with its mandatory isolation facility for leprosy disease and anti-human right movement (Tanaka, 2016) provided creator and artist a rich platform for contemporary art. However, within this research, the position of Oshima makes it hard to count as a regular habitant island with a normal shirking community and aging residents.



Figure 4.4 Map showing six Setouchi Triennale art islands and nearby ports, Source of the map: (Geospatial Information Authority of Japan (GSI), 2016), Software: (QGIS Development Team, 2019), Author's illustration

In considering many evaluation factors mentioned above, to find out the most suitable ST rural islands and make this research to be compared by island zoom in on Naoshima, Shodoshima, Teshima, Inujima, Ogijima, and Megijima. Therefore, this research tries to examine six-core ST islands that have formed the core of the Setouchi Triennale since its debut – Inujima, Megijima, Naoshima, Ogijima, Shodoshima, and Teshima (see Figure 4.4). The selected six ST islands also can be considered two major categories by the main ST partnership between STEC, which including AFG, Kagawa government, and Koebi as well as BAS, which



including Benesse Corporation, Fukutake Foundation, and Naoshima Culture Village. As shown in Figure 4.4, Orange color islands like Naoshima, Teshima, and Inujima are influenced by both BAS's art tourism as well as ST's festival tourism. On the contrary, the yellow-colored islands such as Shodoshima, Ogijima, and Megijima only receive ST's festival tourism. This arrangement resulting from the different quality of art facility, operation, and collaboration methods. Those six ST islands make perfect research cases for focusing on the diversification of the scale of size, shirking population, industrial structure that under one rural art festival influence.

### **4.3 Outline of the Case Study Island**

The six selected Setouchi Triennale case study islands cover diversified characteristics that include different historical backgrounds, unique island culture, industrial structure, population composition, small tourism businesses, and basic infrastructures.

Shodoshima is a large island with many villages scattered across a scenic expanse of forested mountains. (While grouped by the Triennale and, correspondingly, in this study as a single place, Shodoshima is comprised of several distinct communities.) Naoshima and Teshima are a mid-sized category, with a few coastal villages each; they can be crossed on foot in less than an hour. Ogijima, Megijima, and especially Inujima are quite small, with single villages comprised of less than 150 residents each.

Teshima (14.5 square kilometers) is the second largest among islands in the festival, after Shodoshima (59.19 square kilometers). It has three villages (Ieura, Karato, and Mako) with a total of about 800 inhabitants (NPO Teshima Tourism Association, n.d.). Teshima (literally meaning 'affluent island') is located between Kagawa and Okayama Prefecture in the Seto Inland Sea in the Setouchi region of Japan and its rich fishing and rice plantation culture can be traced back to ancient times (NPO Teshima Tourism Association, 2018). After the Second World War Teshima was transformed by welfare initiatives that saw the establishment of age- and child-care facilities (the latter resulting in an influx of abandoned mixed-race children resulting from liaisons between American soldiers and Japanese women) (Kagawa Child Care Support Center, 2016) and by the introduction of dairy farms. In 1978, a company began dumping toxic substances imported from overseas in the southwestern corner of the island. This caused Teshima to become home to one of the biggest illegal dumpings of industrial waste in Japan (Takatsuki, 2003) (Takatsuki, 2002). Locals protested until 2000 and eventually managed to secure the commencement of clearing of 60 hectares of industrial waste. Residents in the past sought to combat perceptions of Teshima being Japan's 'garbage island'.

Among the comparatively smaller islands, Megijima and Ogijima are both heavily visited islands within Setouchi Triennale and the closest islands to the central ST port city of Takamatsu. Megijima is twice the land area of Ogijima and is located between Ogijima to the north and Takamatsu to the south. Megijima comparatively has larger arable and flat land than Ogijima. Two port villages are located on both sides of the island. Ogijima only has one settlement, a port village located on the hillside of the island. Both of those two islands have similar population sizes: at the time of the Setouchi Triennale's debut in 2010, the islands each had approximately 200 inhabitants.

Inujima is the smallest (0.72 square kilometers) among the ST islands and has less than forty-four inhabitants in only one community (Okayama City Office, 2010)(Okayama City Office, n.d.). Inujima features a cluster of mostly permanent art house installations as well as a large museum (itself one permanent artwork) in a converted copper factory. On Teshima, the artwork is spread out over a much larger area and includes several temporary artworks in addition to a museum and other permanent installations.

All the islands have tourist industries, with Shodoshima's and Naoshima's the most developed by far. Large-scale tourism is therefore more recent on Ogijima, Megijima, and Teshima than on the other islands. Naoshima's tourist industry is the result of major museum developments that began in the late 20<sup>th</sup> century and drew hundreds of thousands of annual visitors by the early 2000s (Funck & Chang, 2018). Along with its art museums, Naoshima has a copper smelting plant on its northern shore and related manufacturing businesses. The manufactory industry still active and play a key role in bringing local job, income, and residential population on the island. Shodoshima has fairly diverse industries including fishing, agriculture, and manufacturing, with tourism-driven by its diverse outdoor amenities as well as its olive agriculture. Teshima has agriculture and fishing industries and a long-established stone mining operation in addition to its newer permanent art facilities, which debuted along with the Setouchi Triennale. An industrial waste dumping scandal tarnished the island's image for decades, but the island's art tourism has served as a rebranding (Qu, 2019). The fishing industries on Ogijima and Megijima, while representing the largest primary industries of all the islands relative to total employment, are nonetheless very small. Inujima's few dozen typically elderly residents are mostly retired. Its museum, established in 2008, is a major tourist attraction (Favell, 2016). But the museum (along with small industrial operations) is mainly staffed by commuters.

In general, all the islands are facing shrinking issues with different rates, speeds, and situations. This is highly affected by the geographical location, industrial structure, population base. Table 4.1, Table 4.2 and Figure 4.5 show a selection of attributes on each of the six islands. These include the percentage of the population on each island that is minor, working, aging population, industry structure change from 2010 to 2015. Table 4.1 demonstrated the shrinkage rate by each island from 2010 to 2015. The average aging population (above 65 years old) in Japan is 23 percent in 2009 (Muramatsu & Akiyama, 2011). By comparing the population data with all ST islands, the type of islands can be observed and classified by their overall population, geographical size, or aging rate in a different way. From geographical size and population perspectives, three categories can be identified by the scale of the islands. Big size island: Shodoshima, middle-size islands: Teshima, Naoshima, and small-scale islands Ogijima, Megijima, and Inujima. However, this classification cannot reflect the shrinkage of each island. Two factors are important to evaluate this situation, one is the decline of the available working population (between 15 to 64 years old), another is the increase of the aging population. Therefore, two major categories can be made within this scope. One group is shrinking islands like Shodoshima, Naoshima, and Teshima, in which the working population decline nearly to half and the aging population increasing more than 34 to 50 percent of the overall population. Another group is severe shrinking islands that adapt the term from super-aging society in Japan (Muramatsu & Akiyama, 2011). It covers islands such as Megijima, Ogijima, and Inujima, in

which the working population decline nearly to less than 30 percent and the aging population increasing more than 63 to 77 percent of the overall population.

Table 4.1 Population of six Setouchi Triennale islands, Source: (Statistics Bureau of Japan, 2017), Author's calculation

Island	Shodoshima	Teshima	Naoshima	Inujima	Ogijima	Megijima
Overall population (2010)	30,275	1,018	3,325	54	162	174
Overall population (2015)	27,997	867	3,139	44	148	136
Minor population under age 14 (2010)	10.4 %	7.9 %	10.8 %	0.0 %	0.0 %	3.4 %
Minor population under age 14 (2015)	9.6 %	4.5 %	10.0 %	0.0 %	6.8 %	1.5 %
Working population age 15-64 (2010)	55.0 %	47.6 %	58.8 %	20.4 %	31.5 %	29.9 %
Working population age 15-64 (2015)	51.4 %	45.2 %	55.8 %	22.7 %	29.7 %	23.5 %
Aging population age 65+ (2010)	34.6 %	44.5 %	30.4 %	79.6 %	68.5 %	66.7 %
Aging population age 65+ (2015)	39.4 %	50.3 %	34.3 %	77.3 %	63.5 %	75.0 %

This research tries to also consider other factors such as industries by the island as shown in Figure 4.5. For all islands, the tertiary industry holds the domain role. Under this scenario, Teshima, Megijima, and Ogijima have relatively balanced industrial structures compare with the rest three islands.

Industry employed rate of by island (2015)

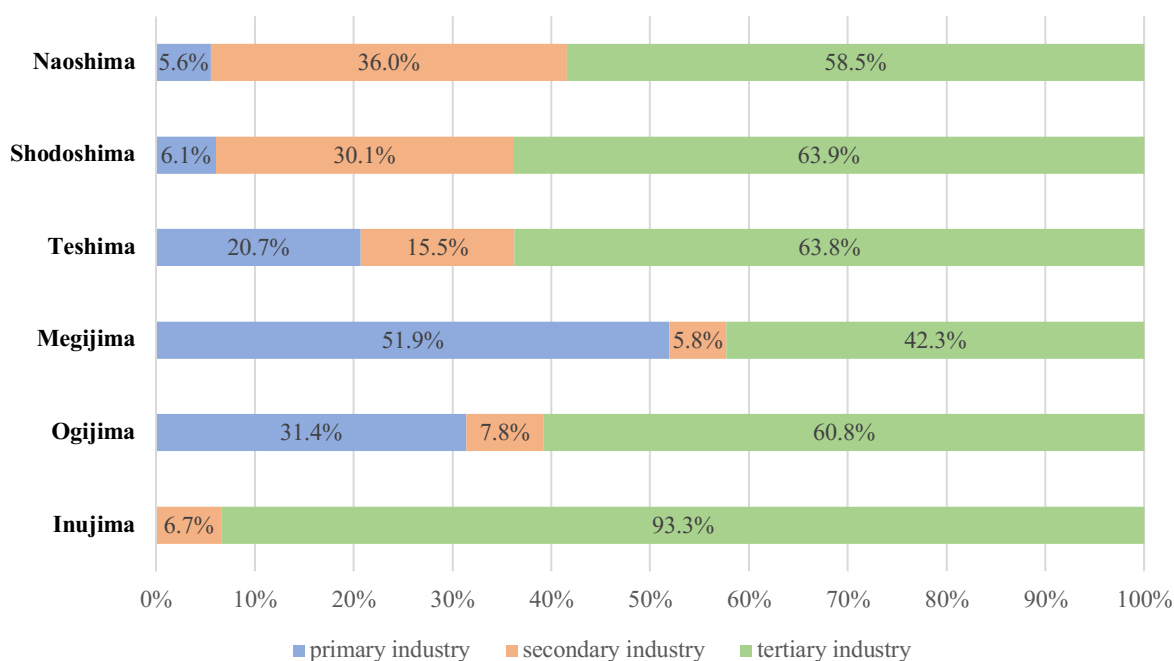


Figure 4.5 Industry employed rate by island, (Statistics Bureau of Japan, 2017), Author's calculation and illustration

Table 4.2 listed the number of public infrastructures, nonprofit organizations (NPOs), and schools. Among those islands, smaller communities like Megijima, Ogijima, and Inujima have a higher percentage of older residents and are less well-established infrastructures, while larger

communities like Naoshima, Teshima, and particularly Shodoshima are more likely to have school, hospital, and ferry ports. One notable outlier, Ogijima, has four nonprofit organizations, or once per 37 residents, suggesting a larger-than-usual share of local public-benefit advocacy.

Table 4.2 Other Attributes of six Setouchi Triennale islands, Author's calculation

Island	Shodoshima	Teshima	Naoshima	Inujima	Ogijima	Megijima
Size (Sq. km) (Setouchi Triennale Executive Committee, 2017b)	153.26	14.50	14.22	0.54	1.34	2.68
NPOs (Cabinet Office of Japan, 2012)	14	2	2	0	4	1
Schools (Elem., Jr. High & High) (Gaccomm inc., 2020)	7	2	2	0	2	0
Hospitals, clinics, and pharmacy (EHealthcare Co., 2020)	27	1	2	1	1	1
Ferry ports (author's observation)	6	2	2	1	1	1
In island transportation (author's observation)	Car/bus/bicycle	Car/bus/bicycle	Car/bus/bicycle	n/a	n/a	bus

Art business that includes big art museums, as well as facilities and tourism-related small-scale businesses, were displayed in Table 4.3. All the data are obtained through local tourism association or tourist information published by the local tourism association before or during the fieldwork. The issue can be identified through data is that it is just presented as an overview of STBs that registered under each island's tourism association. Due to information update delay, few new businesses are not yet registered, or some closed ones is not been removed. Moreover, the local tourism association data do not reflect a few STBs' business periods as well as the mixed business attributes by owner. However, this still the most reliable secondary data source from a third party for this study.

Table 4.3 Art tourism and small tourism businesses of six Setouchi Triennale islands, Author's calculation

Island	Shodoshima (Shodoshima Tourism Association, 2016)	Teshima (Teshima tourism association, 2017)	Naoshima (Naoshima tourism association, 2019)	Inujima (Okayama tourism association, 2017)	Ogijima (Ogijima Community Council, 2013)	Megijima (Megi island tourism association, 2020)
Art museum managed by BAS (Benesse Art Site Naoshima, 2015)	0	1	4	1	0	0
Art facilities managed by BAS (Benesse Art Site Naoshima, 2015) (Art House Project counted as 1)	0	3	3	2	0	0
Art facilities managed by Koebi (Nonprofit Organization Setouchi Koebi Network, n.d.)	0	2	0	0	1	0
Small tourism businesses (2016-2019) (not including café and hotel by the big art museum)	Overall	Overall	Overall	Overall	Overall	Overall
	108	81	53	16	17	15
	Souvenir shops	Souvenir shops	Souvenir shops	Souvenir shops	Souvenir shops	Souvenir shops
	50*	1*	1*	1*	1*	1
	Accommodations	Accommodations	Accommodations	Accommodations	Accommodations	Accommodations
	44*	63*	22*	7	6*	6*
	Restaurants & cafes	Restaurants & cafes	Restaurants & cafes	Restaurants & cafes	Restaurants & cafes	Restaurants & cafes
	66*	42*	21	9*	11*	8*
	Bicycle/car rental	Bicycle/car rental	Bicycle/car rental	Bicycle/car rental	Bicycle/car rental	Bicycle/car rental
	10*	7	11*	n/a	n/a	n/a
	Tourist facilities	Tourist facilities	Tourist facilities	Tourist facilities	Tourist facilities	Tourist facilities
	7*	0	1	0	0	1

\* mixed businesses (overlap with other services from the categories)

After summaries of the six most visited ST art islands as case study sites, the secondary data from both local tourism association and STEC provide a general research background on different attributes of each island's art, tourism, and community development. From an island tourism development perspective, Shodoshima shares a large scale of STBs among all case study islands in the aspects of big-scale accommodations, the number of tourist souvenir shops as well as local transportation development. With the strongest population base, Shodoshima can be considered the shrinking island with the best situation among the other case study islands. From an industrial structure by employ rate perspective, both Shodoshima and Naoshima hold strong secondary and tertiary industries. Considering those two islands both retain more than half of their local working population. Therefore, the strong manufacturing and tourism industry can generate a relatively stable resistibility against shrinkage compare with other islands.

From an art tourism development point of view, Naoshima holds the number one position based on the number of permanent art museums and facilities. Furthermore, from the PPP model between private art corporations and festival perspective, Naoshima, Teshima, and Inujima hold big-scale art museums and private art facilities while Megijima, Ogijima, and Shodoshima have only obtained the site-specific art around the islands. This setting divides all art islands into two categories with different art-specific attributes. After compare Figure 4.2, Table 4.1, Table 4.2 with Table 4.3, Inujima, Ogijima, and Megijima share similar conditions from the overall population, shrinking rate, size, visitation, and the number of tourism businesses. However, Inujima belongs to Okayama prefecture and it holds a different regional policy compare with the rest of the art islands in Kagawa prefecture. Therefore, Ogijima and Megijima make the perfect comparable case for this research to evaluate the RAFT impacts and community level revitalization outcomes in detail.

#### **4.4 Data Collected from the Setouchi Triennale General Reports**

According to Setouchi Triennale General Reports (Setouchi Triennale Executive Committee, 2010, 2013, 2017c, 2017a, 2020) published after each festival, the evaluation of residents' opinion for ST can be treated as first-hand information as a reference for this study. Through a mixed-methods data collection method, those reports covered both questionnaires and interviews with residents. Most of the data were collected from locals who joined the residents' association meetings that usually occur less than a day after each festival.

The questionnaire samples cover opinions from twelve islands during n=513 at ST 2010, n=2384 at ST 2013, n=1337 at ST 2016, and n=1417 at ST 2019. The official reports did not provide detailed information about how many respondents answered from each island. By comparing this sample rate within the six case study islands' overall population in 2015, which is 32331 (Table 4.1), it can only represent less than 1.5 to 7.4 percent of locals' opinion. However, based on this selection bias only being limited to the locals who were willing to participate in the residents' association meeting, the actual findings present only part of the locals who like to actively participate in the community. Additionally, because the number of the respondents differ by each ST report, this research simply classified the results by following the same question together in Figure 4.6, Figure 4.7, and Figure 4.8.

### Do you think ST contributed to revitalization of the local community?

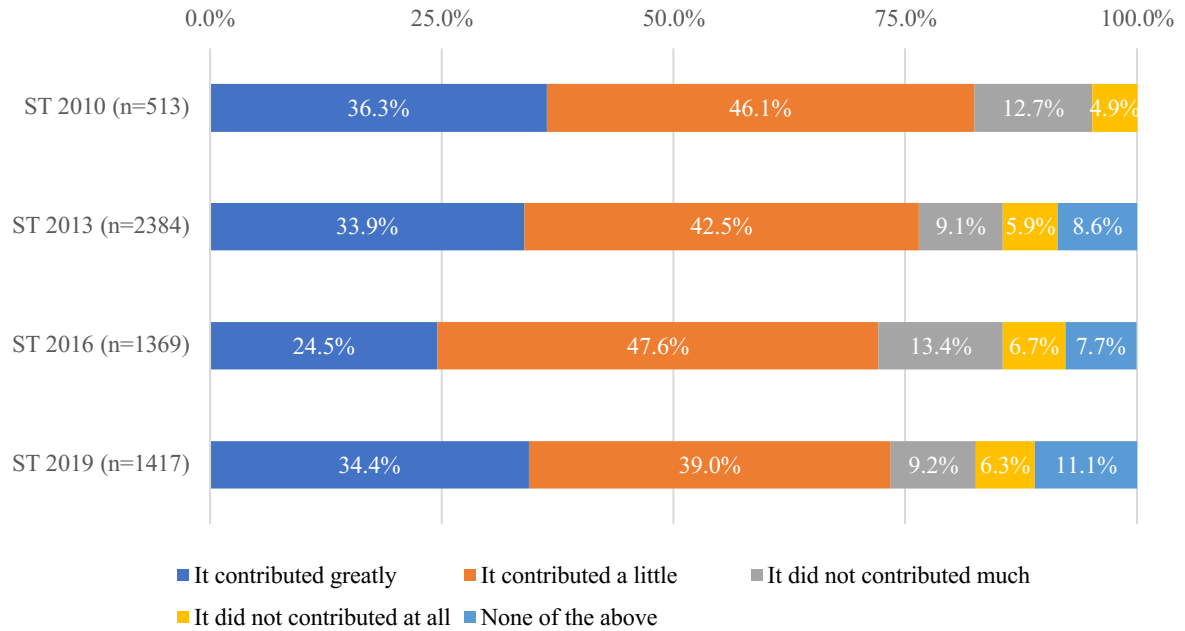


Figure 4.6 Locals' opinion about if ST contributed to the revitalization of the local community between Setouchi Triennale 2010-2019 (Setouchi Triennale Executive Committee, 2010, 2013, 2017c, 2020), Author's calculation and illustration

### Do you think it was good to have artworks installed in the area where you live?

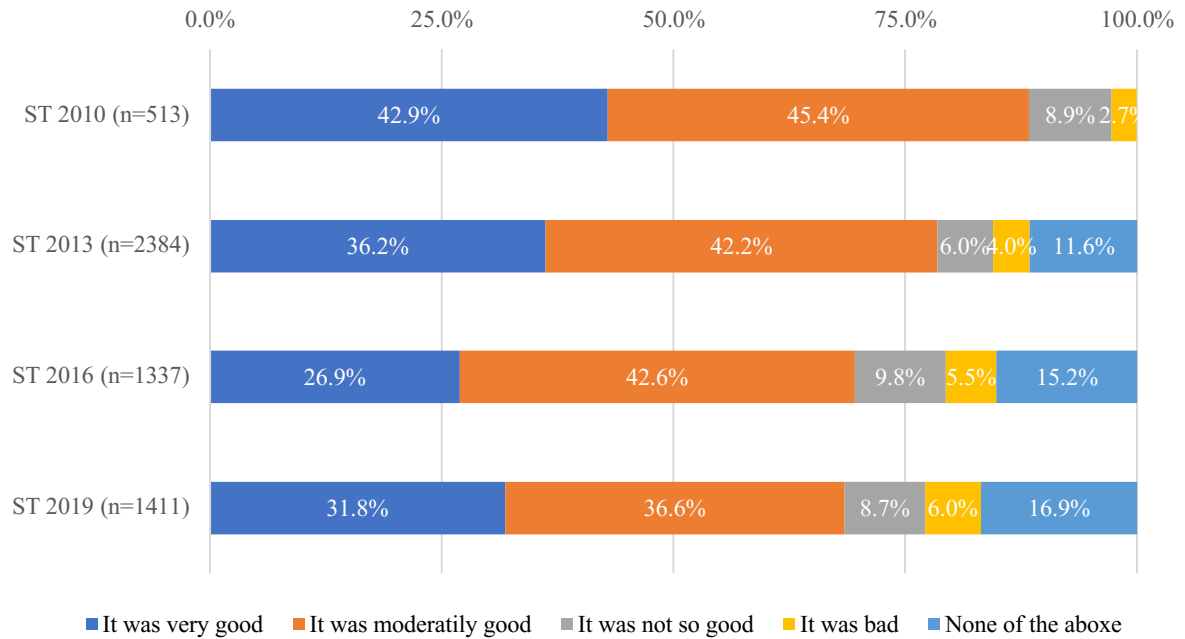


Figure 4.7 Locals' opinion about if it was good to have artworks installed in the area where you live between Setouchi Triennale 2010-2019 (Setouchi Triennale Executive Committee, 2010, 2013, 2017c, 2020), Author's calculation and illustration

### Do you want the Triennale to be held again in the area where you live?

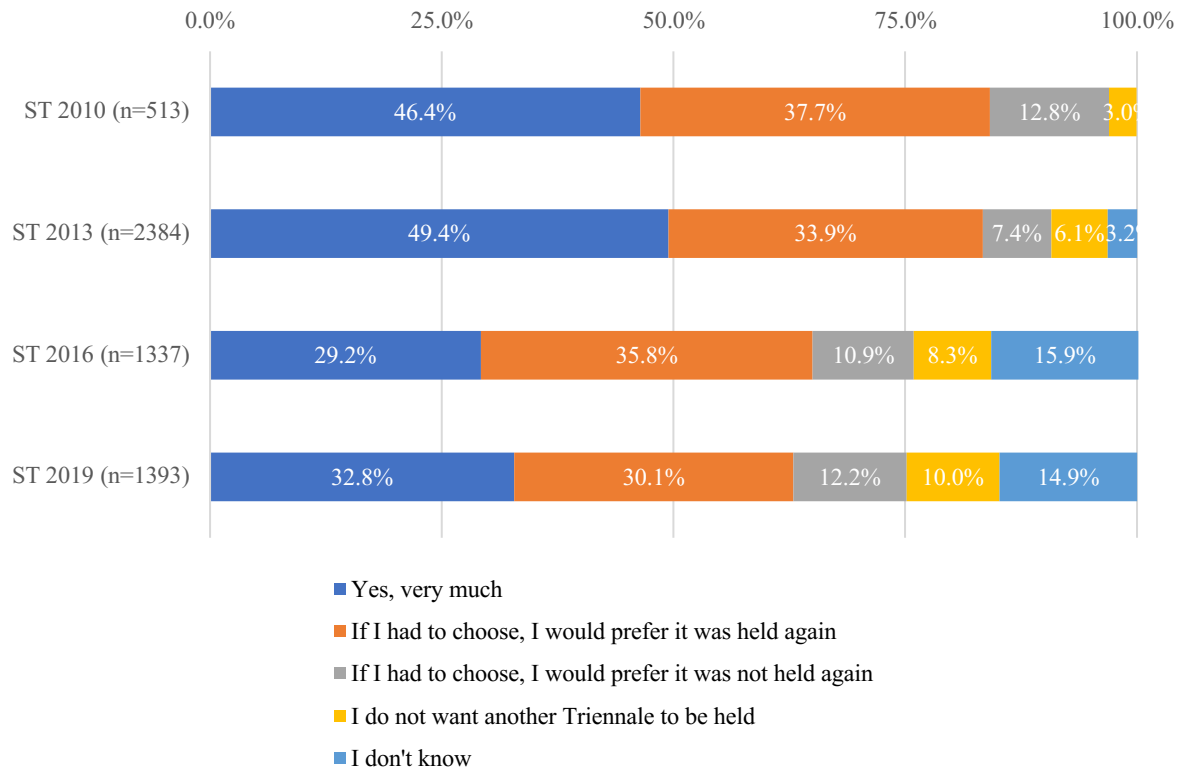


Figure 4.8 Locals’ opinion about if they want the Triennale to be held again on their islands between Setouchi Triennale 2010-2019 (Setouchi Triennale Executive Committee, 2010, 2013, 2017c, 2020), Author’s calculation and illustration

From the questionnaire findings in Figure 4.6, more than 68.4 percent of respondents think ST contributed to the revitalization of the local community in ST 2019. This result is similar when compared with three other festivals in the past. Issues can be identified from Figure 4.7 and Figure 4.8 between if locals think it was a good idea to have artworks installed in their community and if they wish to have the Triennale held again. The data shows that the supportive voices and positive impressions are getting lower and lower after each successive festival. Since ST 2016, the negative voice is getting higher and higher. Overall, the data from official reports provided a general picture of locals’ opinions. However, those findings cannot reflect the situation of each island.

The interview findings were summarized in Table 4.4, Table 4.5, Table 4.6, Table 4.7, Table 4.8, and Table 4.9 by each case study island. This study only keeps the fact-related issues mentioned from those reports through locals’ perceptions. The information summed up in this research excludes those locals’ expectations for future festivals and only keeps the factual issue that relates to ST’s negative impacts and positive influences.

Table 4.4 The positive influences and negative impacts surveyed by STEC general report by each festival on Naoshima, Author's translation and summary

Periods and influences/impacts		Naoshima
ST 2010	Positive influences	The interest of the locals was high, and many locals gathered in the joint cleaning work. Many interactions between residents and tourists were established. Locals were worried about the security, but there were no particular problems, and the security did not deteriorate.
	Negative impacts	There were too many tourists and it was inconvenient for traffic on narrow roads. During the ST, it was very crowded and there was no place to stay or eat. After three years the memory of the art festival will fade away. Should consider some kind of event at the midpoint before the next ST.
ST 2013	Positive influences	It was good that ST ended without any major accidents or problems. It was good that the decentralization of the ST sessions allowed locals to correct the issues during each period The contribution of the staff at the information center was amazing. The guidance was very nice. The ferry company was also supportive and dealt with the busy periods responsibly.
	Negative impacts	The decentralization of the sessions may have been difficult both physically and manageably. Considering only on Naoshima, if the ST sessions are to be dispersed, locals would like to equalize tourists. Some visitors have bad manners (such as littering and leaving bicycles unattended). Safety management in front of the agricultural cooperative (Honmura area) is an issue for the ST. It was dangerous because there were many visitors in places where bus cars were coming and going. There were also complaints from the islanders that the bicycles were left unattended and hindered the operation of the bus.
ST 2016 (Japanese version)	Positive influences	Locals feel glad that there were no accidents and it ended safely. The congestion was greatly reduced during the autumn session by accelerating the opening hours of the works on Saturdays, Sundays, and holidays. There was no major issue with sea route transportation, and locals think it was helped by increasing the number of ferries to Takamatsu and delaying the time of the last ferry.
	Negative impacts	Manners by cyclists are still bad Regarding the operation of the information center, it is necessary to take time to train the staff before the art festival starts so that the information can be provided to the visitors instead of following the manual. As for the guidebook, the titles of the works after the summer session are undecided, the installation location will change, and the number of stores will increase or disappear, so I think it would be a good idea to make it the full year. About the common ticket, many routes cannot be used, especially on Naoshima, there are many foreign visitors, so it is difficult to deal with limited tickets such as this common ticket. Next time, I think it is necessary to share with the locals concerned about what to do on the island and in what direction the art festival will be held.
ST 2016 (English version)	Positive influences	The increasing ferry runs to Takamatsu and making the last ferry departure later seemed to be very effective, and it would be good to retain these measures even after the Triennale.
	Negative impacts	The cyclists were not obeying basic traffic rules and etiquette. The 3-day ferry pass was limited to select routes.
ST 2019	Positive influences	Children now can enjoy the theater event, interaction with outsiders are good The reservation system for the Chichu Art Museum (by BAS) was good for relieving congestion. The temporary bus schedule makes locals feel more insured
	Negative impacts	Since there were more overseas visitors, they should consider more emergency response methods for dealing with natural disasters. Wish to have more information among local stakeholders during the crowded period



Table 4.5 The positive influences and negative impacts surveyed by STEC general report by each festival on Teshima, Author's translation and summary

Periods and influences/impacts		Teshima
ST 2010	Positive influences	Elderly residents were energized by talking with young people from the cities. The island was surrounded by an unprecedented atmosphere (young, lively, inspiring, changing, and fun every day). It was very good to show people all over the country the goodness of Teshima again. Many visitors were polite and often greeted locals. Many people eat and drink on the island, which has contributed to the island's economy to some extent.
	Negative impacts	Locals were tired without a break for 105 days. They all cooperated just because they had to do it. Next time, the community needs a break. Many people wanted to eat country food. Think of it as an issue for the next event. Assuming that an art festival will be held three years later, locals would like to think about what Teshima can do for those intervening two years. The community wishes to maintain a connection with artists and the Koebi volunteers through activities. (Not happening)
ST 2013	Positive influences	Compare with last ST, more restaurants open on the island. Locals' understanding of the art festival has deepened.
	Negative impacts	The ST session is a little short. Local think the bus service route should go around the whole island for people to enjoy not only art but also the nature of Teshima. It was a little dangerous because many bicycles are running on the island. Garbage was dumped in a corner of the site where the artworks in front of the resident house were exhibited. Some residents still do not care about the festival. The necessary information was not well received. More staff education is needed. The tourist association commissioned locals to sell passports, but the passports for each season were complicated and difficult to sell. Since the number of bicycles has increased considerably, it is necessary to take measures for bicycle parking at the places where the work is installed.
ST 2016 (Japanese version)	Positive influences	The art festival is getting bigger and bigger every time, which leads to revitalization.
	Negative impacts	Visitors often act on a schedule in advance, and it is necessary to prevent overloaded vessels so that the schedule will not be hindered. Residents gave their opinions on traffic manners. Some people were injured on their bicycles. Regarding "food", profits in winter are an issue for the whole year, and it is difficult to invest when opening new stores. Although the number of visitors to the island is increasing, I think it is necessary to stay longer to increase the economic effect on Teshima. Locals wish to ST to use of Danyama (hill) area with artworks and events. The scenery seen from the south side of Teshima (between Kosei and Karato) is wonderful, so I would like you to devise ways for visitors to enjoy walking and taking pictures. Locals would like to have the next ST and would like to cooperate with the event.
ST 2016 (English version)	Positive influences	The Triennale gets better every time and is leading to the revitalization of the island. Locals want you to hold another Triennale, and the community is willing to help.
	Negative impacts	Residents complained that visitors ignore basic traffic rules and etiquette. Someone was injured by a bicycle.
ST 2019	Positive influences	Visitor numbers have been reduced compared with ST 2016. Overall, it makes a successful liveliness atmosphere.
	Negative impacts	Should reduce the bus waiting time. Especially during the summer hot period. There is no big accident (e.g., a lot of traffic accidents were mentioned from ST 2016) this time, but accidents themselves have not disappeared. The littering problem appeared, should consider the countermeasure next time. More effort should work on shifting more tourists' attention to and spending more time at the southern part of the island (between Karato and Kou areas).

Table 4.6 The positive influences and negative impacts surveyed by STEC general report by each festival on Megijima, Author's translation and summary

Periods and influences/impacts	Megijima
ST 2010	Positive influences The island has never been so lively, and everyone got energized. Locals feel good with the greeting campaign.
	Negative impacts In July and August, there were many young people, and the manners were really good, and there was almost no garbage, but from September to October, the customer base changed, and the manners deteriorated. This year was particularly hot, with 105 days being a long period. Next time, please think about the period, such as shortening it a little more. There was no mechanism for allowing tourists to leave money on the island.
ST 2013	Positive influences Local think it was good that we were able to disperse the visitors by dividing it into three ST sessions. Compared to before, littering of garbage has decreased. Locals who work as event helpers had a good memory.
	Negative impacts The traffic manners were not very good, as visitors walked on busy roads. The manners of the cyclists were also not good. Not benefiting to the general locals. Locals wish to have artworks that match the scenery of the island.
ST 2016 (Japanese version)	Positive influences The artist enthusiastically explained the work to the islanders through the workshop. Locals helped to collect the materials for making the art in the rain. The Nishiura village was the first to join in making artwork, so all the residents took a cooperative stance. The locals explained the artwork to the visitors, and gradually the people in the village became more aware that art was their work. It's good that the locals were involved in cooking and management at "Restaurant Iara Megijima". There were many foreign visitors. I was able to respond to one-word English. Their manners were good. Megijima's name recognition has risen not only in Japan but also overseas. I think this is the power of the art festival.
	Negative impacts Locals suggest improving the bus services that would lead to raising the level of tourism development. Locals wish to shorten the summer session and lengthen the autumn session. Although there was no littering of garbage, many people walked all over the road and locals could not pass.
ST 2016 (English version)	Positive influences Local people spontaneously began explaining the works to visitors, indicating that their sense of ownership is increasing. Many overseas visitors came. Although we could only communicate with broken English, we learned a lot from the experience. They were very well mannered. Megijima is becoming more widely known, both in Japan and abroad, which demonstrates the power of art. Please host another Triennale in 3 years.
	Negative impacts
ST 2019	Positive influences From the island promotion aspect, it's good to attract media's focus from Tokyo TV Good to have artwork on the coastal side.
	Negative impacts Local involvement with the artwork from the Aichi Art University, but not with the rest artworks. The number of foreign tourists has increased significantly. Their manners were good and there was no littering issue, but local wish to have services to communicate with foreigners.

Table 4.7 The positive influences and negative impacts surveyed by STEC general report by each festival on Ogijima, Author's translation and summary

Periods and influences/impacts	Ogijima
ST 2010	<p>Positive influences</p> <p>Locals enjoyed tourist interactions as well as Koebi and artists. Locals were looking forward to staying with young people to the extent that they wouldn't bother the inn and talking while drinking alcohol. Locals became and enjoyed being tour guides. The residents' association sold local food "Takomeshi" (octopus rice). Locals, especially elderly people wish to enjoy the next ST again.</p>
	<p>Negative impacts</p> <p>But it's difficult to keep making local food for the full 105 days. The tourist manners became worse toward the latter half of the ST period, especially for group tourists.</p>
ST 2013	<p>Positive influences</p> <p>Locals think it was good that we were able to disperse the visitors by dividing it into three ST sessions. Locals think the manners of the visitors are getting better than the last ST. It is important as a place for regional development, but it is also very important as a place for training young artists. The number of visitors is appropriate in terms of the quality of the tourist. The information center was very good. It was very helpful, especially for foreign visitors. There are many lively scenes during the ST. Locals wish to have it again next time.</p>
	<p>Negative impacts</p> <p>Wish to have more opportunity to interact with the artist. Locals expect the expansion of the route connecting Teshima to Naoshima.</p>
ST 2016 (Japanese version)	<p>Positive influences</p> <p>Locals think it was good that the visitors did not concentrate in one period because the 3 sessions were dispersed. Even after the Triennale sessions, visitors continued coming to the island to see the scenery or the cats. The oversea visitor also increasing. Compared to ST 2010, the number of places to eat during the exhibition has increased dramatically. The increase in migrants and the reopening of schools and daycare centers is a result of the ST 2016. Locals wish to have the ST for the next time again.</p>
	<p>Negative impacts</p> <p>Not enough time for preparing the festival from the community side. The artists' stay period was short. The information center did not support foreign languages. It is a pity that there was no official food project on Ogijima. The new individual food stores are not providing the food unique to the island. In particular, foreigners had bad manners such as littering garbage and walking all over the road.</p>
ST 2016 (English version)	<p>Positive influences</p> <p>Even after the Triennale sessions, visitors continued coming to the island to see the scenery or the cats. Oversea visitors' numbers also increased. Many newcomers have been moving to the island and, the schools and preschool were reopened. This is a direct result of the Triennale. We want you to hold the Triennale again.</p>
	<p>Negative impacts</p> <p>People from overseas, in particular, tended to litter and to block the narrow roads when walking down them.</p>
ST 2019	<p>Positive influences</p> <p>The Koebi and STEC were able to manage and operate on-site in detail.</p> <p>Negative impacts</p> <p>Some visitors got lost or intentionally entered private residential houses. There were many cases where residents could not pass through the road by motorcycle. Some people left garbage on the island. Many tourists do not understand the opening time and period of the artwork. More information is needed. The number of visitors is approaching the limit of the island's carrying capacity. Set an appropriate number of visitors also not to lower the satisfaction level are needed. Would like to spend more time at the non-art festival period to build a relationship between the art festival and the community.</p>

Table 4.8 The positive influences and negative impacts surveyed by STEC general report by each festival on Shodoshima, Author's translation and summary

Periods and influences/impacts	Shodoshima		
	Tonosho District	Shodoshima District	
ST 2010	Positive influences	Locals didn't expect so many young people, especially young girls, to come to their islands. The structure of tourists has changed. Locals wish to have the next ST.	n/a
	Negative impacts	Traveling by boat isn't that good. Locals wish ST to consider the mechanism where the benefits are returned to the local community. The number of tourists with bad manners increased in the latter half of the ST session. Locals who were involved in the art festival felt that it was okay to have a hard time, but many were not involved at all.	n/a
ST 2013	Positive influences	Locals feel grateful that the local Volunteer Guide Association has been able to guide the tourists and create a chance for local-tourist interaction.	n/a
	Negative impacts	Locals were concerned that daily improvements of each venue should listen to the residents' opinion even during the ST. ST cooperation with the local government is needed. Permanent work left after the ST requires local involvement to manage it. The accommodation was full during the summer session, there is a lack of private lodging on Shodoshima.	n/a
ST 2016 (Japanese version)	Positive influences	Locals were relieved that Obe district's first Triennale went well and felt that the projects were an overall success. Locals glad that the development in the community area has brought about changes in the region in a good way. It's very good to serve local food through the "food project". Locals wish would continue to have ST.	We were able to meet many visitors from other parts of Japan and the world by providing a wonderful place this is and to be thanked for what we are doing. It was an opportunity to rediscover the good things about where we live. Through welcoming the visitor in the area, the ties between local and the areas have deepened. Locals made many friends through the visiting population. In the future, it is important to encourage the participation of residents more widely and work together as a community.
	Negative impacts	Regarding transportation, many visitors used rental cars or private cars, and many cars were parked on roads in the living area around the artworks, and residents complained. Locals wish to improve convenience such as the number of bus services. Lack of opinion exchange meeting with locals after the festival	Since Shodoshima is wide and holds a large number of artworks, it would be better to improve the arrangement of artworks, the convenience of buses, and bicycle rentals. Locals felt that there were traffic issues such as walking on narrow roads, passing many bicycles, and parking on the street.

