Entry, Connectivity, and Hospitality in the Setonaikai, Japan:

Constructing Self-Reliance through *Morabeza* in Island Networks

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Stephanie Évora
(1418 20 1302)

Supervised by
MINE Yoichi

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ABSTRACT

This thesis examines people's experiences in five Setouchi islands as a site for a case study of the prospect for self-reliance through *Morabeza* in island networks. Naoshima, Teshima, Inujima, Megijima, and Ogijima islands are a group of islands that form part of the Benesse Art Site Naoshima (collective name for art activities conducted by Benesse Holdings, Inc., and the Fukutake Foundation) and take part in the Setouchi Triennale Art Festival. The islands are located in the Setonaikai, the Inland Sea of Japan. In ancient times, the region was a vital transportation route that connected Kinki (Nara and Kyoto) and Kyushu, reaching further from Japan to Korea and China. In the past, the Setonaikai underwent extensive exploitation with the expansion of fishery and farming. However, after the Meiji Restoration, the government kickstarted the region's industrial development by constructing several factories.

During the peak of the burgeoning industry, the islands attracted workers in droves. However, due to the heavy industrialization efforts in the region, a series of pollution-related issues arose. The declining economy, environmental issues and the closure of several industrial sites resulted in the region's vitality stagnating and a mass relocation of the island's residents to more prosperous locations. As a consequence of the residents' exodus to greener pastures, the region experienced a huge population loss, the birth rates plummeted, and only the ageing population remained on the islands.

Under the above-mentioned circumstances, since the 1990s, the Benesse Art Site Naoshima, a private company, partnered with local governments to mobilize art tourism to attract new migrants to the region and promote community revitalization on the islands.

Several authors have asserted that the introduction of art tourism in the Setonaikai offers a solution to the problems faced by the islands in the region. However, although previous research shows that art tourism in the region had a significant socio-economic impact on the islands, the inhabitants have voiced their concern over the unsustainability of the industry. Islanders argued that locals must develop alternative economic opportunities from within.

Therefore, the fundamental question of this research is whether *Entry, Connectivity, and Hospitality can stimulate self-reliance through Morabeza in island networks.* Six objectives are postulated along with three sub-questions organized according to the different research elements. First, the study aimed to examine how the effect of Exit can be reversed in island networks. Second, to understand the relationship between islanders. Third, to ascertain the ties between islanders and non-islanders. Fourth, to explore how *Morabeza* can enhance Entry into island networks. Fifth, to investigate how *Morabeza* can improve Connectivity and Collectivity. Lastly, to expand the study on the art tourism network in the Setonaikai by affording islanders' narratives to be heard.

The primary data consists of narratives collected through semi-structured and in-depth interviews conducted in Naoshima, Teshima, Inujima, Megijima, and Ogijima islands from April 14 to 23, 2022. Of the 21 interviews, six were conducted in Naoshima, six in Teshima, three in Inujima, four in Megijima, and two on Ogijima island. In addition, the research utilizes three interviews conducted in