		<p>It was good that the number of works increased. Regarding the content of the work, I think the impact was relatively weak.</p> <p>Locals do not understand about artworks and events</p> <p>The “food project” price is becoming unbalanced, too expensive.</p>	<p>The number of foreigners increased, and many of them got lost. It might be necessary to provide signs not just in English but also in other languages or symbols. We need explanations of the works in other languages as well.</p>
ST 2016 (English version)	Positive influences	<p>Locals were relieved that Obe district’s first Triennale went well and felt that the projects were an overall success.</p> <p>Many visitors came during the Triennale, which livened up the island. We would like the Triennale to continue.</p>	<p>We were able to meet many visitors from other parts of Japan and the world by proving what a wonderful place this is and to be thanked for what we are doing. It was an opportunity to rediscover the good things about where we live. The Triennale provided opportunities to make many friends. It will be important for future Triennale to involve even more local people and for us to work together as a whole community.</p>
	Negative impacts	<p>Many visitors came by car or rented cars on the island, and residents complained of heavy traffic on streets near the art sites.</p>	<p>The number of foreigners increased, and many of them got lost. It might be necessary to provide signs not just in English but also in other languages or symbols. We need explanations of the works in other languages as well.</p>
ST 2019	Positive influences	<p>Good to have many tourists who stopped by not only because of the artworks but also local tourist attractions.</p> <p>Residents were delighted to have a stage performance based on local stories during the event.</p> <p>It’s good to have a new ferry line to connect to the other islands.</p>	<p>Interaction with visitors through artworks and entertainment led to regional revitalization.</p> <p>It was good that the younger people also supported and entertained each other alongside the residents. The sense of ties with the community is getting stronger.</p>
	Negative impacts	<p>Since the number of bicycle rentals has increased, the number of people traveling by bicycle has increased, but their bicycle traffic manners were bad. The northern part of Shodoshima in the Shikai, Kitaura, and Obe districts has bad transportation issues, so some measures are required.</p>	<p>The connection between the ferry and the in-island bus is an issue. Shodoshima is already large, but if the works are scattered, it will be a burden to the visitors. It is necessary to improve the excursion.</p>

Table 4.9 The positive influences and negative impacts surveyed by STEC general report by each festival on Inujima, Author's translation and summary

Periods and influences/impacts		Inujima
ST 2010	Positive influences	Locals were looking forward to holding ST three years later and wish to cooperate again. Locals feel happy to interact with young people and happy to have many people know about Inujima. Tourists' manners were good without littering garbage. Local took this opportunity to visit other nearby islands.
	Negative impacts	
ST 2013	Positive influences	It was good that the visitors were leveled by dividing ST into three sessions. People came in spring when visitors usually do not visit. There was no problem with garbage. Locals wish to have another ST in the future. Many locals are satisfied because it is a beautiful work even if they do not understand it. Because of ST, it promotes Inujima to the outside world.
	Negative impacts	People were walking all over the roads, which obstructed passage.
ST 2016 (Japanese version)	Positive influences	Locals tell each other "Let's stay healthy for another three years." We're looking forward to the next Triennale.
	Negative impacts	Local feel the artwork must change every three years. If the artist stays for a short period, it will create more intimacy. Lack of art festivals pamphlet specializing in Inujima. Many people come to Inujima by ferry, and locals wish to have a pier to improve the current infrastructure. Not enough measures regarding priority boarding of islanders by ferry so as not to interfere with the lives of the islanders. Visitors' manners were better than before, but we still had trouble with people leaving behind their garbage.
ST 2016 (English version)	Positive influences	Locals tell each other "Let's stay healthy for another three years." We're looking forward to the next Triennale.
	Negative impacts	Visitors' manners were better than before, but we still had trouble with people leaving behind their garbage.
ST 2019	Positive influences	Almost no littering problem
	Negative impacts	There is a lack of parking lot for tourism bus at Hōden port (Okayama), sometimes bus tourism bus got stuck. Bad overseas tourist manner such as occupied the whole road. Locals appreciate the visitors who come to Inujima from afar. Wish to improve their visiting experiences.

From the re-organizing of the ST general reports above those tables, the data provided in the report is not mentioning if the interview question is the same contribute to each island's respondents or not. There are some issues worth mentioning after comparing it by the island as well as by each ST period. There are also some differences in the content between the Japanese and English versions of ST 2016 official reports. In the English translation, negative views found in the Japanese version have been removed and largely streamlined. For example, from ST 2016 reports of Shodoshima Tonosho District in Table 4.8, the negative impacts between English and Japanese were largely incomplete. From the Japanese version, issues such as the bad parking manners, lack of bus services and locals meeting after the festival, lack of number growth, the quality of artwork being weak, and the cost for the 'food project' price were all mentioned by the report. However, the parking issue is the only one reflected in the report in the English version. There is no way to understand the motivation of why ST officials created

two ambiguous versions. However, this affects the reliability of official information use for this research.

Through those reports, the negative impacts from ST general reports highly reflected from the problems caused by tourists and management effort from ST. Through following the improvement after each festival, ST did show positive results with the tourist and management related issues. However, there is no evaluation of the art side of impact. From both Shodoshima and Inujima, residents mentioned the need to change the current artworks and maintain better quality artworks. Since those reports did not mention what kind of issues were directly caused by art intervention on local culture, the further implications of art's impacts remain unclear for this research.

## **Chapter 5 Setouchi Triennale's General Influences on a Shrinking Tourism Island**

### **5.1 Case Study (Shodoshima)**

This chapter presents research that aimed to evaluate the influence of the artistic intervention on community revitalization in Shodoshima. Shodoshima was chosen as the case study because it is the biggest Setouchi Triennale hosting island in terms of geographic size, local population size, the number of communities involved, and the number of artworks presented between 2010 to 2019 (Setouchi Triennale Executive Committee, 2010, 2013, 2017c, 2020). It was also selected because Shodoshima has the best-developed local tourism industry among the Setouchi Triennale islands. This chapter evaluates how the Setouchi Triennale influences the local communities, drawing from the fields of art, rural, and tourism studies to discuss the Setouchi Triennale from multiple perspectives.

### **5.2 Methodology Frameworks**

The research adopts a convergent parallel mixed research approach, in which both quantitative and qualitative methods are used simultaneously during the fieldwork. Based on Shodoshima's prevailing manufacturing and tourism industry, the local stakeholder group was divided into tourism business stakeholders (assessed through quantitative methods) and non-tourism business stakeholders (assessed through mixed methods). The lead author designed the questionnaire that was implemented during fieldwork conducted by students from the seminar course, 'Field Research for Area Studies II', at the Graduate School of Integrated Arts and Sciences at Hiroshima University. The results have been used in this analysis with permission from the students who conducted the interviews.

After the Setouchi Triennale 2016, we conducted a three-day field survey on Shodoshima (see Figure 5.1), intending to cover all tourism businesses in the communities on the island and, in particular, all the communities hosting artworks during the Setouchi Triennale 2016. The Japanese-language questionnaire targeted 100 local tourism-related businesses, which were chosen based on the information provided by the local tourism association (Shodoshima Tourism Association, 2016). Because some businesses were closed or unable to answer the questionnaire, we acquired a total of 86 questionnaires, representing 86 percent of registered local tourism business stakeholders. Those businesses include 28 mixed businesses (32.6 percent), 13 souvenir shops (15.1 percent), 12 restaurants and cafes (14.0 percent), 12 tourist facilities (14.0 percent), 7 accommodations (8.1 percent), and 14 others, such as tourism management and transportation services (16.3 percent).





## 5.3 Finding

### 5.3.1 Quantitative findings

The main findings are presented in Figure 5.2. The influence of the Setouchi Triennale on Shodoshima regarding its general influence, the artworks and projects, and local businesses were strongly positive. The influence of the art festival on local art and culture was relatively less positive, and respondents were far less positive in their evaluation of the manners of tourists. The Chi-squared test does not show any significant differences in responses based on location, type of business, or the number and density of artworks nearby, but shows a correlation between the likelihood of a negative response to Questions 1 and 5 ( $p \leq .05$ ) and the age of the respondents between younger (age 10 to 39) and older (age 40 to 70) groups. For Question 1, 30.4 percent of younger respondents believed that Triennale was more of a negative influence, whereas 10 percent of older respondents expressed similar opinions. For Question 5, 28.3 percent of the younger group of respondents believed the manners of tourists were a negative influence of Setouchi Triennale, compared with only 7.5 percent of the older group.

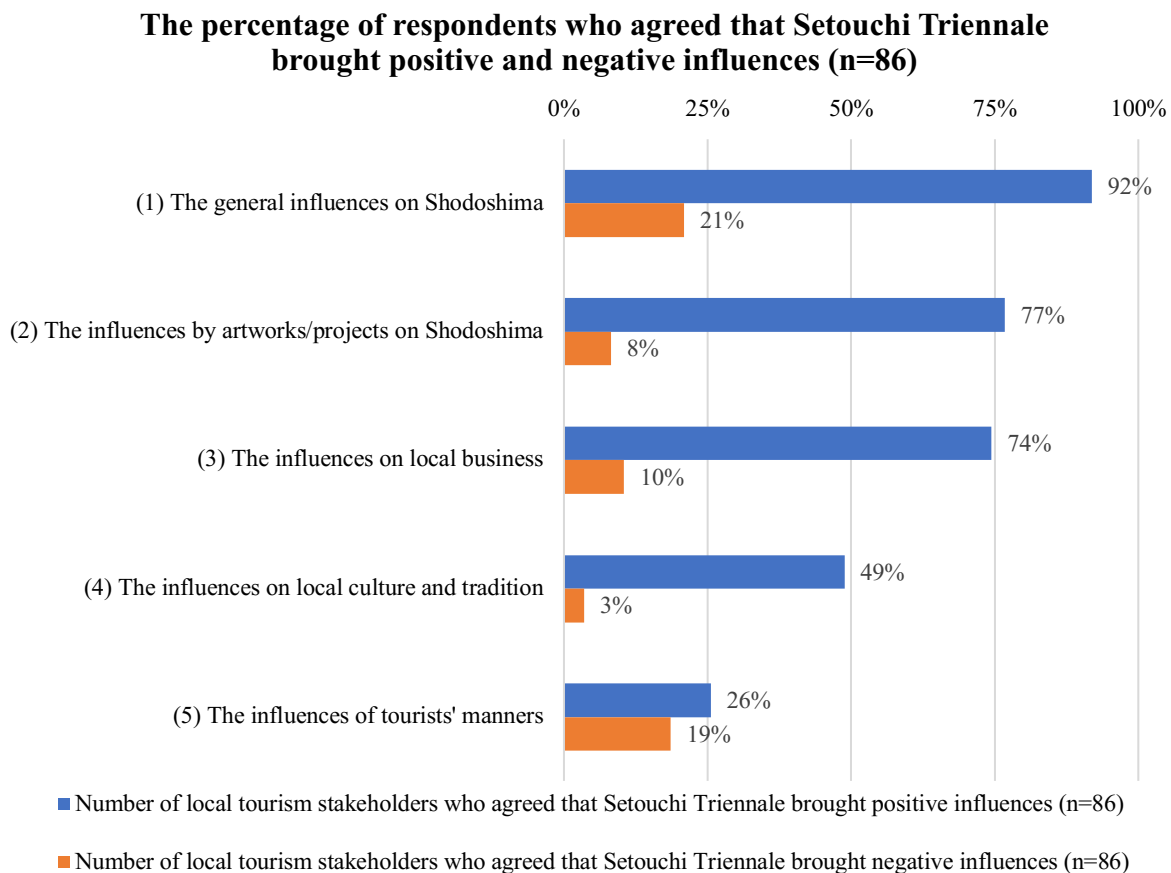
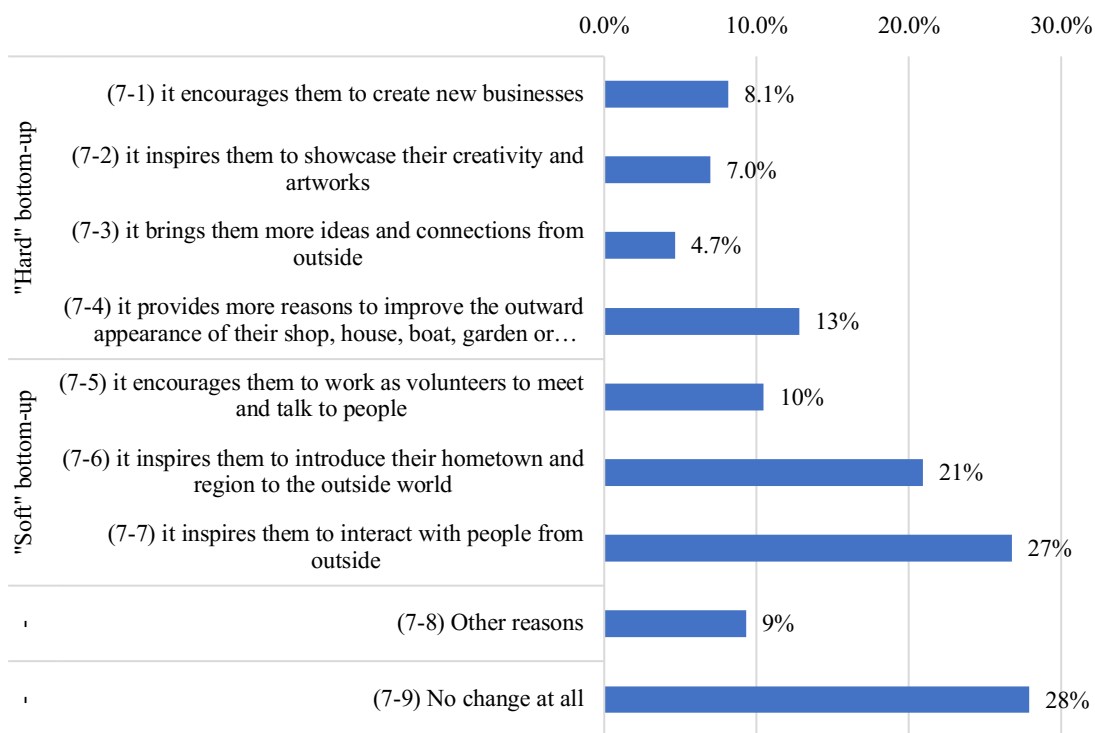


Figure 5.2 The percentage of local tourism business stakeholders who agreed that the Setouchi Triennale brought positive influences (n=86). Author's calculation and illustration

The open-ended 'reasons' offered by respondents for Questions 1 to 5 provide additional detail. For Question 1, 35 percent of the tourism business respondents reported enjoying interactions with visitors and were satisfied with the festival in general. Seven percent of

respondents mentioned that they felt delighted and enjoyed more income. Regarding the influence of the artworks, 14 percent of respondents mentioned that Setouchi Triennale changes local people’s perception of their island, which has become an ‘art island’. Some artworks remain on the island after the art festival, which is considered positive. Regarding the festival’s influence on local business, 17 percent of respondents believed that the art festival brought more customers and, therefore, benefits for their businesses. However, 2 percent of respondents mentioned negative influences on conventional tourism activities. Regarding Setouchi Triennale’s influence on local culture and tradition, 7 percent of respondents mentioned that the festival helped to revitalize regional culture, for example, by renovating a traditional Kabuki theater and increasing participation in local festivals. Regarding tourists’ manners, 14 percent of respondents mentioned increased litter and traffic congestion.

**The ways in which the Setouchi Triennale encourages respondents’ creative and interaction skills (Multiple answers) (n=86)**



*Figure 5.3 The ways in which the Setouchi Triennale encourages respondents’ creative and interaction skills (multiple answers, n=86), Author’s calculation and illustration*

Half of the respondents believed that festival tourists are also interested in local culture and traditions (Question 6). The open-ended responses to the ‘other reasons’ portion of the questionnaire also indicated that 8.1 percent of respondents believed that 40- to 60-year-old visitors tend to have a higher interest in local culture compared to younger people. Thirty-four percent of respondents choose ‘neither agree nor disagree’. A few of them gave detailed reasons, such as ‘it depends on their traveling interest’ and ‘people are more interested in artworks related to the local culture’. The results related to the bottom-up questions are shown in Figure 5.3. ‘Soft’ bottom-up approaches are more common than ‘hard’ ones, especially regarding

‘introducing Shodoshima to the world’ and encouraging residents to ‘interact with people from outside’.

### 5.3.2 Qualitative findings

From an analysis of the qualitative data, five important issues can be identified. The first is the uneven geographical distribution of the artworks among different areas and communities. For example, respondents note that excessive over-commercialization and entertainment had occurred in the Soy Sauce Town (Shoyu no Sato) and Mito Peninsula (Mito Hanto) areas. Second, some of the areas and communities were not suitable for accepting a large number of tourists within a short period. An example is one of the famous Triennale artworks, Dream of Olive, which is located in a remote area with traditional rice paddies. On one hand, locals enthusiastically helped to finish this artwork with volunteers from the outside. On the other hand, they had to withstand the bad manners of tourists who came to see the art. For example, some tourists left garbage on the farmland, which is an important community agriculture landscape (Figure 5.4). The third issue relates to locals having mixed opinions regarding the artworks, and many treat artworks as strange objects. However, some residents still enjoyed the vitality of the festival atmosphere and interaction with youth. The ones who participated in artmaking gained a sense of accomplishment. Fourth, financial benefits from the festival disproportionately favor tourism-related businesses as expressed by one of our respondents,

*Only the people who open a business can have profit. (Farmer on Shodsohima)*



Figure 5.4 “Dream of Olive” by artist WangWen Chih. The idyllic scenery is one of the elements of the artwork, but the piece also negatively affects residents by bringing tourists into farmland, Author’s photo, 2016

The fifth issue shows how tourism businesses emphasize the difference between art tourists versus conventional visitors. One owner from a century-old soy sauce factory mentioned that

*During the art Triennale, a lot of art tourists pass by and ask if there is any artwork to see inside of my business. After I told them 'no', they just leave to search for art in a hurry. Even if my facility is a century-old shop full of local history and culture. (Long-term business owner on Shodoshima)*

From business respondents, the expression “one-time visitor” was often used to describe art tourists who are not likely to visit the island again compared with conventional island visitors.

Results from both interviews and open-ended portions of the questionnaire indicated that the merits of the Setouchi Triennale are mostly related to the observed increase in visitors, which is in line with the original intent of the festival. The advantages of tourism businesses are directly related to the increased number of customers. Furthermore, many local people want to improve their English skills because of the presence of foreign festival tourists. The Setouchi Triennale has renovated two abandoned Kabuki theaters on the island, directly improving its cultural infrastructure. Many artworks on Shodoshima also use local cultural symbols, such as the island’s long-standing connection to olive production, as their creative inspiration. Another positive bottom-up result came from the official Setouchi Triennale handbook, which covers the local attractions on Shodoshima. Additionally, the local tourism association designed their tour guidebook that incorporates the artworks as attractions on the island. Negative influences that emerged concerning the Setouchi Triennale included the artwork quality and its uneven distribution. Transportation issues related to ferry and bus transit, traffic congestion, and illegal parking issues were mentioned, and tourists’ manners also seriously affected non-tourist areas developed by the festival. Our findings also show that the festival’s overwhelming reliance on corporate funding makes residents uncertain about the future of the Setouchi Triennale.

## **5.4 Mixed Findings and Discussion**

### **5.4.1 Art arrives on the island: top-down rural art festival tourism**

Respondents pointed out that the quality of the artworks has been declining since Setouchi Triennale’s debut in 2010; the challenge of maintaining artwork quality is an important issue that needs to be further considered. The positive influence of art does not depend on the number of artworks but their quality and their relationship with community roots. Balancing the distribution of the artworks among the communities to satisfy both residents and tourists is another issue. On one hand, artworks placed in areas that previously were not sightseeing destinations bring tourists and benefits for some communities. On the other hand, visitors are sometimes ‘biased’ and visit only places with artworks, without showing any interest in the surrounding communities and local attractions. This is also due to the short time that art tourists typically allocate to the visit, and the fact that most art visitors come only during the festival period, although some artworks remain after the festival and the island has many other tourist attractions. Furthermore, there appears to be a not so success factor by the organizers to predict how the location of the artworks might interfere with the daily lives of locals. As illustrated by

the artwork *Dream of Olive* (Figure 5.4), it is critical to consider if placing art in the community as an attraction for outsiders creates extra burdens to community life.

Even the issue of ‘borrowed art’ (N. Li, 2015) only focuses on art intervention, without considering the importance of interaction (Richards & Wilson, 2006) and cultural exchanges (Nakashima, 2012) as elements of art festival tourism. Artistic quality is difficult to measure objectively, whereas it is comparatively straightforward to observe community outcomes. Artworks increase some island residents’ awareness of the importance of their communities. In this sense, even ‘borrowed art’ can turn communities into creative destinations that can entice tourists to visit ‘borrowed land’. Although locals may not understand contemporary art, the majority view seems to be that communities are better off with art than without. The differences among locals who appreciate the artwork and those who do not may influence the way in which they engage in cultural exchange with tourists (Besculides et al., 2002). Despite some locals not understanding or not caring about art, most enjoy interacting with visitors, as indicated by their mostly positive responses to the presence of tourists and interactions between tourists and locals. As mentioned previously, the prospect of effective interaction rests on the small percentage of tourists (Yamamoto et al., 2014) who are interested in communicating with locals. On the community side, interaction and cultural exchange can be successfully established only by locals who are willing to talk with the festival tourists.

At this point, it is important to remember that the Setouchi Triennale is not intended only to be a type of festival or event tourism (Quinn, 2009a) in rural Japan, but also to be a means of revitalizing or regenerating shrinking and stagnating communities (Koizumi, 2016; Nakashima, 2012). Recalling that Klien concluded that, “revitalization means that some things will be lost” (Klien, 2010b, p. 537), a balance between the protection of traditional culture and revitalization must also be reached. Based on responses in the interviews and the open-ended questions, Setouchi Triennale has already led to changes such as a shift in tourists from Shodoshima’s conventional tourism sites to the new art attractions. The results of this study suggest that art in Setouchi Triennale has the function to seek local cultural elements (Yamashima, 2014) and link the local culture to tourists (Takeda et al., 2011) via a top-down intervention process. Most of the artworks on Shodoshima use local cultural symbols, like its olive planting culture, as the creative inspiration of the artwork.

The lowest satisfaction level was related to tourists’ manners, especially perceived by younger business respondents. This suggests a disparity between the dual efforts of the festival organizers to promote art festival tourism and community revitalization. In the eyes of local people, there are different ‘levels’ of tourists. Young visitors tend to be interested only in art, while relatively older people have more interest in the local culture. Additionally, compared with Shodoshima’s conventional island tourists, festival tourists are more likely to be classified as ‘one-time’ visitors by local tourism businesses.

#### 5.4.2 Relational festival shapes relational island: community bottom-up responses

Regarding the ‘soft’ bottom-up approaches of interactions with tourists, it is significant that opinions about the interaction between locals and visitors differ between tourism business stakeholders and non-tourism business stakeholders. Representatives from the local tourism association, local government officials, owners of local shops and industries, and Setouchi Triennale staff members suggested that locals were very surprised to see the festival bringing

visitors in such substantial numbers and that there was a positive interaction between residents and visitors. Residents, to the contrary, commented that many locals are not very active in interacting with visitors and volunteers.

The ‘hard’ type of bottom-up initiatives, such as the opening of new businesses, was another focus of this research. For the local tourism association, the Setouchi Triennale represents an opportunity to further promote existing businesses through a combination of traditional destinations with new art festival tourism sightseeing spots. For example, their free travel brochure introduces both conventional tourism sites as well as festival artworks, and local businesses give discounts to festival passport holders. Local tourism management agencies and businesses are seeking a mutual benefit model (i.e., to achieve profits).

Another type of ‘hard’ bottom-up approach is the focus on creative businesses and cultural creation opportunities for local tourism stakeholders. Quantitative findings show that ‘hard’ bottom-up initiatives are rarer than ‘soft’ ones. However, our qualitative results show that if local businesses are part of the Setouchi Triennale artwork or are introduced in the triennial tour book, they will realize better bottom-up outcomes compared to normal local businesses. The unique creative strategy of combining artworks with local tourism businesses, therefore, allows local people to benefit from art through bottom-up approaches.

#### 5.4.3 Benefits and challenges

The Setouchi Triennale’s art intervention interprets local culture through art. This, in turn, establishes a new community identity (Quinn, 2009b, p. 9) for Shodoshima as a ‘cultural-artistic destination’. It also contributes to the revitalization of regional cultural infrastructure and assets, as shown by the renovation of Kabuki theatres as well as by the artworks themselves. The organizers of Setouchi Triennale also attempt to revitalize local society by facilitating interaction between locals, visitors, volunteers, and artists. Local people involved in creating artworks and collaborating with artists and volunteers express a sense of accomplishment. Although some locals say they do not understand art, the communities of Shodoshima tend to treat artworks as ‘treasures’. The long-term development of the project and its geographical scale, which keeps expanding after each triennial, engages many remote communities that were not tourism destinations previously and promotes interaction between residents and visitors through various initiatives.

Regarding bottom-up approaches, ‘soft’ interaction between visitors and locals was relatively easy to achieve, as residents enjoy communicating with festival tourists. Shodoshima’s tourism business stakeholders, especially restaurants and cafes, directly benefit from the increased flow of tourists from the festival. A mutual benefit mode has emerged between local conventional island tourism and festival tourism development, with local tourism associations combining art sites with more traditional sightseeing areas. However, the interest of festival visitors in a local culture still leaves room for improvement and might benefit from more concerted strategies that combine contemporary art with the local context in mixed attractions that draw visitors’ interest in both new and old culture.

Moreover, there are several challenges to address, including the uneven distribution of artworks among communities and varying levels of quality. Currently, the top-down model of the Setouchi Triennale relies on corporate funding and management, while a more sustainable model requires a shift to a more bottom-up approach, with the active involvement of residents

in all the stages of festival planning and implementation. At present, locals are involved mainly as volunteers. They can also enjoy the vibrant atmosphere as well as some economic benefits for tourism businesses, but they are not integrated into the core planning team nor in the implementation of the event.

To achieve the revitalization of the local communities, both the ‘soft’ and ‘hard’ types of bottom-up approaches outlined in this study require significant improvements. Demographic trends indicate that Shodoshima’s population will continue to decrease in the future. To encourage not only tourism but also new long-term residents in these declining communities (Klien, 2010), creating additional facilities, transportation infrastructure, and jobs is also necessary. These are issues beyond the scope of the festival but that may be strategically considered and developed in concert with the festival’s ability to draw people to the location, and as a possible catalyst of revitalization outcomes.

Local tourism businesses also wish to have more repeat customers during the Setouchi Triennale. Like many popular tourist destinations, the manners of ‘one-time’ visitors (e.g., littering or noise) can have a strong negative influence on locals. Considering that transportation is one of the issues that receive the most complaints at the local level, improved planning, infrastructure, and distribution of information is necessary to ensure a more positive experience for both tourists and locals. Another issue is related to seasonality: tourists tend to concentrate on the summer and autumn sessions. To lessen the burden on local transportation services, organizers should prioritize strategies for re-distributing the number of visitors more evenly throughout the year, and to further develop a plan to alleviate high volumes of visitors in locations that lack the infrastructure to support them.

## **5.5 Chapter Summary**

This evaluation of Setouchi Triennale’s top-down interventions and the locals’ bottom-up approaches on Shodoshima suggests that improvements to the artwork, tourism, and rural revitalization aspects of the event all need to be considered. The positive and negative influences revealed in this study show how the Setouchi Triennale intervenes and interacts with local communities on Shodoshima. Regardless of the merits of the art itself, the results of its strategic use to revitalize the area must be evaluated based on the satisfaction of the communities it affects.

This study suggests that effective revitalization of local communities is best achieved when the art reflects a motivation to preserve local culture. For the future of the Setouchi Triennale island communities, a balance between the protection of traditional culture and the revitalization of local communities (Klien, 2010b) should be paramount. In particular, efforts at revitalizing communities need clear paths to sustainability. These paths should be tailored to the particular realities and needs of each community. As similar art intervention strategies will have different impacts on different communities, clarifying the goals of revitalization for each destination area will be important for long-term sustainability on both community and festival levels.

The relational art festival has the effect of creating ‘relational communities’ through interaction and cultural exchange. Planners and managers should be particularly attuned to the role that creative and relational experiences play in fostering positive interactions between



locals and tourists (Richards & Wilson, 2006). By maintaining the ‘freshness’ of the artwork, the art festival organizers can maintain the vitality of the tourism engine and perhaps even encourage repeat visitors. However, a strategic focus must also be placed on the nature of the interactions between visitors and residents, and the manners in which the local culture is influenced by these art interventions.

In closing, the Setouchi Triennale is held once every three years. In this context, a significant challenge is how to sustain tourism and service businesses between the festival periods. By encouraging a bottom-up mindset focused on art and cultural creation enterprises, the communities of Shodoshima and elsewhere in the Seto Inland Sea are better positioned to attract new creative residents and foster a more continuous pattern of creative activity and community revitalization. This will require development strategies based on art, tourism, and community. First, maintaining good quality artworks, linking them with the local cultural heritage, and better distributing them among each community is paramount. Second, it will be important to encourage a shift from a one-time art festival tourism to art and island-centered slow tourism. Third, the collaboration between public agencies, businesses, and civic associations is needed to collectively develop a plan for future revitalization that leverages art interventions and festival tourism to increase the economic, social, and cultural vitality of local communities.

## **Chapter 6 Art Intervention and Community Interpretations**

### **6.1 Case Studies (Teshima, Inujima)**

The first part of this research examines the cultural impacts of ST and its artwork on the local host communities. The official ST reports released after each triennial provide detailed information regarding how visitor numbers, artworks, and art events are distributed on each island. Naoshima, Teshima, Megijima, Ogijima, Shodoshima, and Inujima had relatively more visitors, artworks, and events compared with the other islands during ST 2016 and ST 2019 (Setouchi Triennale Executive Committee, 2017a, 2020). The research areas are Teshima and Inujima, two major ST host islands that under double art intervention between BAS's art tourism and ST's RAFT. However, this study will not focus on Naoshima because of the overly famous 'art island' halo with better tourism development. Also, since Megijima and Ogijima are lack BAS's intervention but only rely on RAFT. Therefore, the evaluation with those two islands is more suitable to put under the next Chapter with festival tourism topic.

Teshima and Inujima were chosen as two case studies because they are two of the major ST islands in terms of the number of art events and visitors. Moreover, viewed as geographic types, Teshima can represent midsize island destinations, while Inujima can represent small ones. As Nakashima (2012) indicates, ST's art-community interaction and development processes show diverse outcomes based on different local situations. Therefore, evaluating the art festival and its development strategy in different geographical contexts and configurations, as well as in communities with different sociodemographic characteristics, can help mitigate the influence of outside factors.

### **6.2 Methodology Frameworks**

This is a mixed-method study that includes both quantitative and qualitative approaches. Quantitative research was conducted via a questionnaire for respondents of small-scale local businesses. Businesses on Teshima and Inujima are small, low-margin ventures run by longtime residents as well as newcomers. Often operated out of converted homes, they serve both locals and tourists. They are the face of their communities and frequently function as hubs of interaction between locals and outsiders. Their local businesses are also the most readily available group for a comprehensive, comparative study. This research sought to balance their availability as a source of information and their value as cultural barometers with the limitations of focusing on one facet of the community.

The questionnaire was designed to focus on how, as tourism-related stakeholders positioned to profit from ST, these business respondents 'understand' and 'treat' ST's artworks. This research considered that tourist-facing businesses, in particular, would view the festival more favorably than residents in general; responses were therefore weighed accordingly and rebalanced with subsequent field observations and interviews with residents not affiliated with local small businesses.

The survey was conducted between December of 2017 and April of 2018, during a non-festival period, over eight days in total. The non-festival period was chosen with the assumption that respondents would have more time to talk to the author. Comparing these islands also allowed for an examination of whether Inujima's comparatively weaker position as a community disproportionately affected its relationship with the much more strongly positioned

art festival organizers. The author received verbal permission from all respondents to use their responses for this article.

The questionnaire covers the reasons why respondents started their current work, intending to assess whether the ST was a major reason. It also evaluates their understanding of artworks and their opinions about the ST through a Likert scale, ranging from 5 (strongly agree) to 1 (strongly disagree), and 0 (I don't know). This part contains four statements:

- a) I like the ST art (art museum/artworks/art events) on my island.
- b) I can understand the ST art (art museum/artworks/art events) on my island.
- c) I think the ST turns my island into 'art Teshima/Inujima.'
- d) I think the ST revitalizes the local culture on my island.

*Table 6.1 Questionnaire on Teshima and Inujima Islands, Author's calculation*

<b>Islands</b>	<b>Local Businesses</b>	<b>Number of Questionnaires</b>	<b>Percentage of Total (%)</b>
Teshima	Mixed businesses	10	20.4
	Souvenir shops	2	4.1
	Daily store	6	12.2
	Restaurants and cafes	15	30.6
	Transportation	5	10.2
	Art facilities	2	4.1
	Accommodations	9	18.4
	<b>Total</b>	<b>49</b>	<b>100.0</b>
Inujima	Mixed businesses	8	57.2
	Art facilities	1	7.1
	Restaurants and cafes	4	28.6
	Accommodations	1	7.1
	<b>Total</b>	<b>14</b>	<b>100.0</b>

As shown in Table 6.1, on Teshima, the author collected forty-nine questionnaires from local business respondents. Fifty-two businesses were operating during that period, so the author's data represents 94.2 percent of the local businesses. In the case of Inujima, the author collected questionnaires from fourteen out of fifteen businesses or 93.3 percent.

To improve the validity of the survey data, a re-sampling with One-way ANOVA was conducted to examine the differences between different types of residents and age groups among each island. Qualitative methods included semi-structured and unstructured interviews (Table 6.2) with local people, chosen among the residents encountered during the fieldwork. Interviews focused on local small business owners and staff as well as other local stakeholders, such as art facility employees, farmers, fishermen, food processing workers, public employees, and retired people.

Table 6.2 The Biographical Characteristics of Interview Participants from Teshima and Inujima Islands, Author's calculation

Island	Interview	Gender	Resident	Occupation	Position
Teshima	Semi-structured	Male	I-turner	Tourism industry	owner
		Female	I-turner	Tourism industry	owner
		Female	Local	Retired elderly	n/a
		Female	U-turner	Art facility	manager
		Female	I-turner	Tourism industry	manager
		Male	Local	Local retails services	worker
		Group	I-turner	Art facility	owner
		Female	Local	Local retails services	owner
		Male	I-turner	Tourism industry	manager
		Male	I-turner	Art facility	manager
		Male	I-turner	Public services	manager
		Male	Local	Retired elderly	n/a
		Female	Local	Retired elderly	n/a
		Male	I-turner	Secondary industry	staff
		Male	I-turner	Social welfare facility	manager
		Male	Local	Primary industry	owner
		Female	Local	Tourism industry	staff
		Group	I-turner	Secondary industry	staffs
Inujima	Un-structured	Female	Local	Retired elderly	n/a
		Female	Local	Retired elderly	n/a
		Male	Local	Retired elderly	n/a
	Semi-structured	Female	Local	Retired elderly	n/a
		Male	Commuter	Tourism industry	staff
		Male	Commuter	Public services	staff
		Male	Commuter	Tourism industry	manager
		Female	Local	Retired elderly	n/a
		Female	Local	Retired elderly	n/a
		Male	I-turner	Art facility	manager
Un-structured	Female	I-turner	Art facility	staff	
	Female	Local	Retiree elder	n/a	

The author conducted eighteen semi-structured and three unstructured interviews with twenty-three people on Teshima and seven semi-structured and two unstructured interviews on Inujima. They provide a much wider range of information that can be used to explore and interpret the survey results in more detail. Semi-structured interview questions for local stakeholders were as follows:

- a) On your island, which ST artwork or event do you recommend that I visit?
- b) Do you understand the meaning of the artworks on your island?
- c) Do those artworks and events reflect local cultural elements?
- d) What is the relationship between artists and locals?

All interview recordings were translated from Japanese to English by the author before being processed for use in this study. The author conducted the content analysis by creating different coding groups comparing the different opinions expressed by business respondents compared to respondents not affiliated with small businesses, and among elderly versus young generations. Aside from fieldwork periods, the author also conducted field observations as a festival visitor, and participant observation while working as an official ST volunteer between 2016 and 2019 on both islands. Since Inujima joins the ST as a festival partner and its artworks or museum on the island are only belongs to BAS. Therefore, no artworks are collaborating with STEC. Also because of the number of the communities and size of the island, the artwork analysis part of this chapter will only use Teshima as a signal case study for the artwork case discussion.

## 6.3 Finding

### 6.3.1 Quantitative findings

This research found that twenty-eight local businesses were established after ST 2010 on Teshima, which comprise more than half of the local businesses. In ten cases, business respondents indicated that one reason for opening their businesses was the ST. However, on Inujima, the author only found three local businesses that were established after the inaugural festival and only one business that was opened because of ST. The characteristics of respondents in Teshima and Inujima are shown in Table 6.3 respectively.

*Table 6.3 Demographics of Teshima and Inujima Respondents, Author's calculation*

Islands	Characteristics of Respondents		Frequency (n = 49)	Percentage (%)	
Teshima	Gender	Male	19	38.8	
		Female	30	61.2	
		Non-response	0	0.0	
	Age groups	10–49	22	44.9	
		50 and above	27	55.1	
		Non-response	0	0.0	
	Type of residents	Local long-term residents (10 years or more)		22	44.9
		In-migrant (I-turn)		13	26.5
		Return migrant (U-turn)		11	22.5
		Commuter (Living off-island)		3	6.1
Non-response		0	0.0		
Inujima	Gender	Male	8	57.1	
		Female	6	42.9	
		Non-response	0	0.0	
	Age groups	10–49	7	50.0	
		50 and above	7	50.0	
		Non-response	0	0.0	
	Type of residents	Local		3	21.4
		I-turner		3	21.4
		U-turner		0	0.0
		Commuter		8	57.2
Non-response		0	0.0		

**STBs' understanding about ST's art intervention in Teshima (likert scale, n=49)**

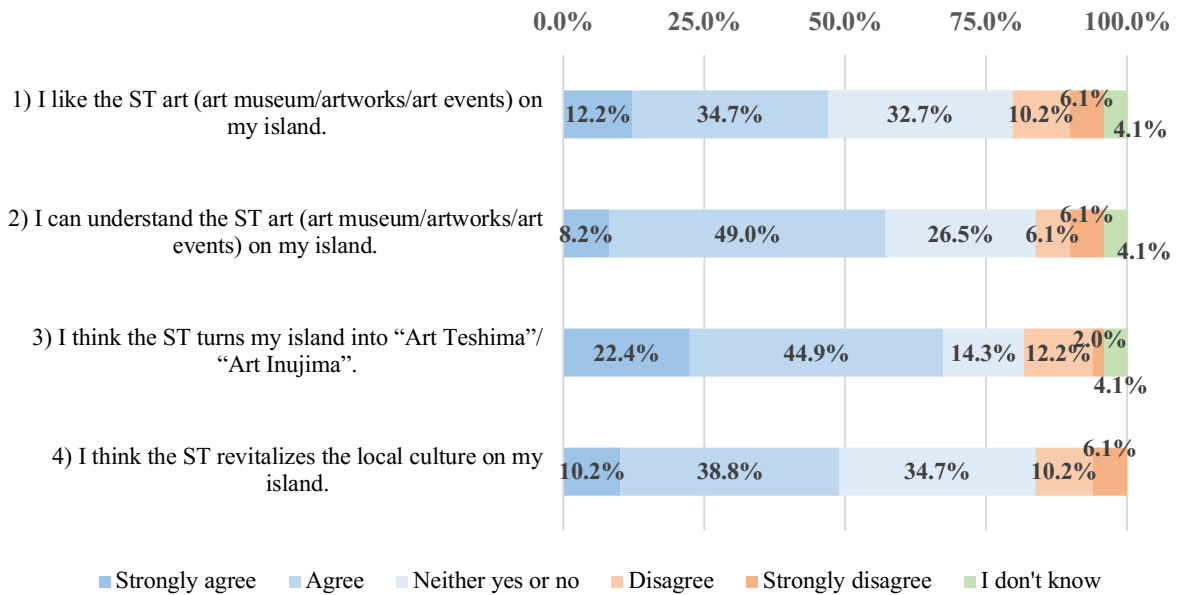


Figure 6.1 Questionnaire results of business respondents' understanding about Setouchi Triennale's artistic intervention on Teshima, Author's calculation and illustration

**STBs' understanding about ST's art intervention in Inujima (likert scale, n=14)**

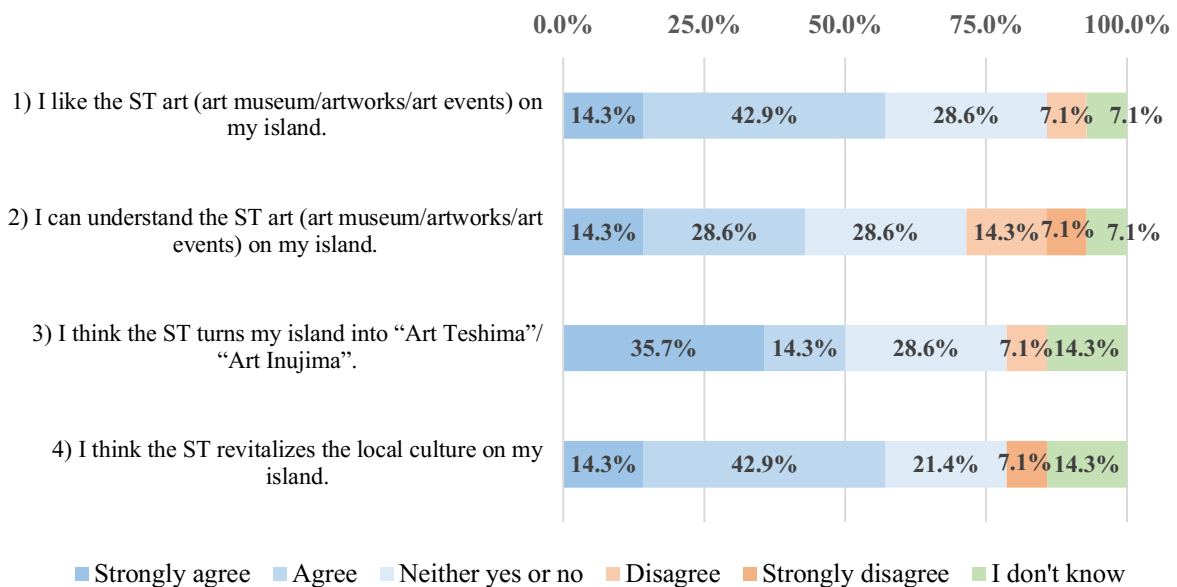


Figure 6.2 Questionnaire results of business respondents' understanding about Setouchi Triennale's artistic intervention on Inujima, Author's calculation and illustration

A comparison of Figure 6.1 and Figure 6.2 shows that local business respondents on Inujima agreed or strongly agreed that they liked the artwork on their island at a higher rate (57.2%) than did business respondents on Teshima (46.9%). However, the situation was inverted when it came to claimed comprehension, with 57.2 percent of Teshima business respondents

indicating that they understood the artwork on their island, compared to only 42.9 percent on Inujima. A plurality of respondents on Teshima (49%) and a majority on Inujima (57.2%) believed that ST had revitalized their regional culture.

When asked to consider the effect of ST as a cultural change agent, more Teshima respondents (67.3%) believed that ST had gradually turned their island into “Art Teshima” than did respondents on Inujima (50.0%). There was no statistically significant difference between different types of residents and age groups on Teshima (as assessed by Oneway-ANOVA). On Inujima, however, there were statistically significant differences between locals, I-turn in-migrants, and commuters ( $P < 0.05$ ). I-turners in particular did not agree that ST had shaped Inujima into “Art Inujima.” Also, while people older than fifty years agreed that ST shaped Inujima into “Art Inujima,” younger people had the opposite opinion ( $P < 0.05$ ).

### 6.3.2 Qualitative findings

*Question 1: “Which ST artwork or event do you recommend that I visit?”*

More than half of the Teshima locals recommended Teshima Art Museum, and more than half of the Inujima locals recommended visiting the Inujima Seirenscho Art Museum, as well as art performances near the museum. Importantly, these recommendations favored attractions that predated the festival’s inauguration over new artworks created for the festival.



Figure 6.3 Teshima Art Museum (at right) with Terraced Field, Author’s photo, 2016

In the case of the Teshima Art Museum (Figure 6.3), locals emphasized the landscape of rice terraces around the museum, which was restored by the Fukutake Foundation before ST started.

Local people thought the restored landscape was important because farmland embodies local people's memories and their community's connection to agriculture. In the case of Inujima Seirenscho Art Museum, the museum was built on the ruins of a factory that once employed 4,000 people. Locals had special feelings and memories of that place that endured even after the Fukutake Foundation turned it into a contemporary art museum.

*Question 2: "Can you understand the meaning of the artworks on your island?"*

The interview data also provided a deeper understanding of local people's opinions about the artists and of the artworks they created in the community. More than two-thirds of Teshima locals stated that they did not understand the artwork in their community. Some younger respondents mentioned that most Teshima locals did not understand the meaning of the artworks on the island and that this was particularly the case among the elderly people (who make up most of the local population). However, some older respondents mentioned that even though the art was difficult for them to understand, its value as an asset that attracts visitors was clear. These respondents described visitors to the island as being fascinated and excited by the art festival. Local business respondents seemed to have more knowledge about the art, but this was because they wished to explain the artworks to their customers rather than out of personal interest. Those respondents who did not understand the artwork had mixed opinions about it. Some of them mentioned liking it regardless, as illustrated by the following statement:

*I do not really understand [the artwork in front of his house], but I think it's good.*  
(Long-term resident on Teshima)

But another respondent mentioned that,

*In the place where I live, if [an artist] comes here, I want to know that, no matter who they are, they understand this place from the point of view of a person who lives here. An art space was created near my house. If you make something disgusting, I will not like it.* (Young in-migrant with business on Teshima)

In this case, the issue is not only about the quality of art, but also of whether the art is reflective and respectful of the community and also if its aesthetic merits are apparent to a layperson. A different picture was provided by respondents on Inujima, more than half of whom mentioned they understood the meaning of the ST art. Some people mentioned that the Fukutake Foundation provided a lecture for locals to explain the meaning of the artworks, which is likely to have influenced this result.

*Question 3: "Do those artworks and events reflect local cultural elements?"*

Half of the respondents on Teshima believed that the island's artworks reflected the local cultural landscape, mentioning authentic elements such as seaweed cultivation, the island's forest, and its historic rice terraces. Some respondents did not see the art on the island as a being indicative of the local culture. Others mentioned that some artworks did reflect local culture, while other artworks did not. More than once, interview subjects expressed a belief that when



external products, people, and ideas arrive on the island, local cultural identity becomes steadily diluted. Most interview subjects on Inujima did not believe that art (Figure 6.4) on their island reflected their local culture. One retired resident mentioned that

*[Art] is an outside culture. Only the industrial heritage is what makes me think that Inujima is nice. Only the heritage – the artworks are not nice at all. If [Fukutake Foundation] knew I was speaking like this, I would be scolded, but the artwork is not [a reflection of the local culture]. (Long-term resident with business on Inujima)*



Figure 6.4 Listen to the Voices of Yesterday Like the Voices of Ancient Times, Artwork by Yusuke Asai located in the Residential Area of Inujima, Author's photo, 2017

#### Question 4: “What is the relationship between artists and locals?”

More than two-thirds of Teshima respondents mentioned that they never had the chance to talk to or meet the artists. Conversely, most of the Inujima respondents mentioned they had good interactions with a few artists. On both islands, locals mentioned that some artists like to talk with locals while others do not. In some cases, language barriers occur when foreign artists do not speak Japanese. Further inhibiting meaningful exchange, artists often only spend a short period on the island before the ST starts.

### 6.3.3 Mix findings

#### Type of Arts



Figure 6.5 Setouchi Triennale artwork “Particle in the Air” by Noe Aoki. Author’s photo, 2019

Art museums funded by the Fukutake Foundation, such as the Teshima Museum of Art (Figure 6.3), and site-specific artworks from the Setouchi Triennale such as Noe Aoki's ‘Particle in the Air’ (Figure 6.5) exemplify elite art in terms of their quality and attractiveness for both domestic and international art lovers. The introductory statement accompanying ‘Particle in the Air’ identifies it as trying to “restore this former community center to its previous liveliness” (Kitagawa & Setouchi Triennale Executive Committee, 2016, p. 36). However, the author has also seen a similar artwork by the same artist in an urban city within Japan. The Teshima work appears to have been copied, with the creator reusing his concept in an attempt to restore the community center. However, during the author’s three-year field observation, no locals showed their presence around this artwork, nor did they treat it as a community center.

Local interviewees showed mixed opinions as to whether art installations around the island respected Teshima’s natural or cultural elements. The majority believe that artworks mainly focuses on general artistic expression with a few borrowed local symbols, but does not represent their culture:

*Elderly people and kids in school never go to see those artworks, even if they were made by super famous artists. Because they do not understand it. Imagine just putting something strange on the side of the road, people [tourists] will say ‘look, art! art!’*

*This situation cannot be called culture for our community. (Young in-migrant on Teshima)*

*Some artworks were highly entertaining, but my personal preference is that people need to think about the deeper meaning of the artwork, I wish there were more such [meaningful] types of artworks. (Young in-migrant with business on Teshima)*

For interviewees, the real benefit for the community is not the art itself but how it functions as a trigger – providing the opportunity for visitors, such as young urban tourists, to create social vitality through interaction and knowledge exchange. For art-oriented visitors, taking photos and sharing posts on social networking services appear to be the main motivation instead of a slower appreciation of art. This has caused a direct impact on local life as art tourism involves both artworks and art visitors' arrival within private residential areas. Some residents identify that if art cannot play an educational role within Teshima's history, natural landscape, and community culture for the visitors (contrasting examples of garbage history and beauty of the landscape are often mentioned), it is incorrect to compare Teshima to an artistic theme park:

*People come to places where normally people live, not theme parks! For example, sometimes I was stressed when a lot of photos were quickly taken [without permission in front of my house], so I feel uncomfortable. This is an issue. (Young in-migrant with business on Teshima)*

It must be said that art does not always meet residents' expectations, as some business owners treat it as a new type of 'garbage' from outside generated by tourism and locals worry that if one day the art becomes redundant, the entire island will be full of 'art garbage', not unlike the countless abandoned theme parks that fell into disrepair and ruin after Japan's bubble economy deflated in the early 1990s. Art tourism also brings common tourism impacts for Teshima such as crowded public transportation on ferries and local buses at peak visitation times. Other downsides include garbage and noise pollution in residential areas. Interviewees estimated that around 70-80% of visitors come to Teshima because of art. However, related improvements are limited to tourism-related infrastructures, like transportation services and emerging small-scale businesses, and vital community amenities such as schools and hospitals remain under-funded.

When interviewees were asked about the artworks that they would recommend tourists to visit, answers clustered around two with different relational forms. Locals commonly perceived the rice terraces beside Teshima Museum of Art as impressive and worth visiting. For tourists, art museums are invariably key attractions, with beautiful landscapes perceived as a background. The opposite case applies to Teshima locals:

*You can see the rice terraces in the landscape at the side [of the Teshima Museum of Art]... Depending on the four seasons, all the landscapes will change. What are those landscapes presenting? That is also art for me. So, separately, I would like to see the natural as art, not the art they created. (Long-term resident on Teshima)*

Another relational artwork is the island birthday parties (*shima no tanjobi* in Japanese) held in the Shima Kitchen, created by artist Abe Ryo (Figure 6.6). Shima Kitchen is an attempt to create a community cafeteria that employs local elders, with young urban volunteers' support, to cook creative cuisine using local ingredients. The manager is a young island out-migrant who returned to Teshima because of the opportunities offered by the art festival. The kitchen allows locals and visitors to interact with each other on a daily basis and once a month a party is held to celebrate any resident who has their birthday in the month concerned.

*I want to see the smiles of grandpas and grandmas in the area. By interacting with each other, I know the culture of this area where I have lived and grown up for many years. After all, I think that the fact that grandpas and grandmothers come to the art festival and that they are happy to know that they live there is an opportunity to start the art festival. (manager of Shima Kitchen, out-migrant who returned to Teshima)*

*The fact that the art festival has created a new environment where people can actually come and talk with each other is good for the elderly. (Long-term resident 2, ex-chairman of Teshima City Council on Teshima)*



Figure 6.6 Author and all staff in Shima Kitchen (the photos at the rear record all previous island birthday parties. Author's photo, 2017)

### *ST Art is not Art but “Theme Park” as New Tourism Product*

Some Teshima interview respondents expressed a belief that their island should not become another version of ‘art Naoshima’, a reference to a neighboring art tourism island at the center

of ST that has been heavily impacted by Fukutake Foundation museums and by the hundreds of thousands of annual tourists who visit them. Further illustrating this point, Inujima residents have the impression that the Fukutake Foundation already owns and controls their island. Some locals provided interpretations of ST that notably differ from the official description. One I-turner mentioned that,

*The business [of ST] is successful, but we think of art as a new cultural attraction. After all, Japan has a unique consumer culture. People want to consume and follow the next fashion. For a while, ST may be linked with regional revitalization, but I think that what people come to see is not really art. (Young in-migrant with business on Teshima)*

Other respondents echoed the view that ST has art turned art into a fashionable attraction on the island. A few locals compared ST to a “theme park.” As one mentioned,

*When you visit Teshima, it seems like a great place, and it’s fun to look around at the artwork. But without understanding Teshima’s background, such as our industrial waste problem, you [are limited to] playful feelings, like Teshima is just some amusement park. If visitors are walking around looking at artwork like they are in a theme park [while important issues go unaddressed], it doesn’t seem to have much to do with revitalization to me. (Young in-migrant with business on Teshima)*

For this person and others, it is difficult to draw a connection between art tourism and revitalization. An imported, artistic theme park has glossed over inconvenient or unfashionable subjects and symbols on the islands.



Figure 6.7 On Teshima, signs made by ST organizers (right) and a resident (left) point tourists in different directions, indicating divergent priorities, Author’s photo, 2016

Teshima locals had their own opinions of what local attractions were – nature, rather than artwork. This is demonstrated in Figure 6.7, where one sign made by festival organizers indicates the location of artwork on Teshima, while another, created by a resident, points to a trail to Danyama mountain that many residents believe to be the most beautiful natural attraction on their island. According to one Teshima resident,

*The attraction of Teshima is nature. I want people to remember the natural landscape such as the sea and mountains. I want the ST committees to promote our island's natural features more. (Long-term resident on Teshima)*

He went on to explain what “real art” is in the minds of local people.

*I want people to see nature as art. (Long-term resident on Teshima)*

During the fieldwork on those two islands, the author also found that many locals have increasingly come to connote local resources in general with art. On Inujima, one individual mentioned that,

*Honestly, I do not recommend individual artworks. It's a tiny island, so it's the atmosphere of the whole island that should be seen. I think the charm of Inujima, with art as well as other fun points, should be experienced together. (Young in-migrant with business on Teshima)*

Similar to Teshima, locals on Inujima mentioned that art is not only contained within the art museum but also includes the island's nature, such as the scenic beach and some rock art made by locals on the southern shore.

## **6.4 Discussion**

### **6.4.1 Community disconnects**

When determining the relationship between outside artists and the communities, much depends on whether the researcher chooses to position art ‘in’ or ‘for’ the community. More than half of the respondents from small-scale local businesses on each island believed that ST had revitalized local culture, a positive sign for those promoting ST as a tool for revitalization. Overall, the positive outcomes of the ST outweigh the problems by the art side. However, whether artists can create artwork that embodies a deep understanding of the place and the local culture is a more nuanced issue. Interview findings, particularly on Inujima, suggested that not all the artists understand the local culture. These findings question the results of other studies focused specifically on Naoshima that suggest the artwork there incorporates elements from the community's natural, environmental, historical, and cultural background (Yamashima, 2014).

Previous research on Naoshima claims that a collaborative relationship between artists, community groups, and residents is indispensable (Yamashima, 2014). But from this study, the author found that few locals had a chance to interact with artists. It is therefore difficult to verify the existence of a collaborative relationship between artists and island residents and to back up

claims that ST artwork is fully grounded in the local culture, at least based on the experiences of locals. Island residents alluded to attempts by artists to participate in the establishment of a new form of ‘community culture’ based on an incomplete understanding of the existing island culture and people, leading to inauthentic expressions of local identity. Similarly, to the more famous Naoshima, which is commonly referred to in Japanese news reports as ‘the art island’, locals believed that ST was turning their islands into ‘Art Teshima’ and ‘Art Inujima’. Attitudes regarding their islands’ new association with art were mixed, but in both cases, locals did not wish their islands to become a copy of Naoshima in the future.

Fieldwork revealed that most local business respondents on Teshima claimed they understand the ST art, but less liked it. In contrast, more local business respondents on Inujima liked the ST art, but fewer of them believed that they could understand it. Follow-up interviews revealed that business respondents may have learned more about artwork out of a pragmatic desire to be able to explain it to outsiders.

The findings outlined here directly question some studies that focus on efforts by artists to understand and interact with the community (Balfour et al., 2018; Kondo, 2012) and how the opinions of local people were taken into account during artistic production (Kondo 2012; Balfour, W-P Fortunato, and Alter 2018).

#### 6.4.2 Differing interpretations and definitions of art

For many island residents, even though they showed interest in artworks, their interest was not in the artwork itself, but rather in where the artwork was located and whether it connected with the island landscape and history. These residents treated art as a device for reconnecting with local, collective memories. This emotional connection between place and art cannot be easily felt or understood by nonresidents.

When it came to what artwork locals recommended to outsiders, the two art museums created by the Fukutake Foundation had become established symbols for both islands. Interviews indicated that most individual ST artworks generated specifically for the festival were not memorable for locals and did not leave a lasting impression, especially if compared with the permanent art museums. The museums were well regarded by locals not because of their inherent artistic qualities but because of their connections to historic cultural (industrial or agricultural) landscapes.

Cultural conflicts in public places (Kondo, 2012), a common issue in cities, can be just as easily observed on the small islands involved in ST’s art interventions. The conflicts between art and local people take different forms on different islands. For example, few Inujima residents believed that the artwork on the island accurately reflected their local culture. Teshima residents thought that only some of the artworks include local elements and cultural symbols.

Local interpretations of the artwork and festival often differ from the official description circulated by festival organizers. Notions of ‘borrowed art’ seemed to be absent from locals’ opinions. Rather, many locals expressed sentiments that aligned with one resident who viewed art festivals as theme parks, essentially a fad to draw fickle Japanese consumers. Some believed that the natural and cultural landscape of the island was the ‘real art’ visitors should focus on. This finding offers a different perspective to Fondevilla (2012), who mentioned that art can add cultural value for the community and increase local attractiveness. Instead, this research

strongly suggests that the increased attractiveness of the community is for the sake of visitors rather than of locals.

Although several local elderly residents claimed not to understand ST art, they did mention enjoying interacting with visitors. Some respondents also mentioned that visitors did not know the meaning of the artworks in Inujima. This finding accords with Funck and Chang's (2017) visitor survey in Naoshima, which showed that visitors frequently did not understand the island's artwork or cared much about art in general. In addition, this study revealed that, according to local respondents, visitors have a low awareness of local culture and history. This reinforces the view that ST visitors come mainly because this type of festival tourism has become fashionable, and not out of an interest in deepening their understanding of either art or the local communities.

The ST has undeniably led to increased tourism-related revenue for the region, especially for small businesses. As a model for tourism development, its success is clear. However, leveraging contemporary art as a new cultural asset has raised complex issues within the target communities. The results of this study support the argument that ST's festival interventions can cause cultural disconnects based partly on interpretations and definitions of art that differ between communities and outsiders.

#### 6.4.3 Elite art on Teshima and relational art for Teshima

Teshima maintains a broad range of art operations that range between global and regional style, as well as top-down elite masterpieces and bottom-up local grassroots forms. While the majority of artworks on the island derive from elite art practices, more varied forms also contribute to Teshima's central role as a shining example of regional arts tourism. Like other rural tourism landscapes identified by Daugstad (2008), many local artscape are neither touched nor utilized by locals. Art organizers, artists, travel agencies, tourists, mainstream media, and Suwa's (2020) discussion uphold that these arts respect or connect with island culture through outsider interpretation. However, this study found residents are largely in disagreement with such perceptions. They believed that art that is not connected with their culture, roots, or way of life is more akin to a type of consumerist tourism, no matter how deeply these arts can be argued to connect with the historical, natural, and cultural elements of Teshima. Drawing on this, I have argued elsewhere that if art is designed with the sole purpose of attracting tourists – rather than being rooted within the community – it will only end up as a “borrowed art exhibit on borrowed land” (Qu, 2019, p. 23) and with borrowed visitors as a new consumerist fad. On one hand, islands that do not employ art as an attraction will never become renowned as art islands. Yet, on the other hand, if this art cannot maintain its appeal as a tourist attraction and maintain relevance, it risks turning Teshima into another garbage island, this time scattered with the ruins of art. Fortunately, Teshima also has many other types of arts to sustain, cultivate, and cement its transition from island art to art island.

As Hawkins has asserted (2015), at a social level, arts are no longer limited to serving as objects for aesthetic appreciation or beautification. Distinct from concepts of the social interactiveness of art and interaction through artwork, the real value of art is beyond art not as an ontology of work. Art plays its role as a medium to attract an interactive population, with tourism as one component of this relational art play that has a role as an implementation tool. This is effective in reducing the feelings of the desolation of depopulation (Klien, 2010b)



through local-tourist interactions, especially for the island elderly. Arguably the best types of art are relational ones that create an interactive site that not only reflects but lives within and highlights locals' way of life. Shima Kitchen and its island birthday parties are exemplary in providing an example of continuous, non-repeating relational art (Bourriaud, 1998) in the form of everyday events that most people can enjoy. Another type of relational art is the one that impresses locals by carrying a community's collective memories and place attachment. Thus, the revitalized terrace rice farm adjacent to Teshima Museum of Art is more relational when compared with artworks such as 'Particle in the Air'. The latter primarily generates relational meaning for tourists rather than the local community. With the community's common historical memories, the return of the former agricultural landscape, and the pairing of the natural Danyama mountainscape with Seto Inland seascape, culminate in an artscape that demonstrates the vitality and all enhancing togetherness through a mixture of representations of Teshima's (is)landscape. Those relational sites gradually interact, influence, and integrate through visitation and use by tourists, residents, and newcomers, building into an immanent event of the type delineated by Deleuze (Qu, 2017) that goes beyond the visible power of the object in constituting the core meaning of art in the social scale. These are relational arts mixed with both top-down implementation and bottom-up civil participation which are different from the elite art referred to in the previous discussion. The disadvantages of this type involve its high reliance on long-term creative personnel and joint manpower management by the art organizers and community. Therefore, the number of ventures of this type are still rare but they play a key role in creating a relational island. For the case of relational art, the place attachment did prove its power to be reuse as a socio-cultural resource that works as an antidote to improve local quality of life, enhance cultural vitality and promote regional socio-cultural resilience (Vodden et al., 2015). However, most of the elite art, even the festival mode itself shows its excessive art festival tourism commodification side (Vodden et al., 2015), which is perceived by both STB and community members as a negative impact on the local community.

## **6.5 Chapter Summary**

This chapter found that ST had positive outcomes by attracting visitors through the art festival model. On Teshima, the increase of in-migrants and small-scale business opportunities reflects aspects of revitalization brought by ST. From this point of view, art festivals do have the power to encourage community revitalization and to bring community cultural development and tourism development (Duxbury & Campbell, 2011; Klien, 2010b; Yamashima, 2014). From top-down influences, however, in the case of Teshima and Inujima, improvements are still limited to tourism-related development.

The types of artwork on Teshima have been examined through the exogenous art intervention. The second part of this chapter found two major types of artworks, one that includes the majority of elite type of arts that mainly play the role of attracting visitors and the other includes as few relational arts play a significant on human interaction and knit the collective community memories through relational (is)landscapes. Elite art plays a major role as a tourism attraction, even if the STEC considers it site-specific or community engaged. However, the community member treats it more like a new tourism development model rather than art. Compare with the elite type, the relational art is more favored and touched by the

residents differently. It shifts more from the artwork appreciation to the relational and ‘eventness’ side of the immanent art event that facilitates a site for community-level interaction. Both types of arts show the diversified characteristic to maintain a festival tourism flow. However, the community level engagement with endogenous type of development remains under study, which will be further examined in the following chapters.

When it comes to the community’s cultural development, individual elite type artworks were not memorable or meaningful for locals. This contrasts with local people’s reaction to the relational art that predated the festival, which is connected to the islands’ place attachment such as island landscapes, elderly residents’ collective memories, and sense of place. Local people felt moved when art can revive some forgotten place from their collective memories. They did agree that some ST artworks reflected the local culture, but when it came to the art festival model as a whole, they were wary of the possibility of the islands turning into theme parks.

It is therefore difficult to substantiate the idea that festival artwork, despite the intentions of organizers and the artists themselves, genuinely reflects local culture and community sentiments. Artwork in the case communities often fails to live up to Crawshaw and Gkartzios’ (2016) conclusion that art in rural communities reads and reveals community relations. The data presented here brings up questions of whether art really can read the community, especially given the ST artists’ limited interaction with locals. Whether this disconnect is reflective of the actions of the festival organizers or points to a problem with the conceptual model itself requires further study.

When two cultures intersect – in this case, a globalist contemporary art paradigm underwritten by vast wealth and the conservative, slow-life traditions of small island communities – disparities often emerge. For both Teshima and Inujima, when the corporate-funded art festival arrived on the island, it shifted local culture into a weaker position. At the same time, locals stated that they were unwilling to cede control of their islands entirely, a situation that many viewed as having occurred on Naoshima.

ST’s artistic interventions are part of a strategy to implement sustainable sociocultural and socioeconomic revitalization on the islands. Festival organizers must pay attention to possible cultural conflicts at the local level, carefully considering the consequences of this process. To do this, they need a deeper understanding of the community and a willingness to constantly adapt to changing community conditions. Within the ST area, the same strategy of community intervention may cause different outcomes in different communities based on local geographical, cultural, historical, demographical, and environmental factors, as well as on the development stage of the art intervention itself. ST organizers claim that the artwork serves and reflects the community. If it does not, then it fails to live up to their marketing and their promise to the communities, regardless of whether the artwork is successful in other ways (aesthetically, intellectually, politically, or commercially).

For a revitalization process that considers not only the growth of ST but also the sustainable development of the islands and their communities, the organizers should rethink the balance between prioritizing their initiatives and fostering pathways for locals to develop bottom-up initiatives. Foregrounding the latter approach may allow locals to transition from extras to partners in the production of cultural change. In particular, interactions between locals and artists fall short of both organizers’ claims and residents’ expectations. Bridging this divide

could yield more authentic expressions of local identities and may increase favorable opinion of the festival in the target communities.

The findings presented here focus on the relationship between art and community on two rural Japanese islands affected by ongoing art festival development. This focus may limit their application to widely discussed issues of creative tourism and art-related gentrification in urban cases. Additionally, limitations on data collection during fieldwork included the inability or refusal of some residents, especially older residents, to participate.

Examining rural art festivals based only on cultural aspects is insufficient to fully capture their influences and impacts. Further studies should be conducted on related issues, such as community placemaking; festival tourism management; visitor impact; and festival-related, seasonal in-migration. Research that examines not only high-profile festivals like ST but other, small-scale art festivals in Japan is also needed.

## **Chapter 7 Setouchi Triennale's Art Festival Tourism Interaction on Shrinking Islands**

### **7.1 Case Studies (Teshima, Inujima, Naoshima, Ogijima and Megijima)**

Beyond the biggest and the best-conditioned island Shodoshima, the ST impacts on the other smaller islands and communities remain unexamined. This research assumes that if Shodoshima holds the best condition of scale, population, well-established tourism industry, and carrying capacity for tourism as well as other developed industries, then the rest of ST hosting case study islands would project more serious problems and impacts than Shodoshima, except Naoshima with its long-term art tourism development. The rest of the islands have no intrinsically exogenous development or endogenous efforts. Therefore, this chapter aims to exam the rest of the five major ST hosting islands – Naoshima, Teshima, Inujima, Ogijima, and Megijima systematically. As shown in Figure 4.2, except Shodoshima, these are the major ST destinations that receive higher visitation among islands.

From the geographical distribution of the festival, these islands balance visitor flows from not only the Takamatsu port from Kagawa Prefecture but also Uno port located in Okayama Prefecture. For Ogijima and Megijima, the Takamatsu port is one of the most convenient ports. On the Okayama side, Uno port provides better access to Naoshima, Teshima as well as Hōden port to Inujima. Although the numbers of ST hosting community on Shodoshima are much more than the other communities within those five ST islands as shown in Figure 4.2, Naoshima and Teshima as much smaller islands received close to double or almost the same level of visitors as Shodoshima. Therefore, the positive ST influences and negative impacts would cause different results which differ from Shodoshima, thus requiring this chapter to explore.

### **7.2 Methodology Frameworks**

The research method for this chapter is also based on an explanatory sequential-type of mixed method design (Creswell & Clark, 2017). The explanatory sequential mixed method design tries to evaluate the quantitative methods first then the qualitative methods after. In this chapter, the questionnaire data of STB have a considerable emphasis on the interactive window to perceive the tourism impact between tourists and residents, and the interview data with both residents and STBs followed to help explain the questionnaire results. Although fieldwork with similar research questions has been done on Shodoshima, which is considered as a large side island with existing tourism development and population condition. The research question only answered RAFT's impact on a big tourism island rather than small-scale islands under much worse shrinking conditions. Therefore, with this goal in mind, this chapter tries to evaluate non-tourism island communities under the RAFT's impacts.

After summing up the research findings from the preliminary study from Shodoshima (Chapter 5), it was mentioned that only STB can benefit more from the ST comparison with other community stakeholders from local's perception. Those findings helped to design a much-detailed questionnaire for STB as well as interviews with community residents. Therefore, updated questionnaires and interview surveys on n=128 STBs were based on the grounded theory finding from Shodoshima with more detailed questions on ST positive influence and negative impact added. This phase of research aims at all businesses that remain open in the non-ST period as well as examining the STBs' performance during the non-ST period. This

strategy can also help to avoid the busy season when respondents have less time for answering the survey and improve the effectiveness and quality of research.

The previous Shodoshima findings indicate the STB related stakeholders are the most beneficial group perceived by community residents. However, this chapter will not only examine the STBs but also would follow Krippendorf's category of four groups of community members: 1) tourism-related members, 2) non-tourism-related members, 3) residents who love the tourism development, and 4) residents who do not care about it (Krippendorf, 1987) in qualitative methods. Overall 60 semi-structured and unstructured interviews were conducted on five islands within two years.

The data analysis for the quantitative STB questionnaire includes Exploratory Factor Analysis (EFA) to identify tourism impacts (Stylidis et al., 2014) from local STB perspective and Cluster Analysis through SPSS that aim to understand the types of influences or impacts by factors and groups. This method helps to explore a much clearer scenario of what small businesses' perceptions of the positive influence and negative impact are. Accordingly, through conducting framework analysis for qualitative data, it tries to examine both the community and STB members' perception of the RAFT impact. Unlike grounded theory, framework analysis is highly suitable for research with specific and pre-designed research questions with a repeatable procedure (Srivastava & Thomson, 2009).

Mixed data analysis through a framework analysis of interviews also combines with the quantitative findings from STBs, the finding provides further information to explain the reasons behind those impacts. A further axial and selective coding of the qualitative finding by island, impacts, and the change of ST periods were conducted by comparing the data from this fieldwork with the official reports finding. Therefore, the EFA and mixed findings that combine survey, interviews, and field observation illustrate a full picture of ST impact by islands will be presented in two different parts. The second part of the findings was also compared with the findings from the ST official general report. The new findings would demonstrate the gap between community perception and the official report.

The research limitation specifically for this chapter reflects on the issue that it was not possible to apply the same methods during the same period but into three stages, which including Teshima and Inujima from December 2017 to April 2018, Ogijima and Megijima from December 2018, and Naoshima from June to August 2019.

## **7.3 Mixed Finding**

### **7.3.1 Positive influences and negative impacts perceived by STBs**

From the questionnaire survey with STBs, this chapter collected 128 samples that represent more than 80-90 percent of local businesses remaining open after the 2016 ST period. According to Table 4.3, the respondent profile (Table 7.1) shows Teshima and Naoshima hold larger numbers of STBs compared with other smaller islands.

As shown from Figure 7.1, the author applied 11 Likert scale questions to evaluate ST's various impact on STBs through art, tourism as well as the community. The art-related questions include the perception of art and artwork arrangement from STBs. The tourism-related questions include the tourist interaction, tourism impacts on internal and external transportations, and daily living environment. Questions related to community changes

included the RAFT culture revitalization, job creation, regenerating an art island image. More than 56.3 percent of respondents agree and strongly agree the good outcomes reflect on ST brought friendly interaction between residents and tourists. Also, 60.2 percent of them believe ST brought an art island image to their island. However, the highest results of the negative impacts concentrate among questions 8 to 11, which emphasize the tourism side. This general questionnaire result proves that ST did bring a different type of positive influences, negative impacts, and interaction between residents – tourists.

*Table 7.1 Small Tourism Business Respondent Profile, Author's calculation*

Type of STBs (n = 128)	Classification	Number of Questionnaires	Percentage of Total (%)
Island	Teshima	49	38.3
	Inujima	14	10.9
	Ogijima	15	11.7
	Megijima	14	10.9
	Naoshima	36	28.1
	Non-response	0	0.0
Gender	Male	60	46.9
	Female	68	53.1
	Non-response	0	0.0
Age Groups	10-19	0	0.0
	20-29	11	8.6
	30-39	32	25.0
	40-49	16	12.5
	50-59	10	7.8
	60-69	28	21.9
	70 and above	31	24.2
Type of Residency	Local long-term residents (10 years or more)	59	46.1
	In-migrant (I-turn)	35	27.3
	Return migrant (U-turn)	9	7.0
	Commuter	25	19.5
	Commuter	0	0.0
	Non-response	0	0.0
Type of Business	Souvenir shop	4	3.1
	Restaurant/Café	39	30.5
	Daily shop	10	7.8
	Tourist Facilities	5	3.9
	Accommodation	21	16.4
	Transportation	5	3.9
	Mixed	44	34.4
Non-response	0	0.0	

## ST's impacts perceived by STBs on Teshima, Inujima, Ogijima, Meigijima and Naoshima (n=128)

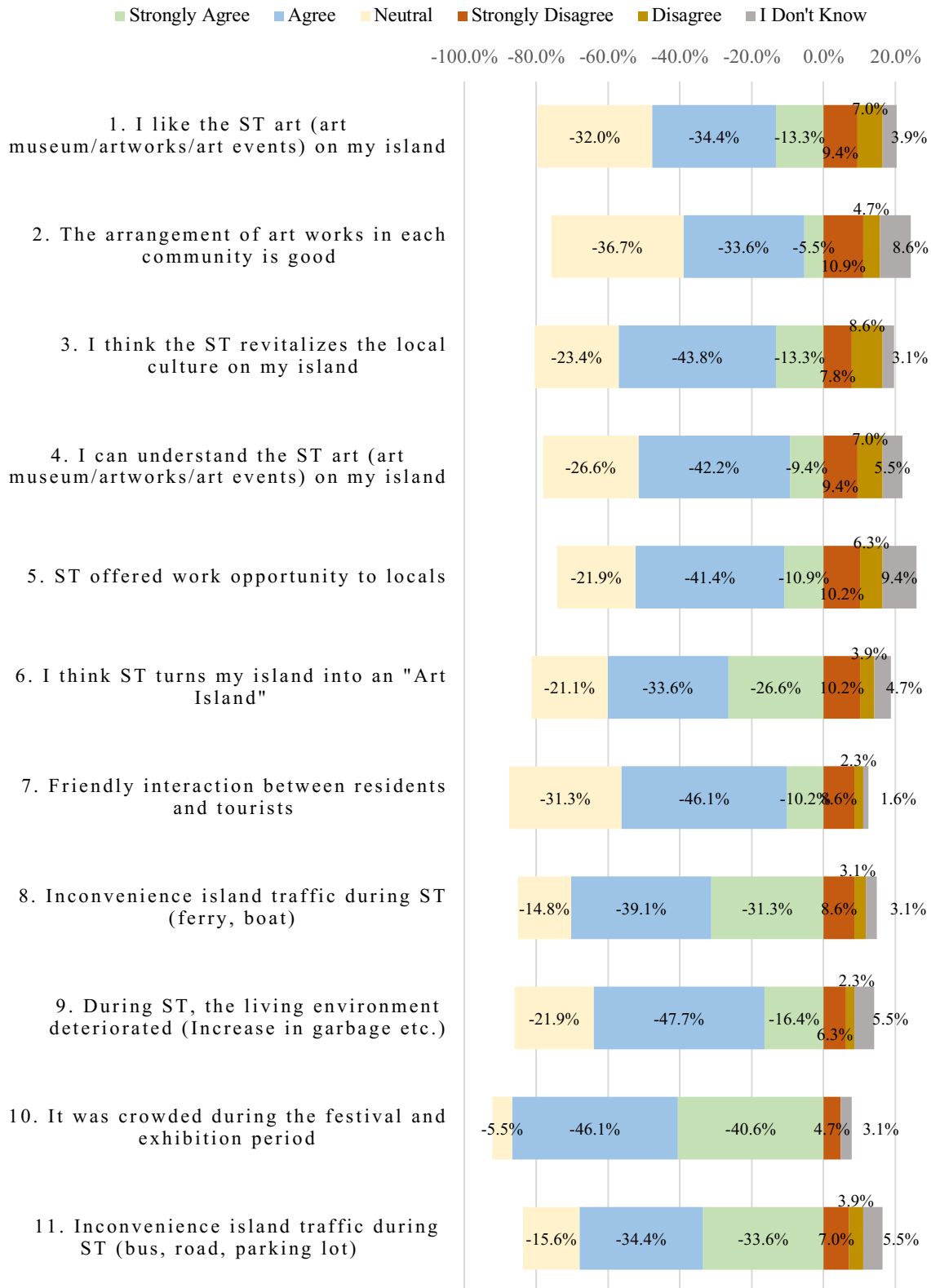


Figure 7.1 The percentage of local tourism business perceived the Setouchi Triennale's Impacts on Teshima, Inujima, Ogijima, Meigijima and Naoshima (n=128), Author's calculation and illustration

Further statistical analysis, that includes EFA combined with Cluster Analysis, helps to classify the type of impact as well as identify and divide the respondent into groups by different opinions. As shown in Table 7.2, EFA was executed using the Principal Component Analysis (PCA) method with Varimax Rotation to measure the positive influence and negative impact of ST from STBs. This method uses to shorten the factor structure as well as help to interpret the identified factors (Choi & Murray, 2010). The Kaiser–Meyer–Olkin (KMO) measure of sampling adequacy value is 0.744 and Bartlett's Test of Sphericity value is significant ( $p=.000$ ), which is acceptable to conduct EFA. The factor extraction criterion is based on 1.0 of Eigenvalue. Also, the item inclusion was set loadings of 0.50. The EFA results revealed two distinct factors, which explained 74.4 percent of the total variance. All two factor's Cronbach's alpha values were above the suggested benchmark of 0.6 (Stylidis et al., 2014). All factor loadings are greater than the value 0.5 cut off, and most of them are greater than 0.7 (Choi & Murray, 2010). Factor one (F1) demonstrates the positive influences on art, tourism opportunity and community culture, interaction, and branding outcomes. Factor two (F2) pointed out all the negative impacts that result mainly from tourism on community daily lives. All factor scores were saved as variables through regression for further use in the Cluster Analysis.

*Table 7.2 Exploratory Factor Analysis (EFA) of STBs' perception with ST, Author's calculation*

<b>Factors/items</b>	<b>Factor loading</b>	<b>Eigenvalue</b>	<b>% of variance explained</b>	<b>Cronbach's alpha</b>
<b>F1 Positive Influences</b>		<b>3.40</b>	<b>30.88</b>	<b>.82</b>
1. I like the ST art (art museum/artworks/art events) on my island	.80			
2. The arrangement of artworks in each community is good	.79			
3. I think the ST revitalizes the local culture on my island	.73			
4. I can understand the ST art (art museum/artworks/art events) on my island	.71			
5. ST offered work opportunity to locals	.62			
6. I think ST turns my island into an 'Art Island'	.61			
7. Friendly interaction between residents and tourists	.53			
<b>F2 Negative Impacts</b>		<b>2.58</b>	<b>23.46</b>	<b>.67</b>
8. Inconvenience island traffic during ST (ferry, boat)	.82			
9. During ST, the living environment deteriorated (Increase in the garbage, etc.)	.82			
10. It was crowded during the festival and exhibition period	.78			
11. Inconvenience island traffic during ST (bus, road, parking lot)	.76			



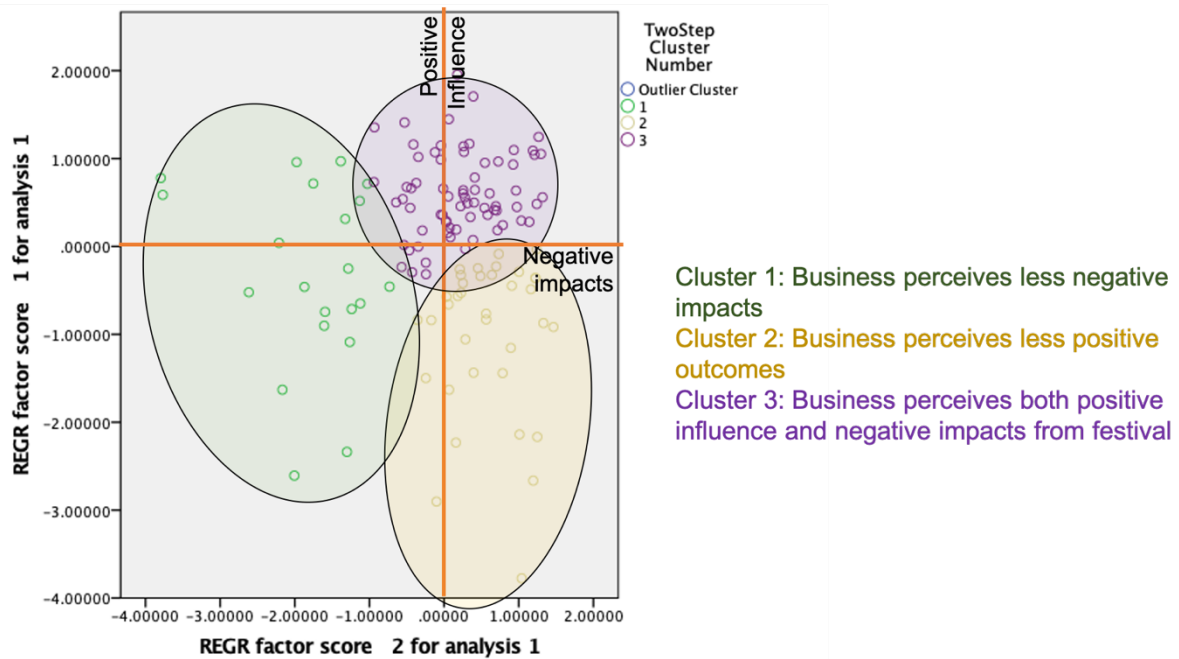


Figure 7.2 Two-Step Cluster Analysis based on the Factor Scores Variables of EFA

After conducting the Two-Step Cluster Analysis, the results identified three distinct clusters as shown in Figure 7.2. Cluster 1 (C1) holds 16.4 percent of the overall respondents that are displayed in green color. It is located above 0.0 with the x-axis that can be interpreted as STBs perceives less negative impact. C1 tent to treats ST with a positive attitude. On the contrary, Cluster 2 (C2) holds 28.1 percent of respondents that shown in yellow color. It is located below the y axis that can be treat as the STBs perceived no positive influences. Therefore, the C2 group holds a negative opinion of ST. Cluster 3 (C3) represents the majority of 55.5 percent of STBs' opinion as shown in purple color. This group of respondents carries mixed opinions with both positive influence and negative impact of ST.

The STB survey and further statistical results identified that both positive influences and negative impacts co-exist within ST. The positive influences and changes are reflected among art, tourism as well as the community with multiple aspects. The negative impacts only remain within the tourism-related issues. However, it is perceived to have a much deeper impact compared with the positive outcomes. This chapter also explored more than half of the STBs which believed ST brought both positive and negative influences and impacts to the islands. Few respondents held only positive nor negative perceptions. The quantitative method reviewed the overall opinions only from STB.

### 7.3.2 Mixed findings on ST's interaction among islands through the perceptions from both community member and STB

#### *Comparison between the official reports with the fieldwork findings*

After comparing official reports with fieldwork data from this study, few issues can be revealed through the quantitative data between the official survey with community residents in Figure 4.7 with the author's STB survey in Figure 7.1. A similar question related to respondents' opinion at if they think the arrangement of ST artwork is good around their community. From

ST 2019 survey, more than 68.4 percent of locals believed the artwork is very and moderately good for their community. From the author's survey, only 39.1 percent of local STBs strongly agree and agree that the arrangement of artworks in each community is good. After comparing those two results, the community STBs have a much lower perception of the quality of artwork than the community members who answered the ST survey during the residents' meeting.

From qualitative findings between ST official reports from Table 4.4, Table 4.5, Table 4.6, Table 4.7, Table 4.8, and Table 4.9 and the fieldwork results from this study, the equal, as well as the incompatible parts, are both identified from the comparison of the coding results. From the official reports, the positive influences such as local-visitor or local-artist interactions, community revitalization, increasing local sense of pride, enhance island image, and generate lively atmosphere were mentioned by most of the islands, which also matches with the finding from the author's mixed data of STB survey, interview, and observation. For the negative impact's aspect, issues like tourist manner (littering, illegal parking, noising the local environment, and occupying public transportation), concern with intermittent festival structure, and the communication with the increasing number of foreign tourists also match with the author's mixed findings. The improvement of the ST can be identified from the adjustment of the period into three sessions after ST 2013 and the gradually scheduling of the in-festival transportation (in-island and out-island bus services, ferry line and schedules, as well as limitation of visitor number by each ship). The new STB growth on Teshima and new in-migrants growth on Ogijima also be identified as two special island cases which not mentioned from the other islands.

New gaps can be identified after comparing the author's findings with the official report which are different for a few case studies islands. For Naoshima, all reports mentioned that locals are concerned the security issues reflect on the lack of community-level exchange of opinions and the lack of safety measurements during a natural disaster. Although the ST 2013 and ST 2016 mentioned there is an improvement about "no major security issue" (Table 4.4), it cannot claim this issue has been solved. From the fieldwork data on Naoshima, the community level of concern with social security remains with tourists' safety instead of concern about the residential side.

*Recently, the new way of allowing people to have a local house for living one night is getting more and more (AirBnB). So, we saw different faces every night. Sometimes, the tourist creates parties until midnight. We cannot fall asleep and feel not safe. So, it has been much worse than before [the art tourism development]. (resident on Naoshima)*

The lack of a sense of security can be found in multiple cases from Naoshima between different locations. Official reports say that there were no major security issues by emphasizing no tourists getting injured during the festival. However, the security issues remaining in the community that caused a major impact on local life are not mentioned in the official report. In this chapter, it marked as a negative consequence of the tourism impact.

On Teshima, the official reports only mentioned "no big accidents" (Table 4.5) in a positive tone. After interviewing local police, this research got a proven answer about the ST impact on local traffic issues.

*We [police] just recorded a few major traffic accidents on file during the festival. But in reality, there are countless bicycle accidents every week. If there is no one gets hurt badly, we normally would not count that as an accident. (policeman on Teshima)*

*I saw a lady fall off from the downhill very fast after losing control of her bicycle, then she hit a big rock on the side of the road. She passed out and shed a lot of blood without moving. After the Ambulance sent her away, we are not able to tell if she dead or just injured. (long-term resident on Teshima)*

The official reports mention the bicycle accidents from ST 2013 and 2016, yet there are no big bicycle accidents in 2019 reports. During the field observation, it should be noted that there are no new or added security measures between ST 2016 and 2019 concerning cycling. Therefore, this chapter disclosed the official report that it did not directly and objectively reflect the issue that was brought by the ST. The reader also cannot understand how serious these accidents were.

One more gap can be found in Ogijima ST 2016 report. The report mentions that there are new in-migrant and restaurant growth, but those restaurants are not serving local food. From the observation, the author identified both new and traditional restaurants are serving a variety of food on the island between local fisherman's seafood barbecue, octopus rice from the residents' association, Italian pizza by in-migrants, ice-cream, and herbal tea with dessert. There are good local options for restaurants for the tourist, so the official report provides unobjective information for this point.

For Megijima, ST 2010 report mentioned there is a lack of STB. However, there is no follow up report on this aspect mentioned in the following reports. This chapter found that the growth of new STB is not driven by residents but by commuters. This discussion will be further discussed in Chapters 8 and 9.

### *Shining a spotlight to turn shrinking islands into the art islands*

Similar to Shodoshima, interview findings from STBs, people who engage in Non-tourism industries, and residents further demonstrated the respondent's perception of changes varied, including how ST brought a considerable number of visitations to smaller islands. On those islands, most of the communities have never been designed or considered as tourism destinations before. For aging communities, ST did show a good outcome by bringing vitality to the community through interaction with younger tourists or even just enjoying this enlivened atmosphere.

*This village has a lot of elderly people. When they see so many young people coming to visit, they feel like their grandchildren came back. (elderly resident on Teshima)*

Every community-level intervention, no matter from art or tourism, must be done moderately. Evidence on perceived excessive social interaction in some cases is considered as interfering with local people's daily life. The periodicity between the ST's festival periods and AS's art tourism periods brought different impacts for islands in different ways. For those islands that had no tourism development or attractions before the ST arrived, local concerns mainly tangled

between ST's festival period with over-tourism and after the period with under tourism issues. The STB respondents wish to maintain a balanced tourism flow for their businesses. The local elderly residents wish to enjoy the balance between the active atmosphere of festival celebration and have a quiet living environment after the festival. However, the long-term plan including both Setouchi Triennale and Art Setouchi periods will bring tourists into the island not only within, but also outside the festival period.

*The only thing I expect is that you can come to this island and enjoy the Seto Inland Sea and Setouchi Triennale [only during the ST period]. I don't want tourists to come to see the island for sightseeing [in normal time], and after all, I don't want tourists to enter my life. (elderly resident on Megijima)*

With the overall opinions about the negative impacts and positive interactions on the islands, the interview findings with community members match the questionnaire survey from STBs. From mixed findings, on one hand, the community enjoying the benefit of RAFT on visitation, tourism opportunity, interaction, and cultural exchanges. In particular, from the EFA result on community-tourist interaction (Table 7.2), the 'Friendly interaction between residents and tourists' are also considered as a positive outcome of ST from statistical factor. On the other hand, however, the locals also facing the side effect of both festival tourism periodic impact with different tourist flows as well as private art development issues. Among all five fieldwork islands, the community members agree that in terms of tourism planning with artwork quality, the BAS did provide better quality art compared with STEC and AFG selected artworks. This caused an un-even tourist distribution as more ST tourists were attracted to the BAS based islands – Naoshima, Teshima, and Inujima.

#### *The power shift between locals' island and "art foundation's island"*

One important issue related to local perception with ST is how community members perceive their island in connection with Benesse, i.e., if they perceive it to be a "Benesse's island" or "Foundation's island". This issue highly concentrated on Teshima, Inujima, and Naoshima, where BAS has established many facilities. In the ST period, the BAS art tourism properties play a partner role as part of ST. When the festival ends, those art facilities remain open as private businesses under BAS.

From the official interview, both public spokesmen from STEC and BAS emphasized their goals and roles in regional revitalization. BAS has its core concept of Naoshima Methods through the medium of art and STEC has their idea of facilitating Cultural Exchanges through festival celebration. As a private art corporation, the BAS emphasizes that their essential role is trying to improve community quality of life, and many of their art projects seem to be aiming for this goal. For example, Naoshima Hall was established as a community theatre and facility for local public use rather than for the tourists. Besides this, the rest is mainly aiming at the tourist market. Corporations like BAS try to benefit the community members by developing public spaces that everyone can enjoy during their tourism economic development.

Some evidence suggests that BAS declares their "community-centered" development guidelines are meant to profit the community members, although the members from Naoshima, Teshima, and Inujima do not competently perceive those benefits from a community

development aspect. Some residents did mention that BAS provides new public infrastructures and jobs for locals. However, the community level of complaints concentrates on the issue that the private art business development would gradually seize control of the island's industry, land, and community planning. Therefore, for Naoshima, Inujima, and Teshima, the double impacts are coming from private art corporations in long-term development as well as the art festival's periodic tourism cycle.

The keyword of "Benesse's island" constantly appears in unstructured interviews among those three islands.

*If Benesse owns this island, they should buy their own boats and open their own ferry lines for tourism purposes! ... During the peak of the festival, when so many tourists occupied the ferry, I was unable to go to the hospital [near Takamatsu port]. (elderly resident on Teshima)*

The community members believed BAS brought more direct visible outcomes as well as negative impacts on those islands rather than ST. For them, ST just brought extra impacts based on BAS. Some BAS-specific issues have been found in this study. One is related to the Art House Project (AHP) on both Naoshima and Inujima. Unlike other art museum and facilities that are mainly located in the private land owned by BAS, AHP focus on renovating several vacant houses into artworks inside of the community neighborhoods. This caused a direct impact as it allows tourists into the aging community living environment in sudden bursts.

*Since our [community] houses are old, a lot of them have no air condition inside. In the past summertime, we usually open our windows to keep the fresh cool air flows. But this situation cannot be remaining after the Art House Project. Tourists keep coming and make our living environment much noisy than before. Therefore, a lot of elderly people have to shut the windows off in summer. Many people are sick or have a heat stroke. (elderly resident on Naoshima)*

*I don't feel happy about the increased number of tourists. Instead, I don't think [tourism] needs to be increased. Besides, the bad manners of tourists are noticeable. They can even enter gardens or homes. (resident on Naoshima)*

The AHP on Inujima also had a different background that related to the government policy from Okayama Prefecture, which has a different land policy compared to Kagawa Prefecture. This causes the third source of impacts on island society after BAS and ST.

*For normal people, it's difficult to rent a house from Okayama City, because the private property is registered, I mean, that belongs to Okayama City. There are many unregistered vacant houses on Inujima. That's why I borrow. There is also a portion that you can lend. However, I asked Okayama City to use it, and if the registration was not done properly, Okayama City would not handle it. (elderly resident on Inujima)*

However, BAS brought a lot of available land from Okayama into their private art development. The locals are worried about the loss of control of their island rights.

*Originally, Benesse decided where to move [the artworks or facilities] to this place or to that place, or even went into the farm field. So, they can do things like that. (local business staff on Inujima)*

From three of Benesse's islands, a lot of community members agree that their community is reaching the limits of tourists carrying capacity. Especially during the ST periods, not enough people and efforts were available to help to handle the tourist flow and congested roads, public places, and public transportation. Respondents perceived the increasing service of public transportation such as buses and ferries, but they also mentioned that with the rapid growth of tourists, the public services remain inconvenient for locals. For Inujima, the disappearing population indicated another possible transition of ownership shift from a local's island to a private art corporation island.

*Pure ST islands: experiencing co-existence between over-tourism and under tourism*

Most of the STBs who experienced the ST peak period did mention there are not enough human resources in their business to take care of the festival visitors. However, the bigger challenges concentrate on the smaller island only facing ST impact without any art museum facilities from BAS. On Megijima and Ogijima, several respondents pointed to the inconsistent flow of tourists between the Setouchi Triennale's on and off-seasons as creating a condition where there were alternately either too many or too few tourists on the island.

*I felt that it [Triennale tourist numbers] was really crazy. There were 1,700 visitors in May of this year [2019], and it started to feel like a war. Originally, [our facility] the library was designed for [local] people who came here to read books and maybe have some snacks at the same time. [Now it's mostly tourists coming for lunch.] (residents' association leader on Ogijima)*

During the festival period, the increase of foreigners on the island was also a challenge for long-term residents operating businesses, who struggled to communicate with them.

*The most obvious thing for me was opening my front gate and startling tourists taking photos in our front gateway.... During non-festival times, the majority of the faces you encounter on the streets are familiar and will always greet you warmly. During Setouchi Triennale, it can be difficult because I assume people are Japanese, but they don't respond to my greetings and then I hear them speaking another language (to my untrained ears, it regularly sounds like Mandarin). (self-employed worker on Ogijima)*

The ST impacts the island community throughout different periods. For islands had no tourism development or attractions. Local concern mainly ranged between ST's festival period with over-tourism and after the period with the under-tourism issue. The STB respondents wish to maintain a balanced tourism flow for their businesses even after the ST period. Currently,

this lack of tourism flow is not enough to maintain their business sustainably. However, the retired long-term elderly residents wish to have a much quieter living environment. This is an ongoing issue accompany by the RAFT development at the community level.

#### **7.4 Discussion - RAFT's positive influences, interaction, and negative impacts**

ST brought considerable visitation that cannot be created by the shrinking island itself at a community level. Art creates new types of experience that combine artistic creation and regional elements into one tourism product. This creative experience of ST shows its power to bring art and festival lovers (Richards & Wilson, 2006) through innovative placemaking (Borup, 2016). RAFT, like the other festival tourism, had been examined to prove that it has the power to improve destination community building through bringing new hard type changes for infrastructures and soft type changes through cultural exchanges (Nakashima, 2012). However, from residents, this study also found that the island infrastructure changes are still mostly remaining at tourism-related improvement. The official reports mainly focus on the festival tourism-related aspects rather than the non-tourism related community development.

Under the same RAFT umbrella, islands with pure ST model shows different challenges compared with other islands with a private art foundation partner with ST. The impact from the ST's RAFT is mainly reflected in the intermittent 'festivalness' – dilemma between over-tourism and under tourism. Especially for small destinations like Megijima and Ogijima, this impact was perceived more directly by community residents. Mixed findings show most of the STBs are not overly optimistic with ST. They recognize that ST's both positive influence and negative impact co-exist. For Naoshima, Teshima, and Inujima, especially Naoshima and Inujima, those islands are facing double challenges from both RAFT and private art developers as partners of the ST. Negative impacts mainly concentrated through the artistic intervention accompany with excessive tourism flows into the community living environment. A case like the AHP can found on both islands. Both community members and STBs reflect this issue from their perspectives.

The positive locals and tourist's interaction can be identified by community members, especially elderly members. This conclusion has been widely discussed (Cwierka & Machotka, 2018; Klien, 2010b; Koizumi, 2016; Qu, 2019, 2020). This chapter support this view on social interaction and the lively community atmosphere did touch the locals. It did meet the psychological needs of social interaction for elderly people (Klien, 2010b). On the contrary, the visitation and interaction also brought locals and tourists impacts on the local living environment (Cudny, 2013). For most of the community members and STBs, RAFT can be considered as a good medicine even with side effects. In smaller communities, local elderly people also wish to maintain a quiet and lively balance of social interaction instead of excessive social interaction.

#### **7.5 Chapter Summary**

This Chapter provided a critical view to examine RAFT on the island through tourism centered focus. RAFT in the community plays a role through shrinking the shrinking island into an art tourism spotlight by creating a fashion art tourism spot and festival way of celebration for the urban even global tourists. This new type of rural art festival deployment brings vitality

to rural shrinking destinations. It helps to enhance the tourism-related development, social interaction, and branding for the destination. After it has identified the operation mechanism of RAFT's good aspects, further discussion is required focusing on the various side effects brought by this good medicine on community revitalization.

The shrinking island has its specific social depopulation issues. This chapter also addresses the key development variables that should be put between tourism development and community revitalization. Especially the most important selling point of RAFT is to try to facilities social interactions and cultural exchanges between locals and visitors (Ihara, 2007; Nakashima, 2012). Therefore, the side effects of excessive social interaction and invasion of the residents living space were also discovered within this chapter. Ensuring the quality of social interaction and without taking care of the opinions of the local level seems insufficient.

This chapter also discovered the good outcomes can be reflected in multiple aspects from art and culture, social interaction, and community enhancement, as well as tourism development. Except for the art's misinterpretation of community culture that was already discussed in Chapter 6, this chapter mainly found the negative impacts of ST are mainly concentrated on the consequences of tourism development. The community and STBs can perceive the current outcomes and issues. Therefore, focus on these issues can help to improve the RAFT as well as reduce the community's extra burdens aside from shrinking. Compared with problematic community internal challenges, the tourism level impacts can be improved through the festival management strategy.

This chapter examined the RAFT's positive influences, negative impacts, and local-tourist interaction among five islands. However, there remains a lack of discussion on the community level endogenous efforts, which will be fully discussed within the following two chapters. Instead of exogenous factors brought by art intervention and festival tourism arrive on the islands, the central role of RAFT for the island needs to be examined through the community-level response through multiple island and communities.



## Chapter 8 Different Outcomes between Two Similar Shrinking Islands

### 8.1 Case Studies (Ogijima, Megijima)

According to secondary data obtained from a non-profit organization on Ogijima (NPO Ogijima Life Research Institute, 2018) in Table 8.1, from 2014 to 2018, Ogijima attracted more than 50 in-migrants, compared with less than 5 in-migrants on Megijima in the same period. While Megijima’s population stayed the same or fell each year since the start of the festival, Ogijima’s population saw a small but significant rebound after 2017 (Figure 8.1). Nakashima (2014, 101) attributed Ogijima’s success at drawing new in-migrants to the quality of “cultural openness”. However, during fieldwork, the author quickly dismissed cultural openness as a trait unique to Ogijima and sought deeper insights to explain the in-migrant gap.

Table 8.1 Secondary data of Ogijima and Megijima islands (NPO Ogijima Life Research Institute, 2018; Setouchi Triennale Executive Committee, 2017a, 2020), Author’s calculation

	Ogijima	Megijima
Size	1.38 square kilometers	3 square kilometers
Population (October 2019)	170	154
Distance from Takamatsu city port	40 minutes by ferry	20 minutes by ferry
Number of festival artworks (2016)	16	13
Number of festival artworks (2019)	17	19
Number of visitors (2016)	54,232	49,276
Number of visitors (2019)	71,809	80,007
Number of in-migrants (2018)	more than 50 people	around 4 to 5 people
Main industry	agriculture, fishing, tourism, information technology	agriculture, fishing, tourism
Infrastructures (2017)	more than 3 vacant houses, kindergarten, elementary, and junior high school	limited vacant houses, share kindergarten with Ogijima, share a school with Takamatsu city
	similar internet connectives, food stores, water, electricity and gas providers, bank, simple post office, ATM, and garbage collection services	

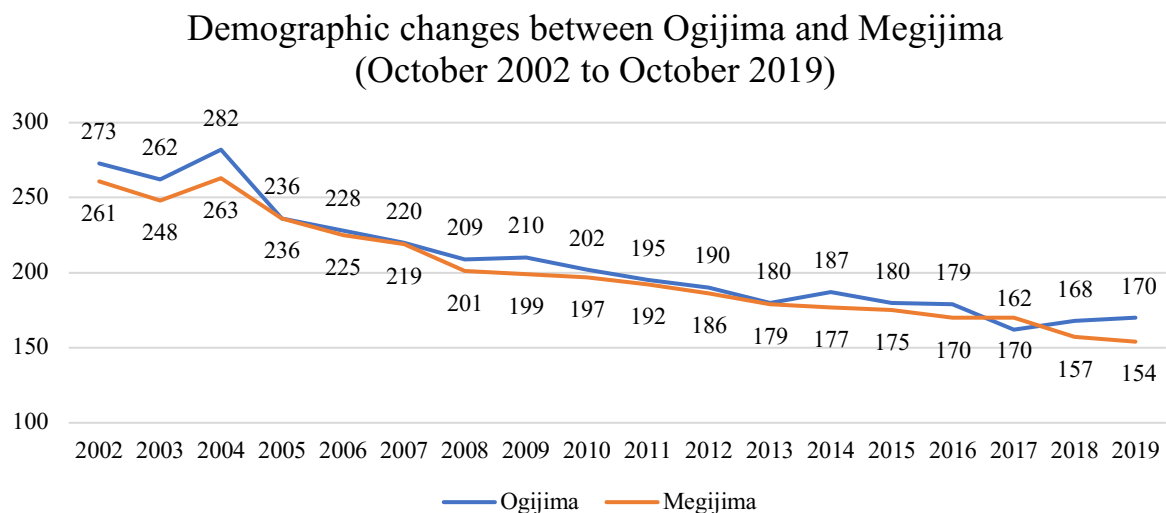


Figure 8.1 Demographic changes between Ogijima and Megijima, Author’s calculation and illustration

## 8.2 Methodology Frameworks

This study followed a mixed-methods research design (Creswell, 2017), with the expectation that employing both quantitative and qualitative approaches would yield the most complete possible understanding of the disparate outcomes between islands. Quantitative methods provided a broad view of bottom-up small-scale business responses to the festival on Megijima and Ogijima, while qualitative data uncovered more nuanced explanations of the situation on each island. The qualitative results became the core of this study, with interviews and participant observation providing the main support for the conclusions. Much of the fieldwork was conducted during off (non-festival) periods, for two reasons: First, islanders were much more willing to complete surveys than they would have been during the busy festival period. Additionally, working then allowed the author to observe how many local tourism businesses were closed during the long off-festival periods versus the comparatively short art festival periods.

*Table 8.2 Interview survey with Setouchi Triennale officials and on both islands, Author's calculation*

	Type of Interview	Interviewee title	Gender
Festival officials	Semi-structured	Setouchi Triennale Executive Committee spokesperson	Male
		NPO Koebi Network general manager	Female
		NPO Koebi Network core-management group (5 people)	Group
	Unstructured	Setouchi Triennale general director	Male
		NPO Koebi Network Ogijima manager	Male
		NPO Koebi Network Megijima manager	Female
		NPO Koebi Network public relations	Female
Ogijima	Semi-structured	independent IT worker (I-turn in-migrant)	Male
		STB owner (local long-term resident)	Male
		STB owner (local long-term resident)	Male
		STB owner (local long-term resident)	Female
	Unstructured	residents' association leader (U-turn in-migrant)	Male
		STB owner (I-turn in-migrant)	Male
		STB owner (former in-migrant)	Male
		STB owner (former in-migrant)	Female
		self-employed (1 household, 2 person)	Couple
Megijima	Semi-structured	STB manager (local long-term resident)	Male
		STB owner (seasonal commuter, birth from the island)	Male
		STB manager (seasonal commuter)	Female
		STB owner (local long-term resident)	Male

Data were collected via 1) A questionnaire distributed to local businesses (Ogijima, n=14, 17 in total, represent 82.3 percent of local businesses; Megijima, n=15, represent all local businesses). In this survey, business owners were asked about their motivations for establishing businesses on the islands. 2) Analysis of secondary data (Table 8.1) from national government statistics, festival reports, local publications, and scientific literature. 3) Twenty semi- and

unstructured interviews (Table 8.2) with different festival stakeholders. The study used snowball sampling for interviewing festival officials. For community festival stakeholders, this study employed purposive sampling to target different groups on both islands: long-term island residents, new urban-rural in-migrants, former in-migrants, and seasonal commuters, and business owners. The interview questions covered topics related to art, the festival, business, and in-migrants. All interviews lasted an average of 40 minutes and were recorded with the interviewees' permission. They were transcribed and translated from Japanese to English by the author before being processed for use within this study. 4) Participant observation was conducted during and between art festival periods in the 2016 and 2019 Triennale years, as well as during non-art festival years (2017-2018) on both islands.

The quantitative and qualitative findings revealed that disparate outcomes were tied to a uniform strategy of revitalization-through-tourism applied evenly by festival organizers to islands with highly varied local circumstances and dynamics. This in turn demonstrated that, while multi-community art festivals have the potential to facilitate community revitalization, unique challenges 'on the ground' are difficult or impossible for outside organizers to solve and require the involvement of the communities themselves. Both local infrastructure and local leadership are necessary to reach revitalization goals. This study also found that, in the right circumstances, islands can successfully attract significant numbers of in-migrants despite the challenges of rural island life. This highlights both the development potential of festival-based revitalization strategies as well as the need for further study regarding the changes and challenges brought by such social restructuring (see Gosnell and Abrams 2011) in precarious communities.

There were some limitations during this study, including that some fieldwork was conducted only during the non-art festival period. While this was planned to reach business owners when they had more time to speak to researchers, it may have influenced the data in unexpected ways. Additionally, over-research on Ogijima, as well as at least one negative experience islanders had with a previous researcher whose carelessness with private information led to divisions within the community, caused unforeseen difficulties in communicating with some potential respondents.

### **8.3 Mixed Finding**

During interviews with members of all three official organizations, the officials all emphasized that the Setouchi Triennale is a revitalization initiative employing art festival tourism, not simply a tourism development program. When the author asked what the most significant challenges were for sustaining the art festival, answers mainly highlighted threats – such as aging and depopulation – that were out of their control, originating from within the communities themselves. No officials reflected on real or potential failures in their management or other internal weakness.

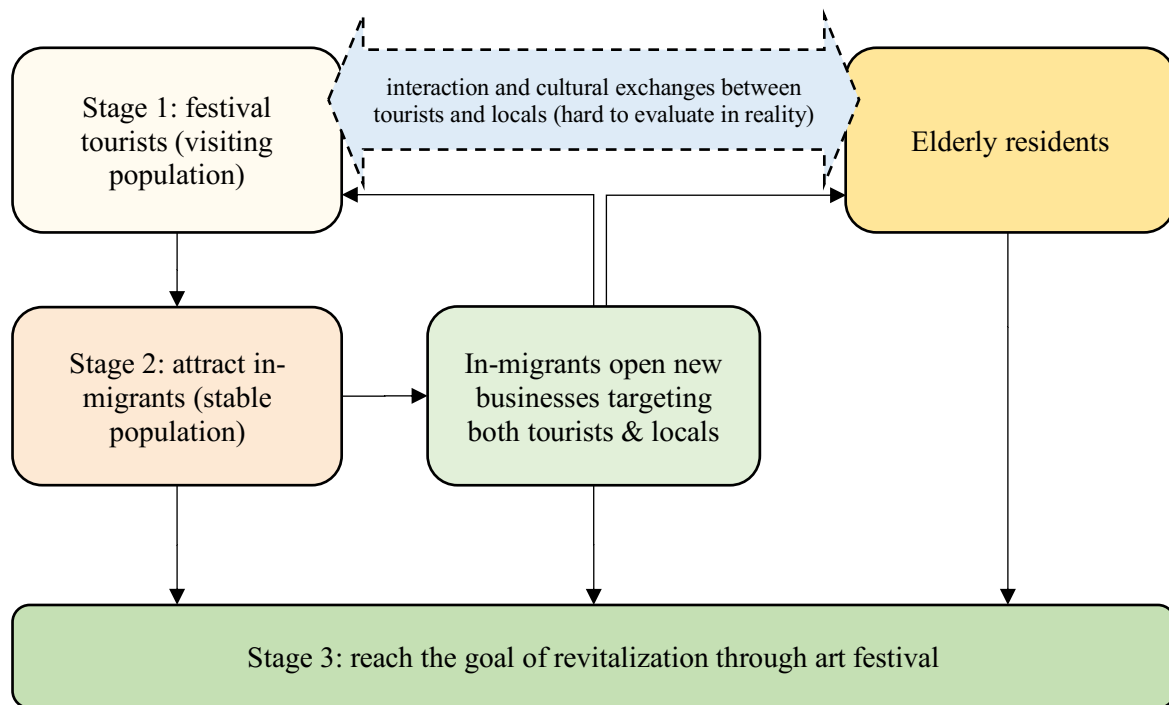


Figure 8.2 The model of the revitalization mechanism by Setouchi Triennale, Author's calculation and illustration

Officials generally agreed that the continued viability of the island communities was essential to the continued existence of the art festival. The general director of the Setouchi Triennale explained that revitalization is not simply a matter of increasing the number of island inhabitants but seeing new in-migrants establish services and facilities to serve the island communities. After analyzing multiple official interviews, the author developed Figure 8.2 to explain the stated mechanism of Setouchi Triennale, according to its organizers. The three-stage process is weighted heavily toward the second stage, where islands shift from simply hosting tourists to attracting a certain number of in-migrants. These in-migrants thus become a major reference point to examine the community development process within the art festival's revitalization agenda.

*So, after 10 years, Ogijima now has more in-migrants. They have about 50 in-migrants, which means that 30 percent of the population is in-migrants. Well, that's great. Yeah, it's a rare story. (Koebi General Manager)*

Exemplified by this quote, most festival officials mentioned Ogijima among the 12 festival islands as one particularly notable example of revitalization at work. The number of in-migrants was frequently indicated as a cause for celebration.

The questionnaire distributed to tourism businesses gleaned insights from 29 business owners on both islands. In fieldwork during which time the questionnaire was circulated, the author observed that only about 60 percent of island businesses remained open for the non-art festival periods. As shown in Table 8.3, the ages and resident status of business owners along with their target customers and business types varied substantially between the two islands. More than half of the local businesses on Ogijima were mixed businesses (for example, a combined café and guesthouse), but on Megijima the majority of businesses were

cafes/restaurants and guest houses or other accommodations. More than half of the Ogijima businesses had relatively young proprietors (20-49 years old) while 80 percent of the businesses on Megijima were run by older people (50-79 years old). The respondents on Ogijima mainly consisted of local long-term residents and in-migrants but on Megijima were mainly commuters who lived in the nearby city, Takamatsu, and worked on the island. Additionally, Ogijima businesses aimed their trades at both locals and tourists; Megijima's businesses were likely to expressly target tourists.

Table 8.3 Characteristics of respondents from a questionnaire survey with local tourism businesses, Author's calculation

		Ogijima		Megijima	
		Frequency (n=14)	Percentage	Frequency (n=15)	Percentage
Gender	Male	9	64.3	9	60.0
	Female	5	35.7	6	40.0
	Non-response	0	0.0	0	0.0
Age Groups	20-49	8	57.1	3	20.0
	50-79	6	42.9	12	80.0
	Non-response	0	0.0	0	0.0
Type of Residents	Local long-term residents (10 years or more)	6	42.9	5	33.3
	In-migrant (I-turn)	6	42.9	2	13.3
	Return migrant (U-turn)	1	7.1	0	0.0
	Commuter (Living off-island)	1	7.1	8	53.4
	Non-response	0	0.0	0	0.0
Type of Businesses	Mixed Business	8	57.1	2	13.2
	Souvenir Shop	0	0.0	1	6.7
	Tourist Facility	0	0.0	1	6.7
	Grocery Store	1	7.2	1	6.7
	Restaurant/Café	4	28.5	6	40.0
	Accommodation	1	7.2	4	26.7
	Non-response	0	0.0	0	0.0
Target Customers	Tourist	4	28.6	9	60.0
	Local	1	7.1	4	26.6
	Both	9	64.3	1	6.7
	Seasonal	0	0.0	1	6.7
	Non-response	0	0.0	0	0.0

This chapter also identified the reasons why respondents decided to establish their businesses. As shown in Figure 8.3, for both islands, the results indicated that liking their island and the desire to make a living were the dominant reasons. While the Setouchi Triennale ranked fourth among the eight choices for Ogijima respondents with 21.4% of the total, only 6.7% of Megijima respondents cited the festival as a primary reason for starting their businesses.

**Responses to Survey Question, "Reason(s) for opening current business (choose up to three)" (n=29)**

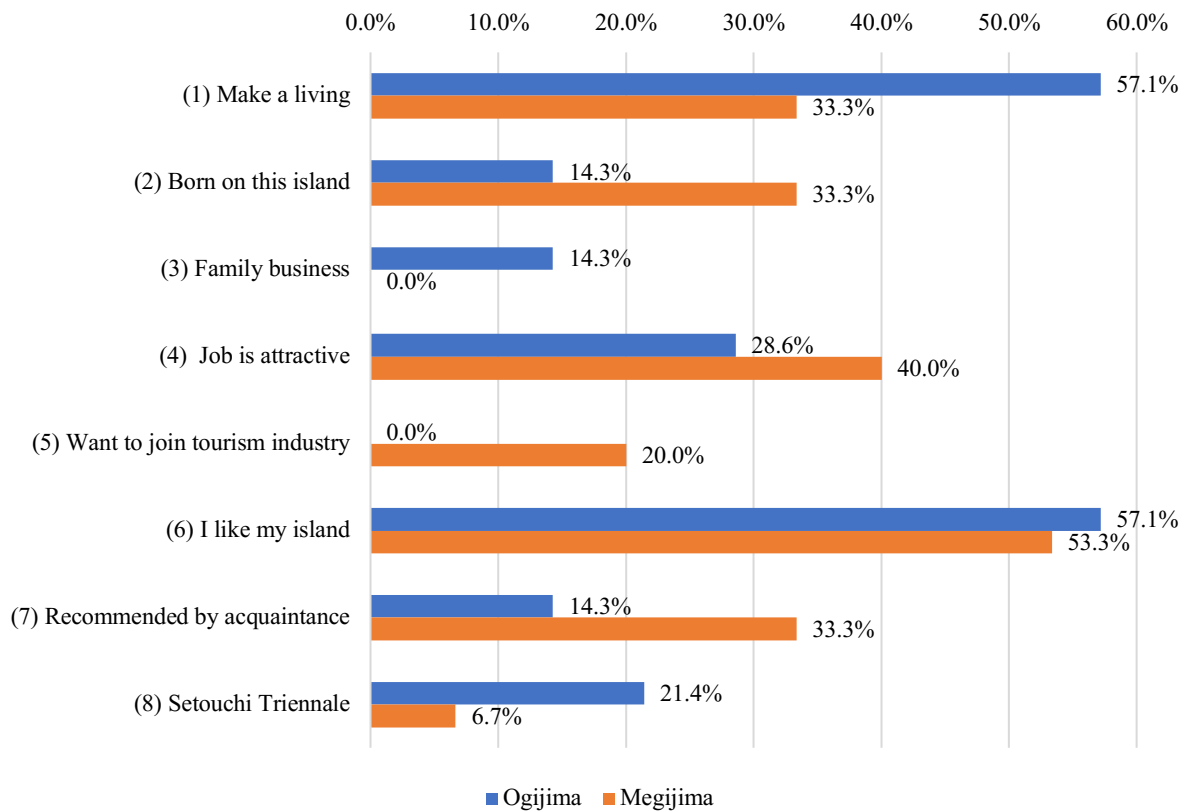


Figure 8.3 Reasons why business owners opened their businesses, Author's calculation and illustration

Respondents on Ogijima indicated positive outcomes from the festival, particularly the new opportunities presented by the island's nascent tourism industry. This resulted in the island becoming more well known, which in turn led to an increase in lifestyle in-migrants from Japanese cities, some of whom opened new tourism businesses. According to one respondent:

*I can see that [the Triennale is] shining a spotlight on the region and introducing a lot of economic opportunities for local people other than the traditional industries like fishing and agriculture. ...A lot of [new in-migrants] are working either remotely or with businesses they've created on the island. (I-turn IT worker on Ogijima)*

Newly created businesses, such as the privately-operated Ogijima Library, were likely to attract both tourists and local customers. The library's small adjacent kitchen served curry, drinks, and desserts, which visitors could eat on repurposed school desks inside the main building. Books in the library's collection, accumulated entirely through donations, were available for visitors to peruse, and islanders to borrow.

The reopening of Ogijima's school, another development widely promoted by festival organizers, was also viewed locally as being highly attractive to in-migrants. Shuttered in 2011, the combined elementary and junior high school reopened in 2014 when three families relocated to the island (Takamatsu City Ogi Elementary and Junior High School, 2014).

*The Triennale led to the school reopening... After the school reopened, the number of students gradually increased. There are more babies on the island now... Because of the Triennale, the population is growing. This is because the younger generation is willing to have children. That is [what we] expected. (Long-term business owner on Ogijima)*

*I moved to this island on March 31, 2014. I put my children into school last year... Ogijima lost its future once due to the closure of primary and secondary schools. (Residents' association leader, U-turn)*

Ogijima respondents stressed that the school played a critical role in retaining the island's younger generation when they had children of their own, as well as attracting newcomers. While there were conflicting accounts regarding the precise causes for the school's reopening, there was a general sense that the Triennale had played at least a contributing role in this significant symbolic and practical victory for the island.

However, as the school's reopening was linked to the island's influx of in-migrants, this influx deserves more careful consideration, particularly as neighboring Megijima did not share in Ogijima's success. Interviews on the island pointed to the efforts of a key figure in the community as central to the island's in-migrant boom. The leader of the residents' association had migrated to the island with his family in 2014 and went on to assume an active role in helping outsiders who were interested in moving to Ogijima. With no government office on the island offering relocation services, he stepped in, introducing outsiders to other in-migrants and providing information on matters related to island life, including local culture, available housing, transportation, education, and job opportunities.

In-migrants on Ogijima pointed to a range of benefits to life on the island, from the lifestyle benefits of living amid natural beauty and within a close-knit community, to practical considerations such as the availability of high-speed internet and other services. But without the active involvement of the residents' association leader, matters as basic as finding a house could have easily become overwhelming for prospective newcomers.

Opportunities connected to festival tourism were motivating to in-migrants interested in starting new tourism-focused businesses on Ogijima. This situation drew mixed comments from respondents.

*The most obvious thing is the sudden influx of people wandering around and the number of shops and stalls open. I see a lot of people return to Ogijima from Takamatsu and beyond seemingly lured in by the economic opportunities. When the crowds are not here, shops will only be open a couple of days a week, but during the festival, a lot of shops didn't take a single day off during the spring period. (I-turn business owner on Ogijima)*

The author also uncovered challenges brought on by the rapid increase in in-migrants, which had caused a noticeable cultural shift toward openness to outside ideas on the island. Some respondents mentioned that, as newcomers and new ideas gain weight against traditional values and systems, it can be difficult for long-term residents to adapt.

Additionally, there was no guarantee that recent in-migrants would remain on the island indefinitely. The author observed more than 15 cases where in-migrants to Ogijima had already left the island or did not permanently reside there.

One negative impact on locals is the issue of over-research. Due to Ogijima's success, it has attracted many researchers who have published research without protecting local respondents' privacy.

This caused disagreements and divisions among locals. From Ogijima's community council website:

*In recent years, we have received a lot of reports regarding these research interviews, and we are struggling with too much... Please consider the privacy of the islanders. Exposure to the media and publication of papers have sometimes hindered the private matters of the islanders and the relationships between them. Be sure to obtain the approval before publication from the interviewees and the organizers of the interviews.* (Ogi District Community Council, 2013)

Megijima received far fewer in-migrants (5 or less) but far more commuters operating tourism businesses on the island while living on the mainland. Respondents generally remarked upon a lack of positive changes since the debut of the Setouchi Triennale. All of this was in stark contrast to Ogijima.

*It's true that [the Setouchi Triennale] is not a bad thing for Megijima, but [revitalization] is not the current reality yet... In our case, it was behind Ogijima.* (Long-term business owner on Megijima)

*Basically zero [changes]! That's why we accepted [the Triennale], but we helped to finish it. There is nothing left now.* (Long-term resident business owner on Megijima)

*I can't live without having a job. The art festival can't bring jobs to Megijima. Every three years, tourists come and there are short-term economic benefits during that period. But after that, there will be a lot fewer people, so it won't be a stable thing.* (Seasonal commuter business owner, birth from Megijima)

*I don't recommend [the Setouchi Triennale to people]. Locals [on Megijima] don't have much interest in the festival, so I can't justify spending time on it. But the younger people on Ogijima are interested.* (Long-term business owner on Megijima)

*Japan is full of such mistakes from the past. To revitalize [areas], the government threw a lot of money into them, and after the projects failed and no one came, they left ruined tourist facilities and empty golf courses everywhere. By the way, the Japanese government is a tourist business. They can only create a period of [visitor number] bloom rather than a new culture... [These ideas are] like Disneyland.* (Seasonal commuter business owner, birth from Megijima)



Megijima respondents were far less likely to express faith in either the art festival or economic opportunities related to it. For some, the Setouchi Triennale felt like an echo of failed government projects from the nation's late-20th century bubble economy. One tourism-related business announced its closure at the start of 2019, claiming a poor economic outlook, although the 2019 Triennale was a few months away. Instead, seasonal, commuter-run businesses had become common, such as a pop-up coffee shop (shown in Figure 8.4) run out of a vehicle by the port, reflecting a lack of interest in in-migration, and a lack of confidence in regular customers from within the community.



Figure 8.4 Rather than new resident-operated businesses, Megijima saw an increase in commuter-run businesses like this pop-up coffee truck, which appeared during the spring session of the 2019 Setouchi Triennale, Author's photo, 2019

Respondents on Megijima also frequently expressed a sense that the art on their island was inferior and getting worse with successive festival iterations.

*If it's unique, it's a work [of art], but I don't feel that kind of artistry [on Megijima]. From my point of view, I think it's a state art festival where fake and real things are mixed. (Seasonal commuter business owner, birth from Megijima)*

*Somehow, I think [Setouchi Triennale] has gotten worse and worse, and especially artistically, and this is a threat to long-term sustainability. There have been a lot of ugly artworks. As the festival has repeated twice and three times now, the [quality of the] artwork become [equivalent to] a university art or cultural festival. (Commuter business owner on Megijima)*

These sentiments represented a strong disconnect between the community and the festival. While respondents on Ogijima reported problems associated with the Setouchi Triennale, their overall impression of recent developments on the island was one of enthusiasm and pride. On Megijima, respondents saw little benefit to the festival, which felt neither rooted in local concerns nor supported by local constituents.

#### **8.4 Discussion - Between Success and Stagnation**

Setouchi Triennale officials claim credit for Ogijima having received more in-migrants and new businesses over the last nine years. However, respondents on both islands did not consider the existence of the Setouchi Triennale as being, on its own, more significant than financial or lifestyle benefits. Most mentioned liking their island, making a living, or the attractiveness of the job as being far more important. The cultural openness of Ogijima (Nakashima, 2014) appeared far less significant to drawing in-migrants to the island than concrete factors like the reopening of the school and, more importantly, the efforts of a key individual, the residents' association leader, to support those interested in settling on the island. While the RAFT was not directly tied to these factors, it played a contributing role in establishing conditions necessary to return Ogijima to long-term viability, particularly by thrusting it into the spotlight and thus advertising it to prospective in-migrants. This was not without its challenges, as the changes and new ideas brought by a large class of newcomers were not always well received by long-term residents, causing divisions within the Ogijima community. This tension seemingly complicates Crawshaw and Gkartzios's suggestion that art festivals can reveal community relations (2016). A negative side effect of Ogijima's high-profile successes, the excessive and at times careless research conducted on the island, may have exacerbated these divisions.

In the case of Megijima, the island's not so success to attract sufficient in-migrants resulted in a situation where more small businesses were operated by seasonal commuters from the mainland. This type of business mainly focused on tourists, as the business owners had fewer community ties and were, therefore, more profit-minded. This appears to have had something of a cyclical effect, with observed examples of local businesses closing because of a lack of customers in the off-season, further tilting the small business environment toward commutership and pop-up food vehicles amid a hollowing out of the residential business community. Complaints about the festival were rampant on Megijima and covered everything from the not so success of the revitalization effort to the quality of the artwork itself, which was seen as inferior to that of other islands in the festival and declining with successive festival iterations. Echoing locals on a neighboring island who described the festival as a "theme park" (Chapter 6) a respondent on Megijima dismissed the Triennale as "Disneyland".

By processing these findings using the RAFT revitalization model in Figure 8.2, which was developed out of interviews with festival officials, the results were summarized in Table 8.4. The Setouchi Triennale had a noticeable impact on both islands, transforming both into well-known and highly-visited tourist destinations by positioning artwork in a festival format as a creative spectacle (Richards & Wilson, 2006). However, both over-tourism and under-tourism, caused by the intermittent festival structure, led to problems on both islands. Both islands had a similar number of tourism businesses, and respondents emphasized a sense of over-tourism during the Triennale period, while they were more likely to dwell on under-

tourism during the non-festival period when income was insufficient to maintain their businesses. Ogijima actively worked to mitigate this issue by expanding beyond in-migrants seeking to capitalize on the tourism economy, and reaped rewards for their efforts, reaching Stage 3 in the revitalization model. Ogijima offers an example of an island where more in-migrants led to increased small business development by island residents. These small businesses catered both to locals and tourists. While ST organizers pointed to this revitalization outcome as a success that aligned with their hopes for communities within the Triennale, hailing the improvements to the quality of life for locals (Cudny, 2013), this outcome was the direct result of local efforts. The not so success of Megijima to reach a similar outcome suggests that, without significant local leadership, the Setouchi Triennale is not capable of effecting true revitalization in participating communities.

*Table 8.4 Applying research findings into the model of the revitalization mechanism by Setouchi Triennale, Author’s calculation*

<b>Stages of Revitalization by STEC</b>	<b>Ogijima</b>	<b>Megijima</b>
Stage 1: festival tourists	The island becomes a tourist destination for revitalization Over-tourism during the festival; under-tourism in the off-season	
Stage 2: attract in-migrants	Obtains a substantial number of in-migrants. Tourism businesses target both tourists and locals.	Commuters heavily outweigh in-migrants. Their businesses target tourists exclusively.
Stage 3: reach the goal of revitalization through the art festival	Conditions for revitalization achieved with help of major local efforts (population, tourism development, other new industry growth).	No clear sign of revitalization.

**8.5 Chapter Summary**

This chapter evaluated the potential of Japan’s rural art festival to bring about conditions necessary to create long-term viability in participating in island communities. In particular, it focused on the idea of festivals attracting new types of in-migrants who engage in the ‘residents-with-businesses’ (STB) pattern linked to revitalization by Duxbury and Campbell (2011), by studying two islands in the Setouchi Triennale with similar demographics and scale. The findings revealed that the same top-down revitalization strategy can lead to drastically varied results depending on local conditions, particularly if no effort is made to customize the strategy to those conditions. Ogijima offered an example of a relatively successful revitalization outcome, having attracted sufficient urban-rural in-migrants (Stage 2) to achieve the stated goal of revitalization through small business development (Stage 3). On the contrary, Megijima failed to attract in-migrants and, as a result, remains at Stage 1 after nine years of festival development.

The cultural openness of locals (Nakashima, 2014) and the RAFT both established favorable conditions for in-migration to Ogijima, but were not the main reasons why Ogijima was successful. Nor were the “medium” qualities of both festival tourism and festival artwork (Klien 2010, 519) alone sufficient to achieve revitalization. Instead, the strategic and supportive efforts of a community leader, along with both the symbolic and practical influence of the school’s reopening in 2014, took advantage of the festival’s favorable conditions on infrastructure upgrade to intentionally create a pathway to long-term community vitality.

New in-migrants gradually lead to changes in the social structure of the community. As in-migrants and new ideas gain weight against traditional values and systems, it can be difficult for long-term residents to adapt. Islands that can attract more in-migrants benefit by having more small businesses operated by residents. Small businesses run by locals who cater to other locals as well as tourists are much stronger markers of revitalization. This study shows that since the festival is held once every three years, tourist flows alternate between short periods of high tourist traffic and longer periods of significantly reduced tourist visitation. This in turn has forced small businesses to operate intermittently, which challenges both socio-economic and population stability. The long-term sustainability of the Setouchi Triennale and the marginal communities hosting it requires festival organizers to prioritize achieving a balance between over-tourism during the festival and under-tourism during non-festival periods.

## Chapter 9 Community Small Tourism Business Efforts for Revitalization

### 9.1 Case Studies (Shodoshima, Teshima, Inujima, Ogijima, Megijima, Naoshima)

The six art islands examined in this study, Inujima, Megijima, Naoshima, Ogijima, Shodoshima, and Teshima (see Figure 9.1), have formed the core of the ST venues since its launching in 2010. Table 4.1, Table 4.2, and Table 4.3 show a selection of attributes on each of the six islands. In general, smaller communities like Megijima and Inujima have a higher percentage of older residents and are less resource-dense, while larger communities like Naoshima, Teshima, and particularly Shodoshima are more likely to have schools.



Figure 9.1 Map showing six Setouchi Triennale art islands and nearby ports, Source of the map: (Geospatial Information Authority of Japan (GSI), 2016), Software: (QGIS Development Team, 2019), Author's illustration

### 9.2 Methodology Frameworks

This chapter is based on a similar research question to Chapter 8 but on a bigger scale, this time including all six islands. It tries to understand the significant differences among all fieldwork island communities under the influence of the ST but whilst retaining the focus on STBs and tourism development. From Chapter 8, the important role of STB highly connects with in-migrants and community social structure change as well as revitalization efforts. Although Chapter 8 sums up the model of the revitalization mechanism of ST (Table 8.2) through the fieldwork on Megijima and Ogijima, it cannot represent all the other case study islands in particular with the island associate under the BAS.

Following a convergent design method, qualitative and quantitative data were collected simultaneously during field visits to six islands as well as STEC officials between December 2016 and June 2019. Questionnaires (n=214) and semi-structured interviews (n=26) were

conducted with selected STB-related respondents as well as including four STEC official interviews from four different organizations under the PPP. This fieldwork took place during non-festival periods when small business respondents had the time and inclination to participate.

For the quantitative method, the questionnaire focus on the STB was conducted as mentioned in Table 3.1. The sample selection methods are already explained in Chapter 3.2.2. The quantitative data were summarized in the Excel sheet before processed in SPSS. The findings are described mainly by using cross-tabulations (chi-square test) for multiple answers.

*Table 9.1 Interview survey respondents with small tourism businesses on all six islands, Author’s calculation*

<b>Respondent Group (n=26)</b>	<b>Interviewee Description</b>
Shodoshima (n=4)	STB owner (long-term resident), ST artwork STB (I-turn), Shodoshima tourism association staff (I-turn), ST artwork business (I-turn)
Teshima (n=6)	ST artwork STB (U-turn), Teshima tourism association staff (I-turn), STB owner (I-turn), STB owner (I-turn), STB owner (I-turn), STB owner (long-term resident)
Inujima (n=2)	STB owner (long-term resident), STB staff member (commuter)
Megijima (n=3)	STB owner (commuter) x3
Ogijima (n=4)	Freelancer (I-turn), IT worker (lived on Ogijima 2 year), STB owner (long-term resident), Residents’ association leader/business owner (U-turn)
Naoshima (n=3)	Town office staff member (long-term resident), STB owner (I-turn), Business owner (long-term resident)
STEC officials (n=4)	STEC spokesperson, Koebi general manager, Setouchi Triennale general director, BAS spokesperson

For the qualitative method, twenty-six semi- and unstructured interviews were selected from overall interview respondents (Table 3.2) with STB owners and a handful of STEC organizers (see Table 9.1). Interview respondents were selected using purposive sampling (Creswell & Clark, 2017) to target different groups on all islands: long-term island residents, new urban-rural in-migrants (I-turn), return migrants (U-turn), and seasonal commuters. The interview questions covered topics, related to why and how tourism entrepreneurs opened businesses on the islands, what prompted in-migrants to relocate to the islands, how businesses and communities interfaced, and whether they had made or observed any changes resulting from the festival. Interviews lasted an average of 40 minutes. Axial coding by respondent and selective coding by island were employed to sort information from the interviewees and classify their opinions.

Limitations primarily related to the size of the festival and the large number of businesses, which forced the author to divide fieldwork over four years and two festival periods. Quantitative data also did not include businesses that were only open during peak periods. These limitations were partly – but not entirely – mitigated through subsequent field observations. Further complicating the data, many guesthouses were closed during daytime fieldwork, which skewed the respondent pool toward retail, dining, and mixed businesses.

## 9.3 Mixed Finding

### 9.3.1 Official structures and partnership

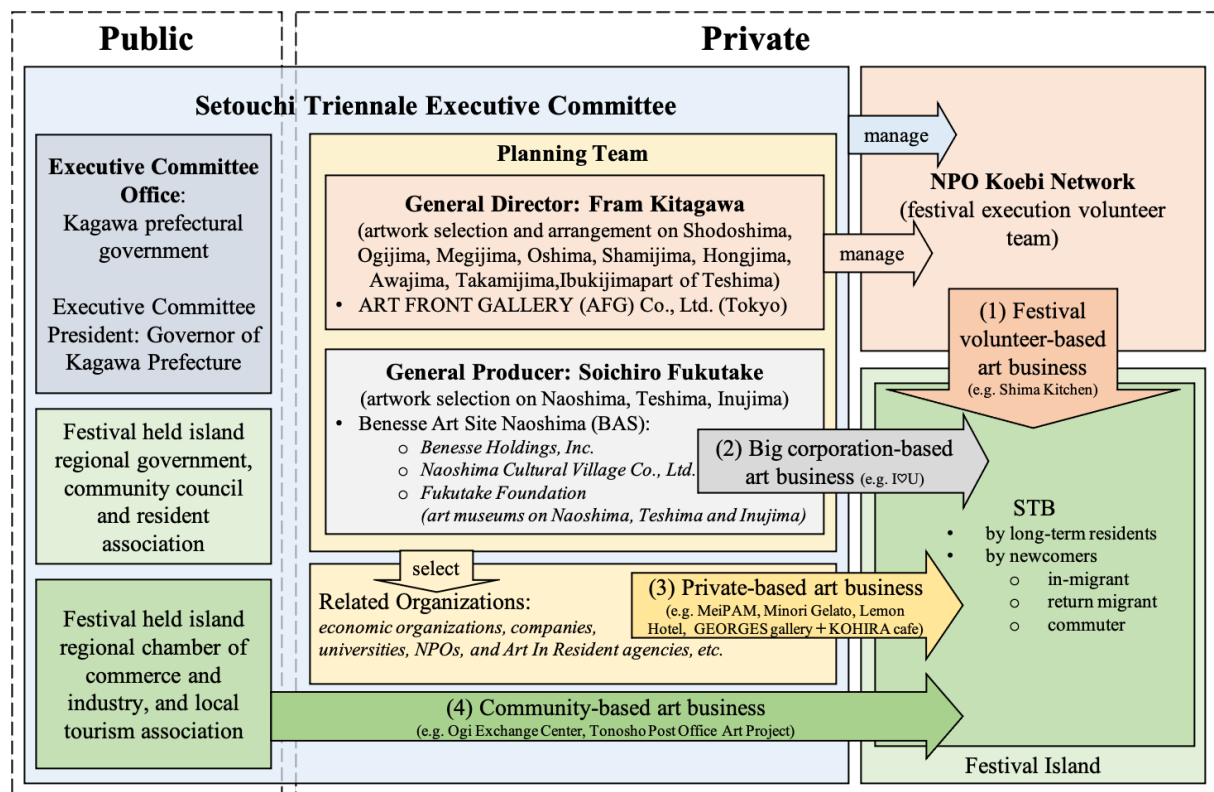


Figure 9.2 The organization structure of ST, Author's illustration

Based on the mixed finding from official interviews and field observations, this chapter summarizes the PPP official structure of the STEC (Figure 9.2), which demonstrate the complex organizational structure of ST among major players such as AFG, BAS, Koebi and island communities. The Koebi Network presents as an NPO independent entity that is not inside the organization body of STEC but acted as a management body for ST. Therefore, Koebi receives double instructions from AFG general director for non-BAS islands. From the artworks' point of view, there are three major different types of artworks based on their organizational approaches: 1) Koebi-based artwork that is directed by general director and also managed by volunteers; 2) BAS-based artworks and art museums that are owned by General Producer and managed by BAS; and 3) collaborate-artworks through the partnership with art universities, organizations as well as companies.

In interviews, the STEC Executive Committee office and BAS officials were united in claiming that the ST was not created simply to promote tourism. The STEC spokesperson described the power of the festival to boost the popular image of the islands, in part to draw in-migrants with STB:

*For all the islands, to ensure that they survive, we try to encourage population exchange. We hope that, in some cases, people choose to relocate to the islands. So, the goal [of the festival] is to ensure that the communities can be sustained. (STEC spokesperson)*

For BSA, which is a central feature of the Setouchi Triennale, corporate social responsibility through community development has become central to its narrative. The Benesse spokesperson described how uplifting local spirit took priority over the fame of the destination or tourist numbers:

*Our goal is not to create a tourist destination. Benesse Holdings strengthens its brand by contributing to society. We need to sustain our activities here, so our purpose is not to increase the number of people who come, but to improve the quality [of the experience for everyone].* (BAS spokesperson)

About the development of STBs, ST officials drew a connection between increased tourists and a potential environment for facilitating STBs. According to the Koebi manager:

*Of course, the amount of infrastructure, and the number of ferries, lodging, and restaurants for tourists have all increased [since the start of the Triennale]. The demand for rental bicycles means more and more businesses are now doing that. Businesses are increasing along with tourism.* (Koebi manager)

The general director of ST felt that entrepreneurship, not simply in-migration, was essential for island revitalization:

*In-migrant numbers alone are not the key. The key is in-migrants who come to the island and establish new businesses for tourists, which can also benefit locals.* (ST general director, AFG chairman)

Speaking as representatives of distinct entities within the Triennale's organizational partnership, the respondents were nonetheless remarkably aligned in their messaging, with both public- and private-sector officials emphasizing the social good of the festival, particularly as related to in-migration and small business creation.

The common theme from all official interviews emphasizes the importance of population growth after ST's influence as the outcome of the RAFT. However, this ambiguous population growth also covered in-migrants moving to the islands, not because of ST's opportunity. For example, Shodoshima that already has strong primary and secondary industries and island tourism development.

All major management entities under STEC's PPP structure, which includes the prefectural government office, the ST general director from AFG, and manager from Koebi, tried to emphasize the key role of in-migrants and STBs as a sign of success of the festival at the local level. However, the real PPP of ST-associated STBs that get finally printed on the ST official tour guide book is less than five cases during each ST period (Kitagawa & Setouchi Triennale Executive Committee, 2016). During this research, this chapter also found that this ST-associated STB partnership is not stable, and it gets changes during each festival.



### 9.3.2 STBs among Setouchi Triennale islands

The questionnaire distributed to small businesses on the six islands yielded data specific to STB development in the festival environment. The general characteristics of STB respondents are shown in Table 9.2. If we look further into the data, the islands with the greatest share of in-migrants were Ogijima (42.9%), Naoshima (36.1%), and Shodoshima (36%). Returnees were less represented, with Teshima (14.3%) and Shodoshima (12.8%) having the most. On Inujima (57.1%) and Megijima (53.3%), most respondents were commuters. The largest share of businesses (31.8%) were mixed type businesses. Restaurants and cafes (24.3%), and accommodation facilities (13.6%) were the second- and third-largest groups. Ninety-eight businesses (45.8%) had opened after the Triennale debut in 2010. Ogijima (92.9%) and Teshima (71.4%) had the largest share of businesses that opened after 2010.

*Table 9.2 Characteristics of small business respondents (n=214), Author's calculation*

<b>Respondent characteristic</b>	<b>Value</b>	<b>Frequency (n=214)</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
Residential classification	Local long-term residents (10 years or more)	103	48.1
	In-migrant (I-turn)	66	30.8
	Return migrant (U-turn)	20	9.4
	Commuter (Living off-island)	25	11.7
	No response	0	0.0
Location of respondent	Naoshima	36	16.8
	Inujima	15	6.5
	Teshima	49	22.9
	Shodoshima	86	40.3
	Megijima	15	7.0
	Ogijima	14	6.5
	No response	0	0.0

Among the 214 respondents, 92 were business owners, 28 were managers, 63 were other full-time staff members, and 31 were part-time workers. A cross-tabulation with chi-square analysis comparing owner and island showed that a majority of respondents on Ogijima (64.3%), Naoshima (58.3%), and Teshima (53.1%) were business owners, while this was not the case on Shodoshima (33.7%), Megijima (26.7%), and Inujima (21.4%) ( $p \leq 0.05$ ). Respondents were asked to indicate changes they or their businesses had made related to the festival (see Figure 9.3). Results of the chi-square cross-tabulation between islands and types of residents showed that a significant share of respondents created or made improvements to their tourist-facing businesses, interacted with outsiders, and promoted their islands, which suggests an increase in innovation and exchange during the festival period ( $p \leq 0.05$ ). However, comparing responses by island revealed highly disparate outcomes. More respondents on Naoshima (36.4%), Ogijima (36.4%), and Teshima (25.0%) said their businesses had expanded

because of the festival. On the other hand, 60.3% of Shodoshima respondents and 54.5% of Inujima respondents indicated that neither their businesses nor they had made any changes in response to the festival ( $p \leq 0.05$ ).

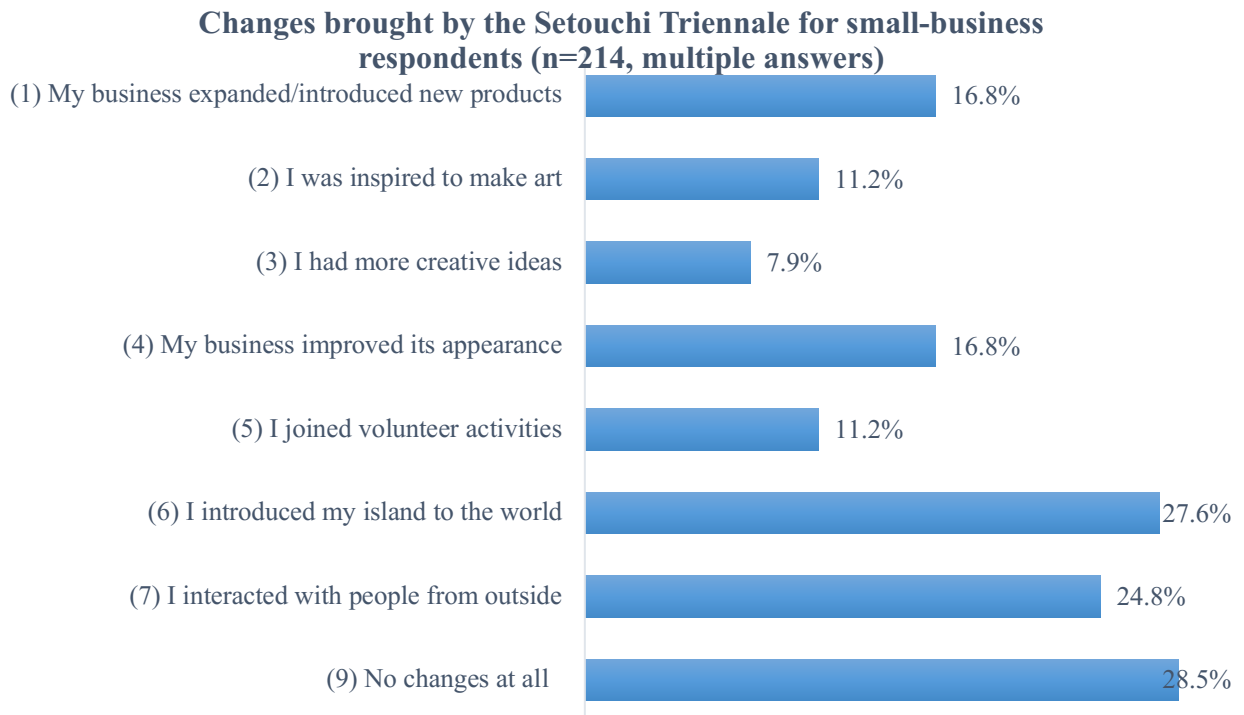
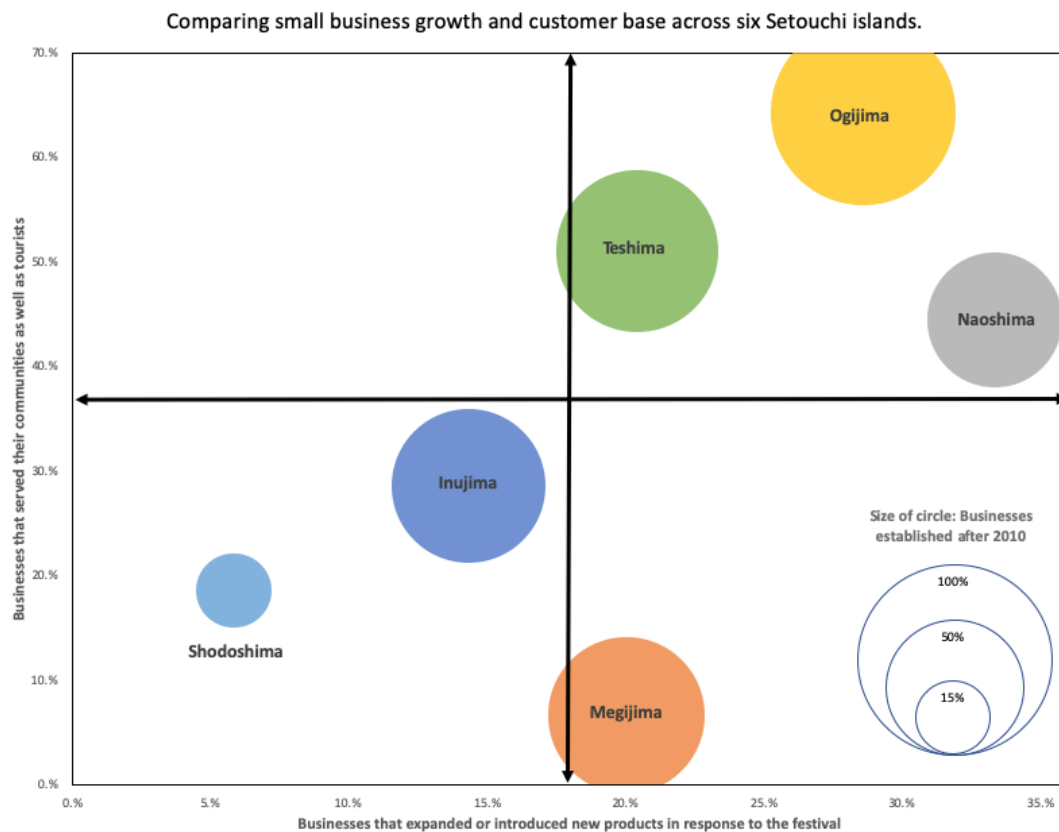


Figure 9.3 Changes brought by the Setouchi Triennale for small-business respondents, Author's calculation and illustration

Of all respondents surveyed, 33.2% said their businesses catered to tourists and locals alike. But among individual islands, Ogijima (64.3%), Teshima (51.0%), and Naoshima (44.4%) had the largest individual proportions of such businesses ( $p \leq 0.05$ ). On the other hand, Megijima (6.7%), Shodoshima (18.6%), and Inujima (28.6%) were notably skewed toward serving tourists over locals. Tellingly, the former three islands had a larger mix of locally desirable businesses such as grocery stores, transportation, restaurants, and cafés, while the latter cases had an outsize share of tourist-facing guesthouses and souvenir shops. Figure 9.4 compares the share of respondents on each island who said their businesses had expanded in response to the festival, the percentage of businesses that served their communities in addition to tourists, and the percentage of businesses surveyed that were created during or after 2010.



*Figure 9.4 Comparing small business growth and customer base across six Setouchi islands, Author's calculation, and illustration*

In interviews, respondents described how Setouchi Triennale brought a tremendous surge in tourists to most of the islands, and businesses sprouted up as a result. Long-term island residents were the early trailblazers – renting out bicycles and cars, opening cafes, converting homes into guesthouses – before they were joined by in-migrants. The in-migrants and U-turn migrants, in turn, brought more cosmopolitan ideas, like American diner-style hamburgers and espresso coffee, which added to a growing diversity of tourist amenities but did not generally push out local business owners. Naoshima and Teshima were the best examples of this synergy between locals and newcomers. The festival provided as many customers as local business owners could accommodate, which benefited those with the flexibility to temporarily expand capacity. The off-season was starkly different, with businesses on non-museum islands particularly likely to shutter for long stretches during non-festival periods. This intermittency was seen as an especially limiting factor for the establishment of new businesses and the longevity of existing ones.

Ogijima, despite its tiny size, had attracted nearly 50 in-migrants over the ten-year festival span (NPO Ogijima Life Research Institute, 2018). During this time, the arrival of families with children prompted the reopening of the island's school, which had been closed for several years (Chapter 8). While locals on Ogijima sometimes expressed mixed feelings about the festival and gains remained tentative (the school had fewer than ten students), there was a great deal of optimism and hope for the future on the island.

Negative feedback for the art festival was especially pronounced on Megijima, which received hardly any in-migrants after four festival iterations (NPO Ogijima Life Research

Institute, 2018). Here, tourist businesses were primarily run by commuters who lived in the city and were thus more inclined to close in the off-season and during off years. Unfavorable comparisons of Megijima to nearby islands with permanent, high-profile art museums were common. Respondents described how the festival brought only short-term surges in customers, which made it hard to sustain normal businesses on the island. On Inujima, which was the smallest, least resourced, and most difficult to access, entrepreneurship was limited, and the island's few tourism businesses were operated by commuters or elderly locals who simply wished to engage with outside visitors. Locals interviewed praised the quality-of-life benefit of such interactions, but it was clear that no surge of in-migrant entrepreneurs was expected. Shodoshima already had a long-established and comparatively diverse tourism industry, with good transportation and other amenities favorable to tourism. Yet there had been minimal business development on the island in response to the festival. Business owners commented on the general lack of perceived impact on tourism during the festival compared to regular seasonal flows, while others complained that festival visitors were less likely to spend time at non-art-related amenities.

STBs were observed to have created smaller but abundant informal networks. This network is not limited by the community but the entire island. Sometimes, it is including an island to island networks. Examples including more than two network cases emerging between Teshima and Naoshima. Businesses frequently recommended each other to visitors, such as rental bicycle vendors suggesting itineraries that included restaurants. Islands with a higher density of resident business owners, like Naoshima and Teshima, were more likely to show evidence of collaborations and partnerships between businesses. However, islands lacking this density did not facilitate this type of network, and business closures followed. On Megijima, an accommodation business that had participated in the earlier survey closed in spring 2019, citing the intermittent flows of tourists as an insurmountable challenge despite the next Triennale starting within weeks. On Inujima, one of this study's few resident informants closed their business after the 2019 festival, has decided to retire and leave the island.

### 9.3.3 New type of Relational Creative STBs

During the fieldwork, the participant observation matched the mixed findings from last session 9.3.2. Especially during the off-festival season, Teshima, Naoshima, and Ogijima had a certain amount of STB remain opening. Comparatively speaking, Inujima and Megijima show fewer open businesses. Shodoshima has kept its island tourism instead of art development. Among those three relatively successful islands, both STEC and STBs respondents emphasize the key role of a new type of relational and creative small tourism businesses that were brought by new in-migrants as well as some traditional STBs with new tourism-faced transformation. This chapter found what art brings to the community is not just tourists and social interaction, but new roles for convenience facilities for locals rooted solidly in the island. Most of the STBs started by the in-migrants are designed artistically and creatively. Just a cozy style and artistic atmosphere are not enough for STB to play a community revitalization role. Whether or not the STB could consider the community social decline issue as part of their business plan design, which makes the STB play a socially engaged role beyond tourism function is important. This includes both a non-tourism related infrastructure position for residents as well as provide a social site for psychological communication. Those changes are advantages brought by ST that

are perceived by community residents. From the finding of Figure 9.4, Naoshima did show a relatively positive outcome compare with Inujima and Megijima. However, its STB development is closer with the x-axis - art development influence rather than the y axis of community-favored. Therefore, this chapter will select Teshima and Ogijima as two selected cases for further discussion.

*Everyone has a different opinion on what art can bring revitalization to the community. It might bring vitality from people from outside, but it's a bit different if the people who actually live in the area are looking for it. (Teshima young in-migrant business owner 1)*

*Still, I think it's nice to have such kind of 'art' that can bring new businesses. (Teshima young in-migrant business owner 2)*

*Art festivals created new opportunities; we wish the island can be self-sustainable. (Teshima long-term resident business owner)*

This chapter found that the real change-maker for Teshima's future are community businesses with artistic style or art with a business function. One group is the old business by long-term residents shifting to adapt to art tourism by adding a new dimension to businesses, very often utilizing art design to create an artistic environment to match the art island fashion for attracting art tourists. Working examples include a gas station with bicycle rental, fishery with a sailing homestay, anchor factory with art sculpture, and Karato Art Museum (Figure 9.5) through a collaborative art project with Prof. IGARASHI Taro's laboratory, Tohoku University and Haryu Wood architecture studio reusing an old nori processing factory which has been turned into a community art museum by designing eatable tickets made by seaweed. Another group consists of urban-rural lifestyle creative in-migrants with their art or creative type businesses.

From the interviews, Teshima already received around 50 to 60 in-migrants averaging 30 years old since 2017. Many good cases can be found on Teshima such as the Lemon hotel (in Figure 9.6) a private art hotel with links to Teshima's lemon planting culture. The color and design focusing on lemon yellow were used to renovate an old, disused building. Alongside the hotel side, the art gallery area also features only displays artwork that is related to lemons and Teshima. The catering services of this facility also serve food mainly made by local ingredients from residents as well as lemon-based homemade drinks. Therefore, art, hotel, and lemon culture co-shaped a new form of symbiosis that not only brings secondary income but also expands cultural value with an innovative form for the community.



*Figure 9.5 Inside of Karato Art Museum, Author's photo, 2016*



*Figure 9.6 Small relational art business – Lemon Hotel, Author's photo, 2017*

Guesthouse Mamma, a privately-owned facility that combines accommodation, art, and cafeteria function located in an abandoned orphanage facility on the ‘milk island’. This facility provides a discount for residents to enjoy their cafeteria services as well as a public bath. During the observation, the author noticed locals of various occupational types and all ages enjoying this facility alongside tourists. When interviewed, the manager highly emphasized that a new relationship has been made between island locals and international visitors. The building’s history as an orphanage is highlighted at check-in. Though Guesthouse Mamma was an independent business not affiliated with Setouchi Triennale, the project embodied a Triennale hallmark: the repurposing of abandoned public buildings into venues for intercultural exchange. Guesthouse Mamma’s website described the business as a place where “new relationships are created between the locals and the guests from all over the world and they interact in an environment without a border” (Mamma, 2017) a reflection of one of Setouchi Triennale’s core tenets. The business was popular with locals, something its in-migrant manager had nurtured carefully, offering a discount to locals, and writing a letter to explain the business to elderly residents who were unable to read about it online. While a bathhouse on Naoshima, a facility with an eccentric redesign by a well-known artist that was operated by the main museum corporation, was advertised heavily, Guesthouse Mamma was simply listed in small print alongside other restaurants in the festival guidebook.

There are more than ten other cases of innovative uses of island spaces, like the coastal Umi no restaurant (‘restaurant of the sea’), with its distinct avant-garde architectural design, and the Usaginigen (a renovated old warehouse used for new media performance art and community theatre). These are swiftly becoming new ‘ambassadors’ for art on the island as they try to root their bottom-up efforts in local community. Some long-term residents have stated there are two factors that have caused the popularity of new art businesses. One is the comparison with the newly constructed businesses which use completely non-regional and incompatible buildings within the community. The locals favor businesses that renovate abandoned buildings. The creativity of new businesses saves these structures from further degradation as well as providing a new liveliness within the community. Another important factor is that a newcomer’s business must also be local-friendly instead of solely aimed at tourist revenue. Therefore, the local-friendly strategy plays a significant role in community revitalization at the ground level. Those STBs also mentioned that first-time art visitors usually come for mainly art. Repeat visitors would shift their interest from art into other aspects of island life and culture, including staying longer in local business, experiencing island culture, and communing with nature by visiting the mountain and coastal locations.

*Up until now, there were so many tourists who only took pictures (with art) and went back. But Teshima not only has art but also the historical problem of industrial waste. (Teshima young in-migrant with business 4)*

Similar examples also can be found from Ogijima but compared with Naoshima and Teshima’s STBs, Ogijima is incubating a more diversified community development instead of a single aim at small tourism business. One case is Ogijima library (Figure 9.7) and with its founder – the resident leader of Ogijima resident association. A creative library with a cafeteria function through renovating a vacant house. Importantly, this place plays key roles as an island

knowledge sharing place and information hub. For potential in-migrants who are looking for an immigration opportunity on the island, it plays an external role as an information hub. For school kids who have a less available place to study and read books, it plays an internal function as an educational site. The success of Ogijima, which obtains more than one-third of the island population as in-migrants, is based on the role of the island network and the diversity of newcomers that are not only limited by STB development but also involve other creative economies such as IT and cultural communication businesses.



Figure 9.7 At the Ogijima Library, visitors could buy lunch, read books, and interact with locals. Additionally, island residents could borrow books and participate in occasional educational events at the library, Author's photo, 2019

*[Job type including]IT engineers, designers, creative editors...some of them have really separate [jobs], but the most important reason people come to Ogi is to do what they want to do. (Ogijima Residents' association leader/business owner)*

Besides STBs, artists, journalists, writers, IT engineers, photographers, the designers were also identified on Ogijima. A new type of Ogijima STB presents in a variety of forms through mixed combination including 'restaurant with community photography exhibition', 'cafe with community craft studio', 'IT company with island volunteer', and 'restaurant with island library'. Collaboration among new and old residents to co-renovate vacant houses into new business was also found from more than four cases on Ogijima. In one case, local long-term residents help newcomers renovate a new business with an art gallery. Through this process, the photographer also documentaries how the islanders helped during this process. When this restaurant opened, part of the restaurant area was an exhibition for the islanders (Figure 9.8).



This type of new STBs with creativity and community level interaction makes Ogijima the most prominent case in this study.

The relational role is not limited to the role between local old and new residents but also reflects on the new business owner's role between urban and island. Some respondents mentioned they have “another gallery in Tokyo” or “one bigger office in the port city”. Some people do island exhibition in urban settings and try to share their story and promote the island. Some people created IT companies and try to use technologies to improve local quality of life through a drone delivery service for the island elderly.



*Figure 9.8 A restaurant created by in-migrants also share the story receives help from local long-term residents through photography exhibition. Serval this new type of relational creative business through interaction between locals and newcomers on Ogijima, Author's photo, 2016*

Positive changes are not just limited within I/U-turn in-migrants' STBs. From STB by older residents, their important contribution reflects on culture – bringing islanders' way of life to a new generation by shifting the rush of art tourists into long-term island guests interested in the slower, deeper island life. Findings already provided state the success of art island business lies in shifting the rush of daily art tourists into week-long, repeat visitors. On Teshima, local have a strong perception that the island is a huge piece of art made by nature, compared with the rushed visiting experience of festival artworks and art museums, and rather, it needs thorough investigation and a slower pace to appreciate and experience the art island rather than a flash visit.

*Young people are too busy in today's modern world. From here, if you come to the island, relaxing while looking at the sea and night stars. You cannot move away from the 'island time' (Shima jikan in Japanese). Island time burns fast, but feels slow... (Teshima long-term resident with business)*

From all-island STBs, local-level community tourism development is not only enjoying the opportunity brought by ST but also attempt to shift the art tourists to the community visitors. STB respondents mentioned that first-time art visitors usually come mainly for art. Repeat visitors would shift their interest from art into other aspects of island life and culture, including staying longer in local business, experiencing island culture, and convening with nature by visiting the mountain and sea spots. New businesses with art are turning the external opportunity from island art into their internal strengths, by making the most of the concept of art island through long-term community efforts such as adjusting their target for residents by offering the discount.

Further challenges involve both business time and geographical distribution. On Teshima, the Ieura and Karato-ika areas show the best outcome of receiving new businesses compared with other settlements on Teshima. A more serious issue, however, is the fact that the exogenous art and festival development created an intermittent business hours system where almost all small businesses are “open according to the opening hours of the art museum” (Teshima tourism association) and to the festival operation times. Many of these innovative businesses have no external support and are not listed within the art festival's official tourism map, thus their network and mutual support must become spontaneous and effective. On Ogijima, the rapid change of destination population structure does bring new vitality to the community. However, respondents also mentioned it create a different local group based on different opinions, which shaped local society into dissenting groups compare with before.

## **9.4 Discussion**

### **9.4.1 Various community results on revitalization and stagnation**

The conflicts between RAFT organizers and the community that was caused by a lack of communication have already been discussed through top-down aspect (Kanaya, 2014; Klien, 2010a). However, the endogenous effort from the community level should also not be limited to simple bottom-up participation (Klien, 2010a) or community level consensus (Koizumi, 2016). To neglect tourism's positive influences and negative impacts that are discussed from Chapter 7 as well as community responsiveness and efforts from Chapter 8 and this Chapter would not build a comprehensive and objective evaluation. Art and culture-related initiatives that are widely considered as an outcome of rural revitalization efforts (Anwar McHenry, 2011; Koizumi, 2016), social capital building (Rota & Salone, 2014) and social well-being (Anwar McHenry, 2011; Jackson & Herranz Jr., 2002) generally were widely discussed. However, different consequences and causes of the same strategy require in-depth research by comparing different outcomes by island.

Researches emphasize the role of arts and rural festivals for civic interaction (Anwar McHenry, 2011; Derrett, 2009; Mahon & Hyyryläinen, 2019). The finding from this chapter shows uneven revitalization outcomes among islands and communities but under the same

RAFT umbrella on a big scale. For Naoshima, Teshima, and Ogijima, it has been proved that RAFT has the power to reinforce community development and enhance civic interaction. On the contrary, Megijima, Inujima, and Shodoshima also enjoyed the same benefits from ST but show less successful outcomes from STBs for community enhancement. There are fewer signs of revitalization, but community development is relatively stagnant, and the local population keeps shrinking. For the case of Megijima, the outcomes reflect more on the art and tourism-related development without the aim of community revival were identified.

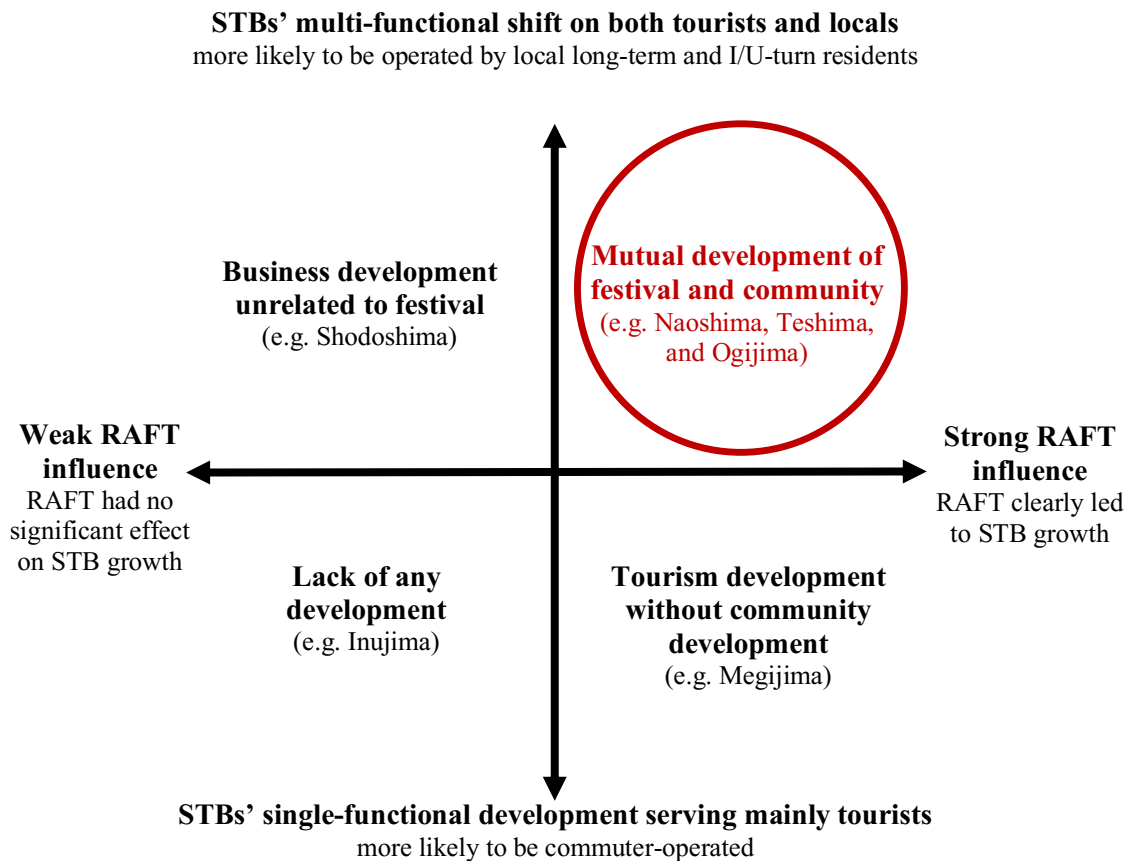


Figure 9.9 Conceptual framework for community-festival mutual-development of RAFT, Author's calculation and illustration

Adding a community resourcefulness framework to the quantitative results shown in Figure 9.4 demonstrates that Ogijima, Teshima, and Naoshima offer the most sustainable outcomes among islands in the chapter. Figure 9.9 summarized four types of community outcome that brought by RAFT. As an ideal festival-community co-development outcome, if a community can grasp and turn the exogenous RAFT opportunity into its endogenous response with positive change, it can build up a neo-endogenous path on island revitalization like Teshima, Ogijima, and Naoshima. The findings show that relatively successful islands not only obtain the exogenous development opportunity and visitation support from the RAFT, but the community also seized favorable opportunities to enhance its endogenous development. Therefore, neo-endogenous development that relies on community knowledge, resources, and operation

showed its results (Bosworth et al., 2016). However, some gaps still have been identified from the cases of Naoshima and Ogijima respondents. Unlike Bosworth's (2016) suggestion, this neo-endogenous development must be controlled and managed by the community side. This study found power dynamics are various between ST, BAS, and local communities but co-exist in the destination. Communities on certain levels are enjoying the benefit while fully aware of RAFT's side effects.

Shodoshima is a rare but possible case to reply with its effort without too much relying on RAFT. Its large population scale, long-established tourism development with local attraction, and industrial structure identify a community with self-development capabilities. On the islands with relatively no active changes from the local level, two types of possible futures for the community could also be distinguished. Megijima very obviously towards the single functional of festival tourism development without endeavoring further efforts on community quality of life. In the case of Inujima, the community is willing to make a change but is limited by the degree of vitality and resources available on a severe shrinking island. The findings show different non-revival paths, so the direction of art island development for revitalization is still dissimilar between each island.

#### 9.4.2 Relational businesses for relational revitalization

From ST officials, new in-migrants with businesses arriving on the islands, which are also mentioned by Duxbury and Campbell as "creative class" or "residents-with-businesses" (2011, p. 3) are the main benchmark for evaluating the degree of recovery from the shrinking crisis. Very commonly, mixed businesses on small scale usually cover dining and accommodation, half creative half business (e.g. Teshima STBs), half tourism half none-tourism (e.g. Ogijima STBs), by combining tourism business with agriculture, creative studio or satellite office from urban areas. In the special tourism island case of Shodoshima, that island itself can obtain a certain number of in-migrants with business. The remaining shrinking islands cannot get out of the crisis. Instead, ST attracts a certain number of commuters who seek RAFT as tourism opportunities. After comparing STBs on different islands, commuters' businesses are less rooted in the community and also mainly aimed at tourism.

For instance, findings indicate Teshima and Ogijima are two of the best cases compare to two of the worst cases of Inujima and Megijima. Relational STBs on Teshima shape local-regional level network with other STBs that out of the RAFT officials' plan of efforts but recognized by officials as revitalization outcome. These STBs are proved to be less affected by the intermittent RAFT periods' tourists flow and thus have a better chance at long-term sustainability, but also function as valuable community capital. With relational and creative STBs, a multi-functional community-engaged operation mechanism that not only aims with tourism revenue but also local friendly was shaped. Although both ST and BAS created an art based leisure tourism that already reached the post-destruction category of Mitchell (2013)'s creative destruction, this will not affect the STBs' development into a creative enhancement at the community level.

Besides the network success on Teshima, the slightly different case of Ogijima demonstrate the role of local leadership with STBs. It demonstrates how community leadership involves the community planning of STB through a more multifunction approach. This local-level enhancement on Ogijima shift more towards a non-metropolitan type, sustain community

livelihood (Mitchell, 2013). Some Ogijima STBs aim both at tourists and at the local community. Even non-tourism related small business also considered local interaction attributes.

From both Ogijima, Teshima, and Naoshima, strategies including relational approaches such as using the island's artistic atmosphere and individual creativity to attract tourists, use a local discount or non-tourism parts play an infrastructure function to attract residents. A local level partnership is emerging in different forms, which includes community-community, new-old residents, island-island, and island to extra-island level network and social interaction for information, cultural and community resource exchange. Its multi-functional attribute also highlights after the festival period when those STBs must face the under-tourism issue by themselves as well as the BAS's museum opening time. A more flexible and organically integration between community needs as well as festival initiatives are highly needed. For communities can obtain a certain number or as much as possible of this type of relational STBs, it would help shrinking island finds its path and solutions on community revitalization as pre-condition and starting point. In other words, just STB growth cannot be a sign of evaluating community revitalization outcomes. The key is if those STBs are provided with the relational role with the community development.

Besides the relational roles within the community, the transregional role on resource and knowledge exchange through mobility and technology invention also re-shaped the shrinking islands into the relational site. This relational change is not just limited to artistic environments (Fondevilla, 2012) or global tourists flow. The community STBs and their relational role make shrinking islands from an isolated place to a new type of relational site (Massey, 2004). Adapt the local and extra-local concept (Bosworth & Atterton, 2012), the 'extra island' to island relationship has been built, connect, and interact with by STBs. They are not only playing the role of tourism businesses, but also a relational role of ambassadors trying to establish a linkage among new and old residents, visitors, and potential visitors who heard about the island through those relational STBs.

## **9.5 Chapter summary**

Relational small tourism business plays a vital role in the drive toward sustainable rural art festival tourism and the sector more broadly (Duxbury & Campbell, 2011; Qu, 2020), and their importance is accentuated in periphery rural and shrinking island contexts. This Chapter concentrate on the role of STBs among six ST hosting islands. The RAFT revitalization results in four type of different community outcomes among 1) community development less relying on RAFT (e.g. Shodoshima), 2) RAFT-community co-development (e.g. Teshima, Ogijima, Naoshima), 3) pure RAFT development without community development (e.g. Megijima), and 4) lack of development sign (e.g. Inujima). The second type illustrates the ideal outcome of community revitalization through RAFT.

This research also shows that the aspects mentioned in the discussion cannot be predicted and accurately achieved through hard planning by RAFT officials. Therefore, for reaching the goal of RAFT-community neo-endogenous co-development, the community-organizer interaction should be built on mutual trust and cooperation. However, other relatively not successful cases remain worthy of vigilance, which is less discussed from previous studies.

Moreover, unlike the previous literature's finding, neo-endogenous development must fully be controlled by the community (Bosworth et al., 2016). This study also found that neo-endogenous development exists but is not fully controlled by locals. Instead, the RAFT development co-exists with community STB expansion on islands with a good outcome for festival-community co-development.

Based on the revitalization outcomes, it is difficult to accurately divide between creative enhancement and destruction (Mitchell, 2013) from these case studies. Both creative enhancements from community STBs and creative destruction brought by BAS's art tourism consumption space co-exist and form a cycle of mutual assistance on the shrinking islands. On an island with relatively bad outcomes, neither this creative making cycle is formed nor the neo-endogenous development. The finding explored the neo-endogenous attributes of ST's festival community revitalization mechanism requires the loop operation of both RAFT influences/impacts (RAFT on the islands) and community-festival co-development (RAFT for the islands). For the successful islands, the top-down creative destruction and community level creative enhancement co-exists within this process. The red area from Figure 9.9 indicates the ideal form of rural art festival tourism revitalization.

This Chapter found the relational STB can be treated as a benchmark to measure the successful outcome of RAFT revitalization at the local level. This study further showed that the relational role of STBs is not limited to the community, but the extra island connectivity and networking ability to establish cultural and social linkage between the local community with urban and global. Through this unlimited potential of the relational network on both local and extra-local level, community revitalization shows its outcome through relational processes between RAFT, island community, and STBs.

## **Chapter 10 Conclusion and Future Research Implications**

### **10.1 Summary of Major Research Findings on RAFT on/for/revitalizes the Island**

This research brings several contributions to the research fields covered in the study. The interdisciplinary research framework helps to reduce the research gaps (Chapter 2.5) among different disciplines, especially between humanities, social sciences, and other applied science fields. There are more and more declining rural villages, both in Japan and globally, that are trying to be revitalized with art, but until now, no research has tried to systematically record and analyze the varying approaches, the effectiveness of rural art festival tourism impacts, and to determine what strategies are effective and what are problematic. Comparing six different island communities has proved to be an effective way to evaluate one RAFT product impact into micro-level variables instead of generalizing its top-down function. The finding implies the RAFT might cause different development outcomes between revitalization – ‘augmented rurality’ and over-commodification – ‘themeparkification’. Moreover, looking for both positive influences and negative impacts helps to evaluate this rural place-making phenomenon objectively.

#### 10.1.1 ‘RAFT on the island’, as an exogenous creative attraction

In answering the first research questions of how RAFT and its artwork influence, impact, and interact with the island community, the author found community-engaged development through relational rural art festival tourism shows its power to shape the destination through social interaction, capital, and cultural exchange. This type of creative tourism (Duxbury & Richards, 2019a; Richards & Wilson, 2006) combining rural art festival form (Tagore-Erwin, 2018a) and community revitalization aim (Klien, 2010b) shows its power to turn the rural community into relational island interaction site. Chapter 5 identified both positive influences and negative impacts. As a new type of art island making, it did show its power on both soft types of revitalization through the facilitation of resident-tourist interaction as well as hard type revitalizing losing regional culture, increasing in-migrants with STBs. Current challenges include the maintenance of the quality of the artwork and its distributions and its tourism impacts on the local living environment.

From the art angle, ST carries a broad category of the exogenous type of arts that range between global and regional style, as well as top-down elite masterpieces and bottom-up local grassroots form. From Chapter 6, the elite art type holds the majority of artworks on the island through maintaining its central role as a shining example of tourism centered spotlight in the region. Like other rural tourism landscapes from Daugstad (2008), those arts are not touched, nor utilized by locals. Art organizers, artists, travel agencies, tourists, mainstream media, and Suwa’s (2020) discussion uphold that these arts respect or connect with island culture through outsider interpretation. However, this study found residents hold no such consideration and are in total disagreement. They believed art not connected with their culture, roots, or way of life is linked more to a type of tourism consuming trend through the attraction of art, no matter how deep they thought those arts can connect with the historical, natural, and cultural elements of their islands.

From these results, Themeparkification can be identified as one of the most negative outcomes. –This study argues that if art is designed with the sole purpose of attracting tourists

but less rooted with community, it will only end up as a “theme park” or “art Disneyland” with borrowed visitors as a new consumerist fashion trend. On one hand, islands that do not employ art as an attraction will never become renowned as an art or rural art festival tourism island. Fortunately, for a few successful communities, the role of relational art and tourism is not just for tourism development purposes. If the art festival and festival tourism only aim at this level, their role in community revitalization might be small. This study finds out that in some cases, if the exogenous commercialized tourism branding without considering root in the community-engaged issues (Borup, 2016; Klien, 2010b) – revitalization for a sustainable development agenda (Matanle, 2007), the outcome of RAFT mainly limited on the tourism-related growth.

From the exogenous festival tourism perspective, Chapter 7 examines its power to turn shrinking communities into art tourism destinations. Through tourism enhancement of local-visitor interactions, this stage brought a lively atmosphere back in the community and retrigger locals’ collective memories back to the good old days. There is a visible sign of improving local infrastructures, but still mainly limited to tourism-related infrastructures. ST did meet the psychological needs of social interaction for elderly people (Klien, 2010b). On smaller island communities, the sign of over-interaction was also a concern for local stakeholders, which is highly connected with RAFT’s intermittent periodic structures. ST brought over-tourism visitation within 107 days ST periods with more than one million tourists. After, the art islands follow 3 years of AS periods with under tourism flows that is not enough to maintain STB on a small island while bringing excessive interruption to the local elderly residents. During the festival peaks, over visitation caused negative impacts on locals and the community living environment (Cudny, 2013). For islands facing both ST and BAS impacts, locals are more concerned about their island being taken over by external powers and by the art consortium.

#### 10.1.2 ‘RAFT for the island’, the endogenous response between success and stagnation

For answering the second research question on how the island community responds, interacts, and collaborates from the local level, Chapters 8 and 9 try to explore answers through comparison of two similar islands as well as all STB stakeholders among six islands. From the comparison between Megijima and Ogijima communities, Chapter 8 explores the same RAFT strategy would cause different revitalization efforts and outcomes. This in turn demonstrated that, while multi-community RAFT has the potential to facilitate community revitalization, unique community-specified challenges are difficult or impossible for outside organizers to solve and require the involvement of the local level’s co-efforts. RAFT interaction is not just limited between the visitor and local, but also should be emphasized on the festival to community-level interaction. Islands without those levels of interaction will not direct to the path of revitalization. One key indicator to identify this festival-community interaction is through the attributes and condition of STB.

Chapter 9 had a systematic review of all islands’ STBs. For successful islands, the community will respond to shifting exogenous opportunities brought by RAFT by transforming them into endogenous community strengths through STB development. As one of the most unexpected findings, this chapter also found it is difficult to draw the line between creative enhancement and creative destruction (Mitchell, 2013) within a single island case. A more complex revitalization operation mechanism through STBs was identified through a more mixed approach that co-exists between creative enhancement and destruction on the destination.



The relational role of STBs through the different local and extra island-level social and cultural exchange can be treated as an effective vehicle toward a revitalization path through enhancing the community sustainable development. For relatively less successful ones, the community lacks internal power to modify this transformation. Bad outcomes include either surrender to pure art tourism development without any sign of community revitalization or lack of any power to recover from its shrinking crisis.

Many aspects cannot be solved by art tourism temporarily. Community infrastructures on shrinking islands are facing multifaceted social declines. How to meet the balance between tourism development and community sustainability is problematic. On one side, if the RAFT is only aiming its opportunity into a festival commercial development by using the periphery shrinking island concept as a branding, there is no way to revival the community. On the other side, if RAFT puts community revitalization (Yamashima, 2014) as a final goal instead of tourism. Then debate would rise to argue whether festival tourism is a panacea for community development but weaken on its original role of tourism development.

#### 10.1.3 ‘RAFT island revitalization’, becoming a neo-endogenous path for co-creation and co-sustainability

In conclusion on ST’s revitalization outcomes and mechanism, for transforming the shrinking community into the RAFT islands, a systematic perspective that combines rural art festival on and for the islands is both important to demonstrate the interaction and relational role of exogenous art and tourism development influence and endogenous community revitalization effort and process integrated to RAFT on, for, and revitalize the island. What makes the successful art island revitalization require an indispensable view at both ‘RAFT on’ and ‘for’ the island community. Considering the whole island as an outcome of the arts social practice as a relational community, the relational art island has now taken a step forward to consider art-tourism-community interaction as postmodernism Utopian art island symbol (Favell, 2016). Operating under an artistic ‘halo’, residents’ new type of relational creative STBs appear as powerful agencies that help the community to embark upon a path of self-sufficiency and revitalization as an island supported by art and tourism. It is attracting both new and old residents who can begin or add STBs that focus on creativity and social-relational activities. Old residents and young creative in-migrants carry exchanging traditional knowledge and innovative ideas and while expanding their island network, also expand the island’s community network. This adds further innovation capital in a much more respectful way for the community.

As another unpredicted finding, a neo-endogenous way (Bosworth et al., 2016; Bosworth & Atterton, 2012) of community development and revitalization allows us to understand the operating mechanism of the rural art festival tourism revitalization vigorously promoted by the Japanese government. In other words, successful rural art festival revitalization requires long-term co-effort from both sides of exogenous art development and endogenous community exertion instead of just participation. Compared with the top-down exogenous development by the BAS and ST, these community businesses play an actual key role in community revitalization through enhanced population culture and economic retention on the island level. The top-down art tourism development shows its limitation with revitalization mainly reflecting on tourism-related infrastructure, and impact on small business through geographical

distribution and business hours from art facilities. Therefore, a neo-endogenous approach co-exists between community and art development, thus completing the art island. With the local friendly approach such as providing a discount, the STB model shifts from tourism faced business to an effective community-tourism hybrid type that enhances their resilience and sustainability by expanding their vital role as additional community infrastructure.

Table 10.1 RAFT on/for/revitalize island, Author's calculation

<b>Theoretical Framework</b>	<b>RAFT on the island</b>	<b>RAFT for the island</b>	<b>RAFT revitalizes the island</b>
Research Questions	How does RAFT as well as its artwork influence, impact, and interact with the island community?	How does the island community respond, interact, and collaborate from the local level?	What is the successful rural art festival tourism revitalization mechanism and outcomes of the community revitalization through the case of Setouchi Triennale?
Triennale Tourism (Klien, 2010b)	Top-down	Bottom-up	Mixed
Neo-Endogenous Development (Bosworth et al., 2016)	Exogenous	Endogenous	Neo-endogenous
Creative destruction/enhancement (Mitchell, 2013)	Creative destruction	Creative enhancement	Creative co-existence
Sustainable development	Festival development	Community development	Co-sustainable development
STEC officials' definition of 'revitalization'	Stage 1: Visitors	Stage 2: In-migrants with business (STBs)	Stage 3: RAFT Revitalization
Social Interaction	Local-visitor interaction	New-old resident interaction	Multiple interactions (Networked Community)
Success factors	Positive influences: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Culture revitalization</li> <li>• Tourism infrastructure</li> <li>• Visitation</li> <li>• Interaction</li> </ul>	Positive outcomes: (Teshima, Ogijima, Naoshima) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Sign of relational STB by new/old residents</li> <li>• Community efforts and leader support</li> <li>• Local-level interaction between STBs and residents</li> </ul>	"Augmented Rurality": <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• co-create</li> <li>• co-support</li> <li>• co-benefit</li> </ul>
Not so success factors	Negative impacts: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Intermittent cycle</li> <li>• Over/under tourism impact</li> <li>• Art quality and distribution</li> </ul>	Negative outcomes: (Inujima, Megijima) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• STBs by Commuters</li> <li>• Unable to reach revitalization</li> <li>• STB mainly aims at tourist</li> </ul>	"Rural Art Themeparktrification": Efforts mainly aim at RAFT's commercial development rather than community

Table 10.1 demonstrate the relationship between RAFT on/for/revitalizes islands by comparing the creative enhancement/destruction/mix, exogenous/endogenous/neo-endogenous concepts. This research found that rural revitalization through RAFT requires a neo-

endogenous perspective on co-existing between creative destruction and enhancement, co-sustainable development between art festival and community. If the balance maintains between festival-community co-create, co-support, and co-sustain, it meets the requirement for RAFT revitalization. From this study, Teshima, Ogijima, Naoshima all meet these baseline requirements to grasp a better neo-endogenous development for their revitalization.

Given that there is currently no measurable standard to evaluate the revitalization efforts with RAFT. Many signs can be developed into indicators for measuring RAFT's community revitalization agenda. First, it is including the increasing number of STB within the local community among islands. Secondly, the STBs' staff structure (resident on the island or commuter). Third, the STBs' relational role on local level interaction (non-tourism faced aspects) and networked community collaboration, which including a local leader, policy, and other types of support. From this study, it has proven to be an effective measurement tool for rural art festival tourism revitalization from the population, local economy, community quality of life, social interaction, and sustainable development aspects. This research also suggests the art place makers and government planners should be vigilant on the different outcomes that might cause during their art and tourism planning. A festival-community co-sustainable development approach should be maintained between 'augmented rurality' and 'rural art themeparkification'.

## **10.2 Research Contribution**

This study examines the role of large-scale socially engaged art festival – RAFT and frames it within wider debates about the role of grassroots initiatives from relational art, relational tourism, and relational community perspectives in revitalizing declining rural communities. As interdisciplinary research, issues are identified from the art theory studies that lack fieldwork data without root in the community to examine the outcome by art from the community level. Additionally, art, tourism, and community businesses are lack integrated discussion as a whole based on relational and creative theories. There is also a lack of discussion from a relational perspective for art and rural revitalization. The concept of neo-endogenous development rarely connects with art revitalization studies. Therefore, this study tries to build a relational bridge among those research knowledge fields as well as provide solid evidence that can be tested at the community level – STBs.

To further demonstrate the research contribution by discipline, Table 10.2 shows how the interdisciplinary structure of the paper corresponds to each research topic; the table is divided by academic disciplines, distinguishing among humanities, social sciences, interdisciplinary fields of regional studies, and also by research framework and topics (Figure 3.1). The table also distinguishes among fields of study (art studies in red, social sciences in blue, and regional studies in green), key concepts and theories discussed in the literature, as well as how each finding contributes to these disciplines by chapter. Chapter 5 on Shodoshima and Chapter 7 on the other smaller islands try to build a bridge that connects rural community and tourism studies through a geographical approach. Chapter 6 focuses more on building an interdisciplinary nexus between humanities (visual art, aesthetics) and social sciences (community studies, rural sociology, cultural geography, and anthropology of art). Chapter 8 and 9 connect rural sociology, anthropology of art (only Chapter 8), human geography, as well as rural planning and development into one creative, relational, and geographical interdisciplinary research

subject of rural art festival tourism revitalization. Overall, the whole thesis ties an interdisciplinary knot that connects humanities, social sciences, rural planning and development fields as a relational knowledge field for evaluating the influence of rural art festival tourism on the revitalization of islands in the Seto Inland Sea.

Table 10.2 The research contribution to academia by discipline, Author's calculation

Disciplines	Arts and Humanities		Social Sciences				Interdisciplinary branch	
			Sociology	Rural Sociological	Sociocultural Anthropology	Human Geography		
Subfield	Aesthetics	Visual Arts	Sociology of Art	Rural Sociology	Anthropology of Art	Cultural Geography	Tourism Geography	Planning & Development
Research Framework by Field of Studies	Socially Engaged Art Studies							
			Rural/Island Community Studies (Area/Regional Studies)					
						Rural Tourism Studies (Tourism Geography)		
Research Concepts and Theories	Relational Art/Aesthetic (Bourriaud, 1998)							
	Artistic responses to remote social polarization (Favell, 2016)							
	Creative Geography (Hawkins, 2015)							
					Triennial Tourism Revitalization (Klien, 2010b)			
						Creative Tourism (Duxbury & Richards, 2019a)		
							Creative Destruction/Enhancement (Mitchell, 2013)	Neo-endogenous (Bosworth et al., 2016)
Rural Art Festival Tourism Revitalization for this study								
Findings by Chapter	Ch. 5	√	√	√	√	√	√	√
	Ch. 6	√	√	√		√	√	√
	Ch. 7			√	√		√	√
	Ch. 8				√	√	√	√
	Ch. 9				√		√	√

From a creative geographic perspective (Hawkins, 2015), the art island makes a perfect geographical target for this study. Relational art sites expanded art into the field of the island community. Although all islands have the different capacity base on size, population, industrial structure, historical background, and current issues, this study tries to compare each island and community through a geographical approach. Compared with an art festival like Echigo-Tsumari in the mountain area, which tourists access through bus and car, ST created a unique experience that relies on ferry and boat as the only way to access those islands. Therefore, the islandness itself shapes a natural community boundary by the Seto Inland Sea, which make a perfect case study area by islands. The unique problems among each island are relatively prominent because of the geographical setting. Considered from the perspective of community resource allocation, it is relatively independent.

The research outcome from this study is based on exploring the difference rather than using just a few special successful cases as examples to demonstrate the success side of art or festival tourism. In relational geography (Massey, 2004, 2005), it has been pointed out that the success of community revitalization also relies on relational identities (Massey, 2004). Without comparing the stagnation of Megijima, there will be no concept of success on Ogijima base on

its population growth. If research only follows STEC's suggestion to pay extra attention only to Ogijima (Nakashima, 2014), it would cause finding to try to over-beautification the role of the ST. This might be the over research phenomenon companied by Ogijima community (Ogi District Community Council, 2013). Therefore, this study adopts a more objective evaluation approach through exam both pros and cons brought by the ST.

From a research methods perspective, the implementation of both convergent and explanatory sequential mixed method design (Creswell & Clark, 2017) also demonstrates its advantages for interdisciplinary research. For art revitalize rural community study perspective, quantitative method meets its defect to detect achievements outside the community economical and tourism STB outcomes. Therefore, the importance of qualitative research plays its role in the locals' understanding of art and perceptions of the art festival. However, to combine STBs as an interactive window and ambassador of the islands, qualitative research also has limits. Without quantitative measurement of STBs, there will be no appreciable evaluation method for comparing the difference among each island. The qualitative finding combines with quantitative evidence through mixed finding suits this paper to answer the research questions.

This research can contribute to both practice and theory and become of interest to a wide audience in creative tourism, festival tourism, island, creative geography, relational theories, rural studies, and mixed research design knowledge fields. The implications of this research are critical for declining communities not only in the Seto Inland Sea but also across similar contexts in Japan and the globe. Considering many declining rural communities are suffering from similar issues, it is important to find exemplars of community-engaged large-scale art festivals, especially those where innovation strategies are suitable for small shrinking island communities with limited resources. In this context, this research appraises the role of community-based rural art festivals tourism in seeking out mutually beneficial approaches for sustainable revitalization and the preservation of local culture and agency.

### **10.3 Implications and Recommendations for Future Research**

The implications of this research are critical for declining communities not only in the Seto Inland Sea but also across similar contexts in Japan and the globe. Considering many declining rural communities are suffering from similar issues, it is important to find exemplars of community-engaged bottom-up art festivals, especially those where innovation strategies are suitable for shrinking island communities with limited resources. In this context, this research appraises the role of community-based large-scale rural art festivals in seeking out mutually beneficial approaches for both sustainable festival development, as well as sustainable community development and the preservation of local culture and agency. In future, besides of the big-scale PPP model that provided by the RAFT, more small-scale community-based or engaged regional art festival or event-based infinitives should also be considered as potential vehicles for community revitalization. Unlike big-scale rural art festivals like ST. The small-scale bottom-up local festival should also be focused on the discussion. Based on the small-scale, small and flexible, also diversify the operating model and revitalization outcomes would make the research finding different compared with large-scale art festival (Qu & Cheer, 2020).

Further research should focus on similar contexts to conduct comparative and longitudinal endeavors among different regions and countries. It should also consider the relational role of festivals and the flow of art project-based creative networks between events, people, and places.

This will shed light on the different types of creative capitals that can be activated in the periphery through creative in-migrants for long-term community sustainability.

From art in social studies, the author urges scholars examining socially engaged art as a revitalization mechanism not to limit themselves to art theory or aesthetic critique, but also focus on the real, local impacts of art intervention – indeed, its “demonstrable outcomes,” at least as experienced by community members. Research that focuses on the influences and consequences of this increasingly prevalent mode of regional revitalization will provide decision-makers with a more nuanced view of the convergence of art, local populations, tourists, and neighboring communities, which will lead to more effective planning.

For future research, an in-depth study of how ‘revitalization’ is perceived among various stakeholder groups within a large-scale initiative like Setouchi Triennale is required, as this moving target has caused much uncertainty. Moreover, focusing on additional cases of community revitalization within Setouchi Triennale is needed. On the contrary, the concept of rural revitalization for shrinking rural communities without big-scale exogenous intervention is there any good neo-endogenous case study in small scale revitalization for further theory building is important.

Further research also should focus on similar contexts to conduct comparative and longitudinal endeavors among different regions and countries. It should also consider the dynamic relational role of art festivals and the flow of art project-based creative networks. Additionally, more attention should be paid to how to maintain the balance between in-migrants to slow down the social decline while maintaining a sense of rurality - in other words, finding equilibrium between preserving rurality (islandness) and including ‘festivalness’ in organic ways. This illuminates the different types of creative capitals that can be activated through creative in-migrants with STBs and toward sustainable revitalization.

#### **10.4 Concluding Remarks**

Before festival makers and the local government starts copying a single model of rural art festival tourism through a rapid, excessive, and inflexible way on a large-scale, we should pause and reflect on this issue by asking what are the consequences of applying this? Can we make sure this method would one hundred percent works for our community? A practical attempt of art through a tourism form would bring uncertain impacts on society. Shrinking islands or rural depopulation communities usually have no plan B. If the side effects of this method cannot be confirmed or realized by the decision-maker. Blind copying will inevitably bring a new rural crisis. As popular culture, it will eventually die out through its commercial cycle.

This research suggests that decision-makers involved in the art community revitalization project need to clearly understand the positive and negative effects of the different possibilities of art revitalization in and for the community, and make corresponding plans based on the community’s social culture and develop sustainably. Try to maintain an appropriate balance in the revitalization outcome variables between ‘augmented rurality’ and ‘rural art themeparkification’.

From an aging community perspective, the RAFT brought changes for regional society, since in this process it is inevitable that something will be lost through revitalization (Klien, 2010b). The collective memory of the island will eventually become a legacy and cultural heritage. If the good old days cannot come back through a revival of the original island way of

life, a new representation should not be created through an urbanization model characterized by over-commercialization. For overcoming the issue of shrinking, new residents will bring new cultures to the island, the process of dialogue and interaction between new and old will find its rhythm and shape the outcome naturally. Therefore, we should focus more on the new and good things that revitalization brought to us.

Art and RAFT rural revitalization must build on the mutual co-create, co-support, and co-benefit way. RAFT is another external aspect brought to Setouchi islands by outsiders, yet if brought together and utilized by locals, without excessive intervention, island communities can plot their course for revival, its future, and revive the soul of the island.

After five years of research on Japan's Art Islands, I established a deep friendship with the islanders. I am not just a researcher. For the art islands, I am a family member, a friend, a visitor, an insightful tour guide, an official Koebi volunteer helper, sometimes an outsider, sometimes an insider, and a go-between. I deeply thank all respondents who helped me to finish this research in two foreign languages. I also deeply wish all islands and their residents can fight against the shrinking crisis, develop new island culture while carrying on the island traditions, and work on their future.

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## **APPENDIX**



## A-2 Questionnaire of Teshima, Inujima, Megijima, Ogijima, and Naoshima conducted between December 2017 to August 2019

### Basic Information:

- (1) Gender: 1. Male 2. Female
- (2) Age: · 10s · 20s · 30s · 40s · 50s · 60s · 70 and above
- (3) How many years have you lived on this island?
  1. Ever since I was born
  2. I-turn: From \_\_\_ year
  3. U-turn: Return to this island from \_\_\_\_\_
  4. Commute: \_\_\_\_\_ Year; residence area \_\_\_\_\_
- (4) When did this business started? \_\_\_ year
- (5) When did your start working at this place? \_\_\_ year
- (6) What kind of customers do you mainly use your business? (Multiple answers):
  1. Tourists
  2. Residents
  3. Seasonal
- (7) Industry (multiple answers):
  1. Souvenir shop
  2. Restaurant and cafe
  3. Daily store
  4. Tourist facilities
  5. Accommodation
  6. Tour guide
  7. Others \_\_\_\_\_
- (8) Your position (multiple answers):
  1. Owner
  2. Manager
  3. Staff (dedicated)
  4. Staff (part time job)
  5. Others \_\_\_\_\_
- (9) Reasons for started this job (select up to "three" answers):
  1. Make a living
  2. Grow up from this island
  3. Family business
  4. It's an attractive job
  5. I want to get involved in the tourism industry
  6. I like this island
  7. Recommended by acquaintances
  8. Setouchi Triennale
  9. Others \_\_\_\_\_
- (10) Please circle one of the following items that you think is appropriate:
  5. Strongly agree
  4. Agree
  3. Neither yes nor no
  2. Disagree
  1. Strongly disagree
  0. I don't know
  - (10.1) I like the ST art (art museum/artworks/art events) on my island
  - (10.2) The arrangement of art works in each community is good
  - (10.3) I think the ST revitalizes the local culture on my island
  - (10.4) I can understand the ST art (art museum/artworks/art events) on my island
  - (10.5) ST offered work opportunity to locals
  - (10.6) I think ST turns my island into an "Art Island"
  - (10.7) Friendly interaction between residents and tourists
  - (10.8) Inconvenience island traffic during ST (ferry, boat)
  - (10.9) During ST, the living environment deteriorated (Increase in garbage etc.)
  - (10.10) It was crowded during the festival and exhibition period
  - (10.11) Inconvenience island traffic during ST (bus, road, parking lot)

### Questions for evaluating 'bottom-up' aspects:

- (11) Whether respondents think that the Setouchi Triennale encourages their creative and communication skills, and how. (Multiple answers)
  - (11.1) it encourages them to create new businesses;
  - (11.2) it inspires them to showcase their own creativity and artworks;
  - (11.3) it brings ideas and connections from outside;
  - (11.4) it provides more reasons to improve the outward appearance of their shop, house, boat, garden or farmland;
  - (11.5) it encourages them to work as volunteers to meet and talk to people;
  - (11.6) it inspires them to introduce their hometown and region to the outside world;
  - (11.7) it inspires them to interact with people from outside.In addition, the options
  - (11.8) other reason(s) \_\_\_\_\_
  - (11.9) No change at all

## **A-3 Interview Questions for all island respondents, conducted between December 2016 to August 2019**

### **Basic information**

1 - Please introduce yourself.

### **Setouchi Triennale & Regional Revitalization**

2 - Do you know the purpose of Setouchi International Art Festival (ST) and Art Setouchi?

3 - According to you, what is “Revitalization” for Ogijima island?

4 - Do you think that ST can bring “Revitalization”?

5 - Please describe the changes in the community during your stay on the island during art festival and non-art festival period.

6 - Among those changes, what impacted your life (and work) the most?

7 - Do you know what local think the challenges about how to sustain ST?

### **Residents and Art**

8 - On your island, which artwork/event do you recommend me to visit?

9 - Can you understand the artwork in the island?

10 - Did those artworks and events include local culture?

11 - What’s the relationship between artists and locals? (if you met any)

### **Residents and tourists**

12 - Did you have good/bad experiences with ST tourists?

13 - What kind of topics would you like to talk about with tourists?

14 - For each year, how many visitors do you had good interaction with (like this)?

15 - What do you think visitors are more interested in? (e.g. art, island landscape or the local culture)

16 - Could you describe the differences between ST and non-ST period?

17 - Does ST facilitate the creation of any new local business and industry?

18 - Does ST facilitate local people to do creative things/activities?

### **Community in-migrants**

19 - Do you know any immigrant (newcomer) on the island?

20 - What do newcomers do on the island?

## **A-4 Interview Questions for STEC, conducted between December 2017 to June 2019**

### **Basic information**

- 1 - Please introduce yourself and your work within STEC/BAS/AFG/Koebi.
- 2 - What motivated you to work at here?
- 3 - How long have you worked for STEC/BAS/AFG/Koebi?
- 4 - What is your job after each ST period finishes?
- 5 - What is your working relationship with festival general director?

### **Setouchi Triennale & Regional Revitalization**

- 6 - What is the relationship between STEC/BAS/AFG/Koebi?
- 7 - What is the organizational structure of ST?
- 8 - Do you know what are ST's concept about “rural art festival tourism and community revitalization”?
- 9 - Please describe the changes in the community during each ST 2010, 2013, 2016 and 2019?
- 10 - Among those changes, what impacted your life and work the most?
- 11 - What is your biggest achievement while working for ST?
- 12 - What is your favorite island in the sense rural revitalization?
- 13 - Based on your experience, which island had a relatively successful revitalization through ST, which island was less successful?

### **Art Planning**

- 14 - Did you have any working experience related to contemporary art before ST?
- 15 - Are familiar with the concepts of “Site-specific art”, “Land art”, “Marginal art”? How do you understand it?
- 16 - Which artwork/event/island do you recommend me to visit?

### **Tourism Planning**

- 17 - Do you know who choose the artworks and distribute them into each local community?
- 18 - Which island(s) received good comment from Koebi volunteer member?
- 19 - Did any Koebi member become a newcomer in-migrant on one of the islands?

### **Resident-tourist Interaction**

- 20 - Could you describe the differences between ST and non-ST period?
- 21 – What’s the relationship between artists and local?
- 22 - Does ST facilitate the creation of any new local business and industry?
- 23 - What are ST's future plans for community revitalization?

### **Community in-migrants**

- 24 - Do you know any immigrant (newcomer) on the island?
- 25 - What do newcomers do on the island?
- 26 - Which island had more newcomers?

## A-5 Survey purpose statement sheet for respondents (in Japanese)

(island name)島の芸術観光に関する アンケート調査へのご協力をお願い

はじめまして、私たちは広島大学総合科学研究科に所属している 博士課程後期 キヨ モウ と申します。

現在、瀬戸内芸術祭について研究をしております。このアンケートは、(island name)で事業を営む皆様に、事業について、また(island name)島における観光と瀬戸内芸術祭について伺い致します。皆様から得たご回答は集計、分析した後、(island name)島の観光振興に役立つたいと考えております。

また、本アンケートは無記名となっており、ご回答いただいた内容は統計的に分析いたしますので、個人情報か公表することは一切ございません。ご多忙とは存しますか、本調査にご協力くださいますようお願い申し上げます。

なお、(island name)島の観光に興味のある方には、ご希望により後日アンケート結果を配布させていただきます。下記のお問い合わせ先までご連絡ください。

201x年xx月 広島大学大学院総合科学研究科キヨ

アンケート記入上のお願い

回答方法には、1つだけ○をつけるもの、当てはまるものすべてに○をつけるものがあります。それぞれの方法に従ってご回答ください。

<お問い合わせ先>

広島大学大学院 総合科学研究科 A421 キヨ

電話: /

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## **Appendix B: Taoyaka Onsite Team Project Individual Report**

### **Gaps and Limitations - Contrasting Attitudes to Newcomers and Their Role in a Japanese Island Community**

#### **Abstract**

The historical harbor village of Mitarai on the island of Osakishimojima epitomizes the problem of social decline in Japan's Seto Inland Sea. This research focuses on both Mitarai's local community and the wider society. Through conducting a year-long survey of island residents, this research highlights how villagers expect to overcome the challenges relating to tourism development, maintenance of festivals and attracting in-migrants during a time when severe shrinkage, aging, and economic stagnation hinders all forms of community revitalization. Many residents wanted more people to know about Mitarai and its charms. The authors responded by creating an exhibition about Mitarai at the Hiroshima University Museum that promoted the town and the region to a young generation of students and other museum visitors. The results of a survey conducted among museum visitors showed how the exhibition increased awareness of Mitarai as a destination and respondents were more willing to support Mitarai's annual festival. However, they were less likely to relocate permanently to the island. The research on the island combined with the subsequent survey of museumgoers highlighted a disparity between the hopes of the community and the reality of the situation. This paper considers the recent emergence of in-migrants with a relational role in revitalization and commuters with small businesses aimed at both locals and tourists as the main mechanisms for overcoming social decline and bringing vitality back to the community.

**Keywords:** Relational Population, In-migrants, Community Revitalization, Declining Island, Rural Japan



## Introduction

Like most peripheral island communities across the Japan's Seto Inland Sea, the village of Mitarai on the island of Osakishimajima (as shown in Figure 1), suffers from severe depopulation, aging, and economic decline. Within the community's social structure, the younger generations are few and far between. The population as a whole is at risk of disappearing altogether in the coming decades. As with many other Japanese communities facing the real possibility of extinction, attracting in-migrants and developing tourism as an alternative industry have become topics of existential importance to Mitarai. Furthermore, as the serious depopulation taking place across rural Japan is widely considered a precursor of what other developed (or even developing) countries will face in the near future, the successful revitalization of communities like Mitarai through tourism would have significant implications both domestically and internationally.



Figure 1 The Location of Mitarai, Author' Illustration; Source of the Map (Geospatial Information Authority of Japan (GSI), 2016), Software (QGIS Development Team, 2019)

The recent emergence of small businesses aimed at tourists run by entrepreneurial newcomers is considered one of the main mechanisms for developing a new tertiary industry in the village, as well as bringing new vitality to the community. The current research framework for community revitalization employed by the Japanese government (defining visiting, relational, and stable populations) (Ministry of Internal Affairs and Communications, 2018) provides a new way of approaching the subject. However, this static, spatial model based on a person's place of residence is limited in its ability to explain the more rapidly changing and nuanced dynamic of relational development in rural Japan. People with a relational role in

a rural community often exhibit both insider and outsider traits. They might have a stable role within the community while facilitating the exchange of information and resources, connecting the region with Japanese urbanites and the international community. A better understanding of the dynamic is required, along with a more complete picture of the challenges faced by entrepreneurial in-migrants in sustaining their businesses in shrinking communities (Koizumi, 2016, p. 141), or so-called marginal villages (*genkai shuraku* in Japanese) (Ohno, 2005). This paper aims to highlight the gap between the opinions of those living inside the rural community and those of young urbanites. The paper will also try to find aspects that could potentially bridge the divide.

The findings in this paper come from original mixed methods research that targeted residents in an aging community combined with action research through the creation of a special exhibition to promote Mitarai. The exhibition was held in a regional university museum and aimed to explore young people's reactions through a year-long participant observation study. This research explored community perceptions regarding the different challenges faced by in-migrants, small businesses aimed at tourists, and Mitarai's traditional festival. The results show the complexities of community revitalization in a time of severe shrinkage, aging, and economic stagnation. While highlighting positive trends in Mitarai, the findings also point to particular challenges. Specifically, Mitarai receives an inadequate number of visitors and in-migrants to sustain tourism-related businesses. On top of that, the type of new in-migrants preferred by the community differs greatly from what the community actually receives.

We examined the government definition of relational populations and their roles, focusing on both in-migrants and trans-migrants. We focused especially on how the relational population can be agents for change by facilitating social exchanges and creating small businesses. We decided on Mitarai in Osakishimojima as a case study for this research due to its strong population shrinkage and aging process that mirrors the issues faced by other rural islands and mountainous communities. The case we witnessed in Mitarai is likely to appear with increasing frequency across Japan, where opportunities for entrepreneurship in a shrinking peripheral community with potential for tourism attract a dynamic but unstable population of in-migrants who facilitate global-domestic, urban-rural, and/or inter-regional relational resource exchange, thereby effecting a more sustainable mode of tourism development and regional revitalization. This paper argues, for rural tourism and in-migrant studies, the conventionally understood duality of local/non-local or insider/outsider groups is not a suitable framework. The author instead suggests a new, dynamic framework typified by personal relationality, or rural entrepreneurs with complex origins and community ties, who are uniquely predisposed to leverage a relational role. These individuals can act as a bridge and encourage tourism growth and community revitalization. In short, the diversity and variety of in-migrants is more important for island revitalization, relationality and connectivity than mere population figures.

### **Issue from visiting, relational, and the stable populations in rural Japan**

In contemporary rural Japan, disadvantaged communities are threatened by depopulation, aging, out-migration, and development stagnation. Matanle (2006, p. 173) has offered two possibilities for the future of rural Japan: either to continue the unsustainable capitalist pursuit of growth at all costs, or to adapt to a smaller, less consumptive, more sustainable condition. While a return to economic and population growth for most of peripheral Japan is unrealistic,

initiatives to arrest shrinkage while boosting vitality offer these communities a future. Japan's regional communities recognize that attracting in-migrants is essential for a return to stability and invest heavily on promoting themselves to urban out-migrants (Kanai, 2016; Obikwelu et al., 2017). But rather than prioritize net population growth, something unachievable in nearly all cases, communities that instead focus on small, strategic gains that increase variety and vitality are better positioned to achieve long-term viability and avert collapse (Sasaki et al., 2014). Applied universally, this approach presents rural Japan with the possibility of future sustainability (Kanai, 2016).

Japanese studies most commonly consider urban-rural or "I-turn" in-migrants (Obikwelu et al., 2017) and "U-turn" in-migrants who moved to the city and then returned to their hometowns (Matanle, 2006, p. 151) as a local (villagers)-outsiders binary division. But less focus is placed on their networks and creative professions (Zollet and Qu, 2019) and the relational rurality (Heley and Jones, 2012). The pursuit of a new lifestyle is considered the main motivation for entrepreneurs to relocate to rural communities, who then maintain their new lives economically and support their families by creating new businesses (Akgün et al., 2011). Mixed businesses involving multiple industries and "creative professions" (Zollet and Qu, 2019, p. 4) are common in the Seto Inland Sea area. Around the world, lifestyle or amenity migration play a key role in social reform (Gosnell and Abrams, 2011; Paniagua, 2002). Microbusinesses in rural regions are significant both culturally and economically, filling a void left by the decline of primary industries (Bosworth and Atterton, 2012). "Post-productivist" or "multifunctional" landscapes attract in-migration that in turn brings about social restructuring due to shifts in ownership, usage and management of rural land, as well as in new socioeconomic activities (Gosnell and Abrams, 2011). The value of in-migrant businesses in rural Japan is best expressed through evaluation of in-migrants' own characteristics within the phenomenon of the "disappearing community" (Kanai, 2016, p. 6), where rapidly shrinking communities can no longer maintain their social function. As local populations decline and local entrepreneurship stagnates, the influence of in-migrant entrepreneurs grows proportionately and more radical change occurs (Akgün et al., 2011).

Typical local/non-local dualism groups people as either insiders (e.g., local farmers) or outsiders (usually tourists) (Daugstad, 2008). Much research considers in-migrants as belonging to the outsider group (Gosnell and Abrams, 2011, p. 310). As part of efforts to alleviate problems associated with its shrinking society, the Japanese government introduced a new term, "relational population," (Ministry of Internal Affairs and Communications, 2018) as a bridge between the insider ("stable") and outsider ("visiting") groups, as shown in Figure 2. This relational group contains people who are neither within the stable population, which includes long-term and in-migrant residents, nor within the visiting population, i.e. tourists. The government divided the relational population into four types: people who come and go, people who have some connection (e.g. used to work in this area, stayed there for some time), people who have roots in that area and live nearby, and people who have roots in that area and live faraway.

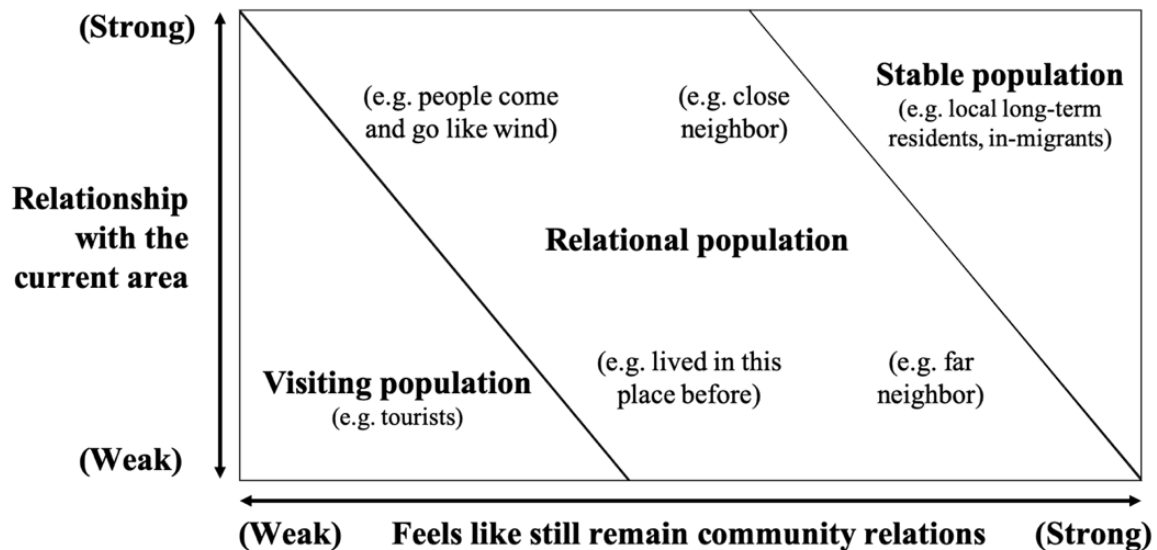


Figure 2 Framework of "Relational Population" (Ministry of Internal Affairs and Communications, 2018), Author's translation

This framework attempts to expand the previous insider/outsider dichotomy. However, the 'Relational Population' category dilutes the importance of each attribute mentioned within its range. There are many cases where an in-migrant who falls within the stable population bracket also performs roles considered to be relational (Heley and Jones, 2012). This articulates the dynamic or periodic nature of social connections brought about by new patterns of in-migration, exemplified by global-domestic/urban-rural networks and resource exchanges. After relocating to and establishing themselves within rural communities, entrepreneurial in-migrants play key roles in the region's societal advancement through tourism (Paniagua, 2002). They leverage their knowledge, skills, and complex relational networks to establish businesses that appeal to tourists from the cities while enriching local social dynamics. This is something inadequately expressed in the existing frameworks.

Similar to the problems with insider/outsider, local/non-local, and urban/rural dichotomies, Bosworth and Atterton (2012) argue that evaluating rural transformation via top-down/bottom-up models is unsuitable and simplistic. Instead, a network-based, relational method of analysis that emphasizes links between "local" and the "extra-local" is a far more useful tool for examining in-migrant entrepreneurs (Bosworth and Atterton, 2012). With this method, it is possible to shift the Japanese government's problematic 'relational population' into a practical "local/local" (Duval, 2004, p. 96) framework.

In an effort to further this more dynamic approach, the author suggests a new, overarching and flexible structure for understanding new rural entrepreneurs: highlight the relationality of in-migrants rather than limiting ourselves to the relational population. In-migrants also function in some way as a bridge between the fixed rural locale in question and any number of other locations, cultures, and societies. Relational individuals can include weekly or seasonal in-migrants as well as commuters. People who are motivated by an idealistic vision of bringing positive change to the community, not simply by economic pragmatism. This framework supplements rather than replaces the others discussed previously. For the purposes of this article,

the author will use existing terminology while considering how the particular qualities of relationality impact the community and how they are received by its inhabitants.

### Case Study: Mitarai, Osakishimojima island

Mitarai has plenty of cultural, historical and aesthetic appeal. It sits on the eastern end of Osakishimojima island, located in the Seto Inland Sea between Hiroshima Prefecture and Ehime Prefecture. Mitarai forms part of Yutakamachi Town, which is administered by Kure City in Hiroshima Prefecture. Yutakamachi’s history can be traced back to 901 AD (Kure City Yutakamachi Tourist Association (Kureshi Yutakamachi Kanko Kyokai), 2011). Due to Mitarai’s favorable geographic location as a natural protective harbor against the winds and strong tides of the Seto Inland Sea, the village developed rapidly into a port and a sea transportation hub during the Edo period (Tsuchiya, 2012, p. 96; Wu & Suzuki, 1994, p. 230). In addition, Mitarai cultivated a flourishing prostitution and prostitute entertainment business along the so-called "flower street" between 1900 and 1958 (Kato, 2009). However, the need for shipping in the Seto Inland Sea to sail with the tides diminished after the introduction of modern mechanical vessels. Mitarai’s port gradually lost its importance and its economic prosperity dwindled (Kato, 2009, p. 110). Though much quieter today, Mitarai can boast a unique culture and local practices. One such practice involves residents decorating the doorways of the houses every morning with fresh flower arrangements. In recent years, Mitarai has shifted from shipbuilding and citrus production to developing its tourist industry (Tsuchiya, 2012, p. 96, 105).

When deciding where to live, in-migrants often express a preference for places with a strong and a well-preserved cultural or environmental identity (Paniagua, 2002). In this regard, Mitarai is perhaps better positioned than many. As a place of rich historical significance, Mitarai was officially designated as a national cultural property in 1994, labelled an “Important Preservation Districts for Groups of Traditional Buildings” (in Japanese it is referred to as Judenken for short).

Osakishimojima is connected to nearby islands and to the mainland via a series of bridges called the Akinada Tobishima Sea Route (Akinada Tobishima Kaido in Japanese). The bridges were erected in stages and the construction of the final bridge was completed in 2008. While the village’s cultural property status brought it newfound attention, the construction of the bridges was critical to Mitarai’s potential as a new tourist destination (Tsuchiya, 2012).

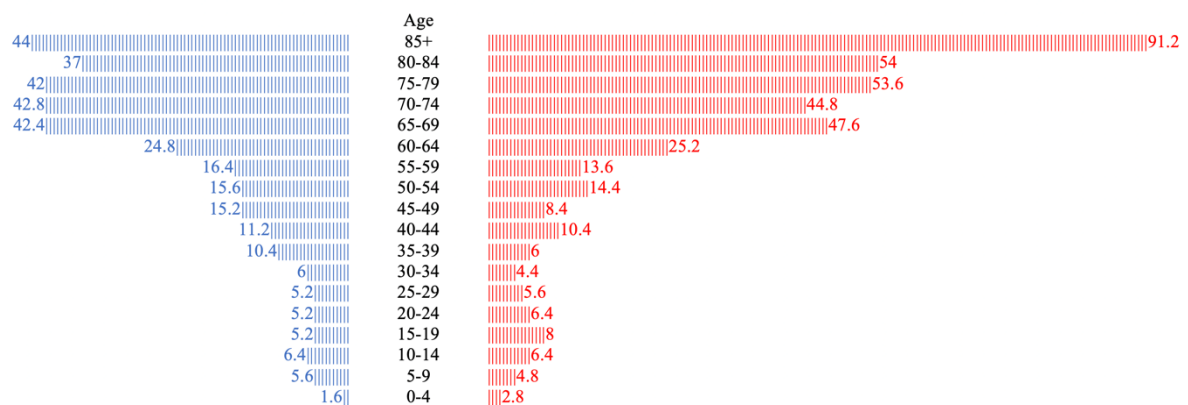


Figure 3 Population Pyramid of Yutakamachi, Osakishimojima 2018. The blue represents men and the red represents women (Kure City, 2019), Author’ calculation and illustration

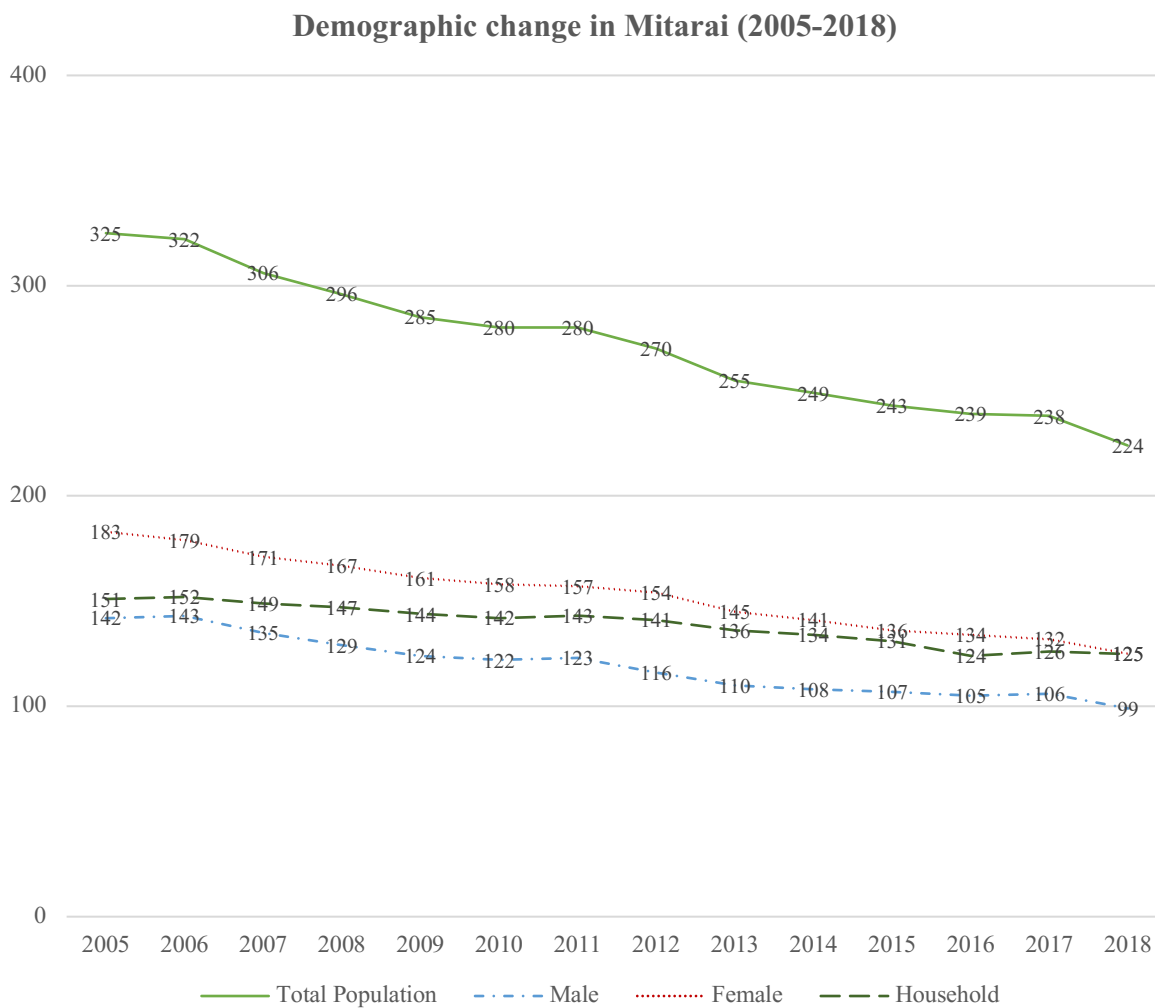


Figure 4 Population change in Mitarai (Kure City, 2019), Author’ calculation and illustration

However, Mitarai’s favorable qualities have not exempted it from the challenges facing all rural communities in Japan. The Hiroshima Prefectural Government’s official website (2011) classified Osakishimajima and nearby islands as depopulated regions (*kasō chiki* in Japanese). Figure 3 shows the population pyramid of greater Yutakamachi, indicating that 67.4 percent of residents are more than 65 years old and the number of adults of working age between 20 and 60 years old is shrinking, placing it among the most severely depopulated areas in Kure City (Kure City, 2019). Significantly, 31.1 percent of Mitarai’s residents are more than 80 years old. As shown in Figure 4, Mitarai’s population has declined steadily, dropping by almost a third in the last 12 years. As these dire trends illustrate, without in-migrants and newborns to fill the population gap, the cultural aspects that make Mitarai so special might be lost forever.

### Methodological Framework

The overall research consists of two major fieldwork studies of relational approach covering both insiders on the island and outsiders from urban areas. It is impossible to acquire a clear picture of the relationality of the urban-rural dynamic merely by focusing on the island community. The first stage of fieldwork study is a community insider survey conducted in

Mitarai using convergent design mixed methods (Creswell, 2017). It attempts to explore the most urgent community needs for both old and new residents and Mitarai's festival participants. The second stage is a Participatory Action Research (Creswell, 2017) based on the community's needs. It involves creating and promoting an exhibition about Mitarai while conducting an outsider visitor survey. The mixed method aims to collect as much data as possible but with higher quality under limited conditions. Mixed methods and action research approaches offer highly comprehensive ways to understand the challenges faced by the community, the festival, and in-migrants, from the perspective of a range of stakeholders. By examining the views of both insiders and outsiders, it is possible to isolate and compare competing demands and mismatched expectations.

The first stage of mixed methods (Creswell, 2017) fieldwork included quantitative approaches such as questionnaire and qualitative methods such as interviews. The questionnaire surveyed 106 respondents during the annual festival (July 28th, 2018) of which 72 respondents were residents observing the festival. Only residents' responses were used for the analysis. Some of the questions asked for respondents to record their opinions on the type of newcomers Mitarai needs/is willing to receive. The Yagura Festival held on July 28th, 2018, is Mitarai's largest traditional Shinto festival in the calendar year. During the festival, a wooden yagura scaffold containing two drummers is carried through the village. For the participants, this is a feat of strength and endurance. Since there are not enough able-bodied locals to carry the scaffold, community members invited the author to participate in the festival and help with the task. In the qualitative step we targeted long-term residents (n=10) and in-migrants (n=6) who moved to Mitarai within the last 10 years and relational personal who created businesses on the island (n=4). They were asked their opinions on the future development of the community and its challenges through 20 semi/unstructured interviews, community meetings with local long-term residents, and in-migrants of various types. The authors translated all Japanese interview recordings into English before using them in this study. All interview data was processed via content analysis, which includes open coding, axial coding (community development, challenges, depopulation, in-migrant, tourism issues) and selective coding on the theme of tourism, festival, and in-migrants.

After the local festival, the author gained a deep appreciation for the needs and desires of community members, many of whom wished to attract more tourists, maintain the festival and receive more in-migrants. The second part of the fieldwork involved a period of action research centered around the organization of a special exhibition to promote Mitarai at Hiroshima University Museum. The exhibition was held between December 14th, 2018 and March 3rd, 2019. The exhibition, entitled "Nature, History, Culture, Art - Rethinking the Island's Soul of Mitarai, Osakishimajima", combined presentations of academic results from project fieldwork with artwork created by Mitarai's creative in-migrants. Beyond presenting Mitarai to visitors, the exhibition was an opportunity to gather insights into what might attract visitors and migrants to the village and thereby facilitate its revitalization. The exhibition questionnaire gathered more speculative feedback regarding what might attract young people to Mitarai in the future, asking if they were willing to visit Mitarai, participate in the local festival or migrate to the village. To this end, the author collected 396 questionnaires from exhibition visitors. The respondents' demographics are shown in Table 1.

Table 1 Characteristics of respondents from both the community festival survey (July 28th, 2018) and the exhibition of “Nature, History, Culture and Art” in Hiroshima University Museum (December 18th, 2018 to March 3rd, 2019), authors' calculation

		Residents from local festival survey		Exhibition visitors	
		Frequency (n=72)	Percentage (%)	Frequency (n=369)	Percentage (%)
Gender	Male	30	41.7	203	55.0
	Female	42	58.3	166	45.0
	Non-response	0	0.0	0	0.0
Age groups	10~19	1	1.4%	42	11.4
	20~29	3	4.2%	127	34.4
	30~39	7	9.7%	59	16.0
	40~49	11	15.3%	52	14.1
	50~59	10	13.9%	40	10.8
	60~69	11	15.3%	36	9.8
	70~79	10	13.9%	12	3.3
	80~89	15	20.8%	1	0.3
	90+	4	5.6%	0	0.0
	Non-response	0	0.0	0	0.0
Place of residence for Japanese; Nationality for Non-Japanese	Japanese within Hiroshima Prefecture			269	72.9
	Japanese outside of Hiroshima Prefecture			60	16.3
	Non-Japanese nationals			40	10.8
	Non-response			0	0.0

The research is clearly limited by the sample groups for all questionnaire surveys. Specifically, it is challenging to gather data from elderly residents of Mitarai, who are often unable or unwilling to answer questionnaires, particularly due to poor health and bad eyesight. Therefore, the author’s data was restricted to the local festival participants at a time when the greatest concentration of local residents could be found. However, the qualitative finding balanced this weakness through interview with them. For the action research outside Mitarai, the author’s exhibition venue necessarily limited respondents to visitors to the Hiroshima University Museum. However, the results were considered adequate given the intention of the author to collect the opinions of younger people, as most museum visitors were young people.

## Findings

### *Community insider – not enough tourists, festival supporters, and in-migrants*

All interview respondents felt strongly about the dire situation regarding depopulation, aging, and the resulting social inconveniences. Social inconveniences included declining transportation networks and diminished infrastructure - fewer schools, hospitals and shopping facilities. Respondents believed Mitarai was lacking three things: there were not enough people, not enough efforts to attract tourists (a lack of promotion), and not enough in-migrants. Because of the lack of people in the community, there was not enough manpower to sustain local infrastructure and the maintain the traditional festival. The long-term elderly residents (often the parents of Mitarai’s out-migrants) maintained the hope that their children would eventually



return home. However, many acknowledged that this was unlikely to happen. Most of the younger respondents believed it was impossible to turn back the clock and make the community what it once was.

*It's increasingly difficult to maintain social and cultural practices. Festivals that take a lot of manpower are difficult to maintain. Already the island has seen some festivals disappear for lack of manpower. (in-migrant with business)*



Figure 5 Yagura festival in Mitarai (July 28th, 2018), Photo by Swagata Das, 2018

Respondents offered insights about the local Shinto Yagura Festival (in Figure 5), which could only continue with the help of an extended network of participants from neighboring communities and out-migrants who returned to Mitarai just for holidays and the festival. While participating in the Yagura Festival, the author observed less than 20 percent of local residents took center stage in this event. The most important local event in the calendar was already shifting key roles, bringing in outsiders to become core players while locals, especially elderly locals, became spectators.

*We would of course benefit from the region's revitalization if it became famous as a tourist destination, a lot of people would come and a lot of people would see it, and I would like to see the region become more and more lively. (commuter with business)*

Most of the small businesses have several common attributes: 1) creative design, 2) innovative ideas on how to attract visitors, 3) relational connection with nearby urban cities and resources. However, actual and potential in-migrants and commuters to Mitarai find opening

new tourism businesses to be troublesome. After Mitarai was designated a cultural property, the government began providing subsidies for renovating old houses, with the work done by a community group called the Judenken o kangaeru kai (Historical Preservation Group). But the subsidies only cover exterior renovations, and Mitarai lacks an efficient share-house system seen in other communities that would allow in-migrants to settle temporarily during renovation work. In other words, Mitarai's incentives are not well positioned to attract in-migrants, and instead focus on renovating the aesthetic attributes of vacant houses to attract tourists. Some respondents suggested a lack of government support systems likely caused some young in-migrants who moved to Mitarai to move out again and return back to their cities. Responses indicate that Mitarai lacks any real promotion efforts sufficient to attract both tourists and young in-migrants to open businesses. In reality, more than half of local businesses are run by people who commute between Mitarai and a city nearby. Small businesses perceive they receive little support from their government in terms of policy and promotion. Most stakeholders in Mitarai's tourist industry and some local residents believed tourism could be the right path for revitalizing Mitarai. However, they consider the main issue is not attracting enough visitors rather than focusing on getting tourists to spend more money when they are in Mitarai. Elaborating on this point, one respondent with a business reliant on Mitarai's tourist trade mentioned:

*Normally we need 3 or 4 times more tourists to fit our business requirement, but I believe instead of attracting 100 more tourists to the town, it is better to attract 10 tourists that are willing to pay more money during their visit. (long-term resident)*

Besides business, the consensus among those who have moved to the island is that the positive aspects relating to lifestyle outweigh any negatives. In-migrants praise Mitarai's attractive natural scenery, good food, slow pace of life, low cost of living and affordable property. Furthermore, many of these factors offer favorable conditions for creating businesses aimed at tourists. When asked to relate their understanding of revitalization to Mitarai's future prospects, many in-migrant respondents highlighted the top-down issue of a lack of local government policy and financial support. The successful neighboring island of Osakikamijima was often mentioned by respondents. Respondents said Osakikamijima have received hundreds of in-migrants due to better local government policy and support, well-established high-speed internet connectivity, and an effective share-house system to provide temporary accommodation for newcomers looking for opportunities on the island.

The author found that local long-term residents held mixed opinions about tourism development in the village. In general, the relationships between this group and in-migrants were positive. However, one seasonal in-migrant mentioned that long-term locals were not willing to sell houses to people looking to establish businesses aimed at tourists. During participant observation, the author found that local elderly people clearly favored businesses that made efforts to serve both locals and tourists. In contrast, locals viewed businesses that targeted tourists exclusively unfavorably.

*The islanders love having new shops to visit. Although there's a distinction between making businesses aimed at tourists and catering for locals. You might hear grumblings*

*if they think you're just aiming your business at tourists to make a profit. (tourist trade business owner, in-migrant)*

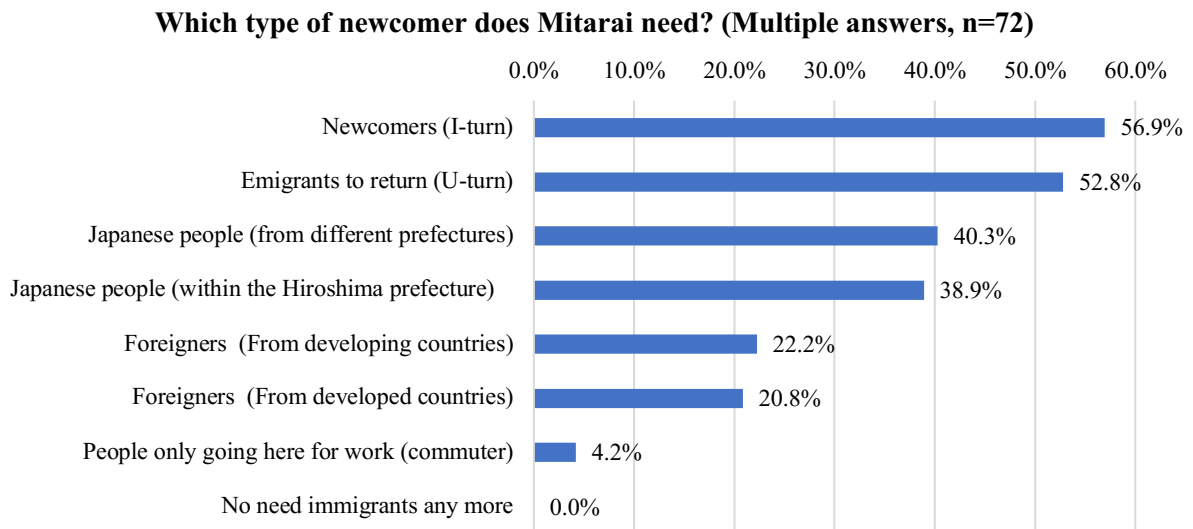


Figure 6 Answers to the question, “Which type of newcomer does Mitarai need?” from the survey during the Yagura Festival in Mitarai (July 28th, 2018), Author’ calculation and illustration

In the community questionnaire survey, we asked what type of in-migrants residents wanted in Mitarai. As shown in Figure 6, respondents showed a preference for young I-turn and U-turn migrants. There is no expressed bias towards or against Japanese newcomers from within versus outside the region, nor a bias for or against foreigners, whether from developing or developed countries. Only 4.2 percent mentioned that they wanted more commuters to Mitarai, indicating a clear preference for full-time residents. There was significant statistical difference on option 8 “Young people” between age and gender by crosstabulation with Chi-square in SPSS. Here, 85.7 percent of female respondents want more young in-migrants to the island compared with 63.3 percent of the male group ( $p \leq 0.05$ ). The age groups between 30 to 39 (85.7 percent) and 50 to 59 (100 percent) show more concern on receiving young people compared with less than 66.7 percent for other age groups ( $p \leq 0.05$ ). In the open-ended section of the survey, respondents provided more information about their preferred types of in-migrants. Preferences included in-migrants between 20 and 40 years old, with occupations such as farmers or self-employed owners of business geared towards tourists.

By combining qualitative data from interviews with participant observation, it became clear that promotion of Mitarai as a destination gradually increased its visitor numbers. Although all respondents believed the current numbers of tourists are not enough to sustain Mitarai’s tourist industry, the relational role of in-migrants and trans-migrants could be the key to a more sustainable form of development. The community believes the need for newcomers is a pressing issue. They prefer to have stable U-turn migrants, but this is unlikely to happen in the near future and it will take time for local residents to acknowledge this fact. By comparing the approaches of all the small businesses in Mitarai, it is clear a newcomer who can adopt a strategy that aims to capture the tourist trade while being local-friendly will enjoy a quicker path to community integration.

Overall, the mixed method results indicate that residents favor an approach to community revitalization that reduces the speed of depopulation by attracting newcomers to live on the island and promote tourism development while maintaining infrastructure and local identity. The author's participation in the Yagura Festival revealed there is not enough local manpower to maintain this traditional event, putting this aspect of local culture in danger. Therefore, attracting in-migrants, maintaining local events and developing tourism are high on Mitarai's agenda.

***Urban outsider – great to visit Mitarai, some willing to help with the festival, but fewer wish to become in-migrants***



Figure 7 Special exhibition – Nature, History, Culture and Art of Mitarai, Rethinking the Island's Soul of Mitarai, Osakishimajima in Hiroshima University Museum (December 18th, 2018 to March 3rd, 2019), Author's photo, 2019

For collecting outsider's opinion, we conducted a survey at the Hiroshima University Museum to include people who live close to but never visited Mitarai. During its three-and-a-half-month run in the Hiroshima University Museum, the special exhibition introducing the island's nature, history, culture, art and academic research received 1046 visitors (in Figure 7). From the exhibition questionnaire survey (n=369) shown in Table 1, more than half of the respondents were between 20 and 40 years old, the age demographic considered ideal for young in-migrants by Mitarai's residents. When asked what they found most attractive about Mitarai, 76.2 percent mentioned nature, with culture and history also found to be appealing (Figure 8).

**What interested you about Mitarai? (Multiple answers, n=369)**

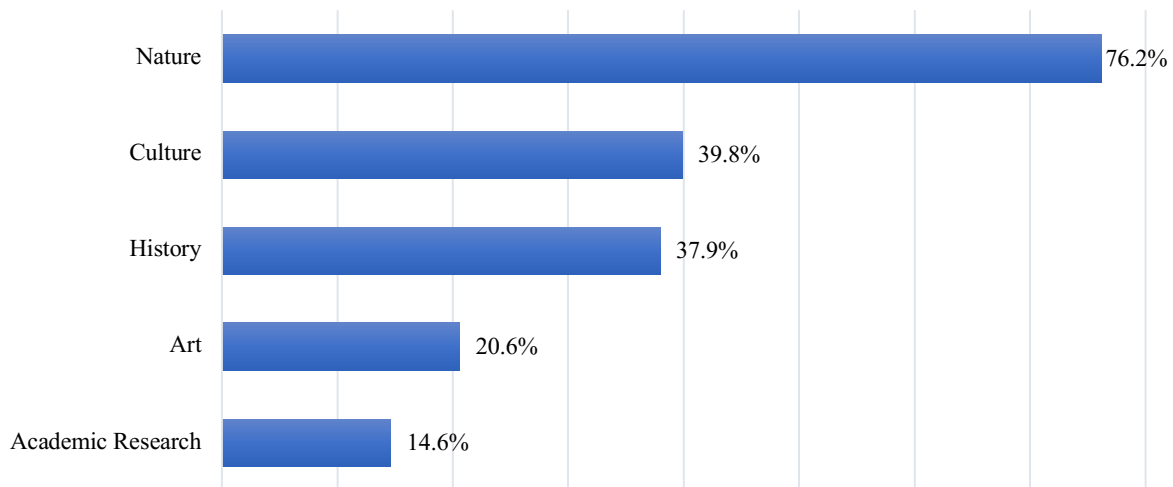


Figure 8 Answer to the question, “What interested you about Mitarai?” (December 18th, 2018 to March 3rd, 2019), Author’ calculation and illustration

There was a significant statistical difference between the different residential statuses of respondents and their interest in Mitarai (as assessed by Chi-square, SPSS). It shows respondents who live in Hiroshima Prefecture and foreigners had a stronger positive response to art and academic research about Mitarai compared to Japanese respondents who live outside of the Hiroshima region ( $p \leq 0.05$ ) (Table 2).

Table 2 Cross tabulation result (Chi-square) with residential status, authors' calculation

	0 = Unselected 1 = Selected	Respondents			Total
		Hiroshima Pref	Outside of Hiroshima Pref	Foreigners	
<b>Art</b> ( $p \leq 0.03$ )	0 Count	214	56	23	293
	% Total	58.0 %	15.2 %	6.2 %	79.4%
	1 Count	55	4	17	76
	% Total	14.9 %	1.1 %	4.6 %	20.6 %
<b>Academic Research</b> ( $p \leq 0.00$ )	0 Count	214	56	23	293
	% Total	58.0 %	15.2 %	6.2 %	79.4 %
	1 Count	55	4	17	76
	% Total	14.9 %	1.1 %	4.6 %	20.6 %
	Total Count	269	60	40	369
	% Total	72.9 %	16.3 %	10.8 %	100.0 %

**Are you willing to come to Mitarai after seeing the exhibition? (n=369)**

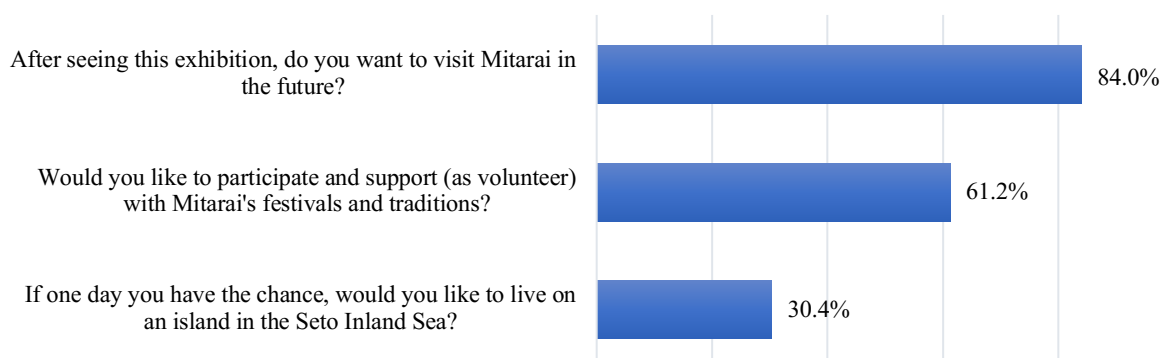


Figure 9 Answer to the question, “Are you willing to come to Mitarai after seeing the exhibition?” (December 18th, 2018 to March 3rd, 2019), authors' calculation and illustration

As shown in Figure 9, 84 percent of respondents expressed an interest in visiting Mitarai, 61.2 percent were willing to participate in local festivals, and 30.4 percent had an interest in migrating to an island. There was a significant statistical difference between different types of residential status and nationalities among exhibition visitors (as assessed by Chi-square, SPSS).

Table 3 Cross tabulation result (Chi-square) with residential status, authors' calculation

	0 = No response 1 = Yes, I want to go 2 = No, I am not interested	Respondents			Total
		Hiroshima Pref	Outside of Hiroshima Pref	Foreigners	
<b>After seeing this exhibition, do you want to visit Mitarai in the future?</b> (p≤0.01)	1 Count	225	45	40	310
	% Total	61.0%	12.2 %	10.8 %	84.0 %
	2 Count	44	15	0	59
	% Total	11.9 %	4.1 %	0.0 %	100.0 %
<b>Would you like to participate and support (as volunteer) with Mitarai's festivals and traditions?</b> (p≤0.04)	1 Count	164	28	34	226
	% Total	44.4 %	7.6 %	9.2 %	61.2 %
	2 Count	105	32	6	143
	% Total	28.5 %	8.7 %	4.2 %	38.8 %
<b>If one day you have the chance, would you like to live on an island in the Seto Inland Sea?</b> (p≤0.03)	0 Count	1	0	0	1
	% Total	0.3 %	0.0 %	0.0 %	0.3 %
	1 Count	72	17	23	112
	% Total	19.5 %	4.6 %	6.2 %	30.4 %
	2 Count	196	43	17	256
	% Total	53.1 %	11.7 %	4.6 %	69.4 %
Total Count	269	60	40	369	
% Total	72.9 %	16.3 %	10.8 %	100.0 %	

Table 3 shows the respondents from Hiroshima Prefecture and foreigners had stronger positive responses to all questions compared with Japanese respondents from outside Hiroshima Prefecture. This was especially the case regarding the question of their willingness to migrate to the island (p≤0.05). We also found Japanese respondents living in Hiroshima Prefecture were the keenest to support Mitarai’s festival. (p≤0.05). From the open-ended

portion of the questionnaire, respondents elaborated on their reasons for or against a speculative move to the island in the future.

For respondents who answered “Yes, I want to go” (n=112, 30.4%), important factors included the attractiveness of the island’s landscape, seascape and climate, which were mentioned by 11.1 percent of people. Lifestyle (6 percent) and regional culture (3 percent) were also highlighted. For respondents who answered “No, I am not interested” (n=256, 69.4 percent), 13.6 percent of them mentioned that they aren’t interested in a life change. Aside from this group, issues such as the perceived inconvenience of island living (8.4 percent), bad transportation (6.5 percent) and a lack of jobs (4.6 percent) were considered the major barriers to a new life on the island. Additionally, respondents’ internal barriers included insecurities about the possibility of establishing relationships with locals (1.9 percent) and loneliness (0.5 percent). There were some respondents (5.8 percent) who mentioned that they only wanted to visit Mitarai as tourists but didn’t want to live there. Another 3.3 percent of respondents mentioned they already lived on an island. Only 0.8 percent of respondents expressed interested in establishing a business on an island but not living there, or a similar situation.

From our observation research of visitors to the exhibition, the photographs, artwork and promotion video heightened the visitor’s interest in visiting Mitarai. The author also met a number of Hiroshima University students who visited Mitarai after seeing the exhibition. A few students even made Mitarai the focus of their own research. This highlights the ripple effect of action research, connecting an urban university with a rural island community.

### **The gap and limitation between in and out, stable and dynamic**

The exhibition survey indicates the potential future in-migration by urban youth is high (30.4%). This action study proves promotion through documentary, artwork, and academic exhibition attracts tourists, festival volunteers and supporters, leading the way to potential migration, rural-urban regional cooperation and socio-cultural exchange. This multifaceted research linking researchers, the university museum and the island community can be another confirmation of the importance of in-migrants being agents for change. This study found that younger generations and foreigners who live in urban areas within the same region have a higher chance of becoming in-migrants compared to those who live outside the prefecture.

The community research highlighted challenges faced by in-migrants. They included how insiders/locals strongly preferred in-migrants (I-turn and U-turn) to be a stable population rather than focusing on the easier option of attracting mobile and relational commuter in-migrants. To attract enough in-migrants to live in Mitarai to make a difference, the community must provide better living conditions and accommodation. The exhibition survey demonstrated how Mitarai still has potential to improve its current tourist trade and attract more younger in-migrants from urban areas.

Current local government policy focuses less on in-migrants and more on tourism development. Their strategy is also to attract more tourists rather than target tourists with higher spending power. The exhibition showed how tourism promotion plays an effective role in attracting potential visitors and/or festival supporters to Mitarai. The results also indicate the likelihood that Mitarai would receive a highly dynamic and relational population of tourists/visitors. From a tourism development perspective, it is interesting to note that more than 80 percent of businesses aimed at the tourist trade in Mitarai have been established by in-

migrants. Of those business owners, nearly half are relational and mobile – commuters, seasonal in-migrants, trans-migrants and other types of community supporters. In Mitarai, both relational individuals and in-migrants play key roles in developing tourism and ensuring long-term community sustainability. Rather than staying within the government’s arbitrary boundaries of “stable” and “unstable” populations, they have formed strong networks and worked together. Unfortunately, the largely conservative aging community seems unaware of this dynamic. This situation could threaten Mitarai’s chances of attaining resilience and a sustainable future. In-migrants and commuters come with innovative ideas that can create real change and improve the community.

When a community is able to adapt and change, that community becomes better equipped to sustain its culture and events. This change cannot occur without the involvement of local residents (Akgün et al., 2011). However, residents should not be expected to embrace instability out of hand for the sake of tourism development. These businesses aimed at tourists also form part of the community and if they invest prudently in local infrastructure and improved social interactions, they would go a long way towards securing the support of residents (Kim et al., 2013). In the case of Mitarai, some businesses benefited both locals and tourists, however, some did not regardless of whether they were set up by in-migrants or commuters. Although the businesses contribute to furthering tourism development, they differ in how they improve ties and benefit the community in general. But one thing is certain, small businesses geared towards tourism attract groups of creative, dedicated young people. Mitarai exemplifies how looking through the lens of relationality is more nuanced and impactful than viewing populations as stable entities.

### **Relationality, creativity and connectivity as a changemaker**

By agreeing with Hui and Walker’s relational theories for relational times in rural study (Hui and Walker, 2018), we found both relationality and creativity are more important than stability in Mitarai’s case. Even though the island community finds an unstable population harder to accept, an unstable population playing an important role in the community is more beneficial than a stable population that does not contribute.

Bosworth and Atterton (2012) demonstrated that new development should not be limited to rural scenarios. As demonstrated in Mitarai, increased in-migration and a rise in people with relationality should lead to the development of new tourism-related businesses. These individuals have the flexibility that allows movement of tangible resource networks and intangible exchanges such as social connections, culture and knowledge from location to location. Through seasonality, periodicity, mobility and social bonds, they share characteristics with cross-national, second-home migrants (Akgün et al., 2011). This blurs the boundaries between rigid inside/outside, global/urban/rural, or I-turn/U-turn frameworks. The relational, mobile and connectivity of people continues to facilitate the creation of new social capital and cultural exchanges, benefiting both tourism-building and community welfare. These individuals can thus be considered valuable as potential vectors for revitalization.

From a "relational population" framework as shown in Figure 2, the “stable population” group includes both local long-term residents and in-migrants, while relationality can indicate both relational and stable populations. This research argues real relational thinking should not mix and limit the dynamic relational concept of connectivity and mobility, confusing it with



the static concept of fixed residence as location. However, this research found that relational people, both commuter and in-migrants can play key roles for change, implementing tourism-making as well as community revitalization efforts. In Mitarai, due to the ease of access afforded by the bridge to the mainland and other transportation, sometimes businesses run by commuters or seasonal in-migrants are more stable than those run by in-migrants, who may live off the island for months at a time, despite being considered an example of the ‘stable’ local population by the government. Although the government’s static groupings are important and convenient for demographic statistics, they are insufficient when explaining the constant interactions and exchange of resources characteristic to in-migrants. Relational individuals play an active role in the community revitalization process, displaying a self-employed working style, creativity, innovation, social connections, networking and transregional mobility. This dynamic underscores how the contributions by migrants and local entrepreneurs to natural and human capital in super-aging societies bear no meaningful difference (Akgün et al., 2011). While not considered ‘stable’, or even matching the ideal preferred by locals, the particular in-betweenness of relational individuals can be a tremendous advantage to communities. In short, rather than purely adding numbers to a super-aging island, a community like Mitarai needs relational change-makers with high-quality abilities to combat stagnation with innovative change.

## **Conclusion**

This article grew out of a series of action-based mixed research projects conducted by the author to encompass a multifarious assessment of the challenges faced by relational tourism-based entrepreneurs to put down roots in a declining island community and bring about revitalization. For understanding both the depth and breadth of the situation, this research examines opinions from both insiders and outsiders. The findings suggest government policies should ensure tourism-based entrepreneurs can establish themselves in ways that benefit themselves as well as the community (Kanai, 2016). Further, local stakeholders must learn to appreciate the potential of not only stable but also relational individuals and not insist on a narrow (and likely impossible) quest to attract exclusively young, traditional in-migrants.

Rural tourism development resulting in an increase of relational individuals and a rise in businesses catering to tourists but not locals, may not be what community members expected. However, to the extent that these changes herald the start of a new tertiary industry, they bring resilience for all parties over time. New tensions should not prompt a restart from scratch, but rather a process of re-understanding, re-presentation and renewed thinking, with ever-evolving implementations that are based on current ideas—in other words, respecting the subjectivity of the community. A balanced approach to facilities mutual understanding is the final goal between both long-term and new resident, modeling both resilience and sustainability.

The exhibition survey demonstrated the current advantages for Mitarai include its natural island scenery, historical legacy, culture and other attractions. It holds potential for further development while preserving its living culture such as the local Yagura Festival. The exhibition proved the need and the importance of promoting a location to attract regional and international tourists as well as potential newcomers. Challenges that face Mitarai include its super-aging society, a lack of in-migrants, a low number of tourists particularly on weekdays, and a lack of activities for tourists once they arrive. Additionally, tourism promotion efforts

currently fail to target younger generations and inbound tourists. Finally, improvements to the current transportation system and other necessary infrastructure will benefit both tourists and residents.

This research and its implications are critical not only for the islands of the Seto Inland Sea, but for declining communities across rural Japan. To gain new insights on the issues surrounding the revitalization processes in Mitarai and other islands, further studies focusing on emerging changes in the community are needed. This could include focusing on the reshaping of traditional events and the emergence of an art festival. Additionally, future studies could turn their attention to Mitarai's neighboring communities, characterized by their perceived lower cultural attractiveness. This would help to better evaluate whether one community's particular qualities can become the driving force for creative regional revitalization. Like one island respondent said:

*To me, revitalization is creating a resilience or an innovative solution that will endure or even prosper under the current pressures of depopulation and aging. It will be impossible to 'stop the clock' or reverse these trends to the situation in the past where thousands of people lived on this island. But I think there is an opportunity here to create something different, while still supporting the traditions and the way of life of the community. Revitalization is doing something that benefits the community and at the same time enables your chosen way of life. (in-migrant with business)*

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## Appendix B-1. Mitarai community questionnaire

### Questionnaire for Mitarai Resident

(1) Gender: 1. Male    2. Female

(2) Age:    • 10-19    • 20-29    • 30-39    • 40-49    • 50-59    • 60-69    • 70-79    • 80 and above

(3) Where do you live? \_\_\_\_\_(Country) \_\_\_\_\_ Prefecture \_\_\_\_\_ Municipality / City

(4) Which type of newcomer does Mitarai need? (Multiple choice)

- |   |   |  |
|---|---|--|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Newcomer (I turn)                          | <input type="checkbox"/> Emigrants to return (U turn) | <input type="checkbox"/> People only going here for work   |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Japanese (within the Hiroshima prefecture) |   | <input type="checkbox"/> Japanese (outside the prefecture) |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Foreigners (developed countries)           |   | <input type="checkbox"/> Foreigners (developing countries) |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Young people                               |   | <input type="checkbox"/> No need immigrants any more       |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Others: _____                              |   |  |

Thank you very much for your support!

## Appendix B-2. Exhibition questionnaire in Hiroshima University Museum

### Questionnaire for the exhibition of Nature, History, Culture and Art

(1) Gender: 1. Male    2. Female

(2) Age:   · 10-19   · 20-29   · 30-39   · 40-49   · 50-59   · 60-69   · 70-79   · 80 and above

(3) Where do you live? \_\_\_\_\_(Country) \_\_\_\_\_ Prefecture \_\_\_\_\_ Municipality / City

(4) What was interesting in the content of the exhibition? (Multiple choice)

Nature     History     Culture     Art     Academic Research

(5) After seeing this exhibition, do you want to visit Mitarai in the future?

Yes, I want to go     No, I am not interested

(6) Would you like to be involved with Mitarai's festivals and traditions?

Yes, I want to go     No, I am not interested

If you would like to receive more information, please write your e-mail address: \_\_\_\_\_

(\* We will not share your personal information with any third party)

(7) If one day you have the chance, would you like to live on an island in the Seto Inland Sea?

Yes, I want to     No, I am not interested

Could you tell us the reason? \_\_\_\_\_

Thank you very much for your support!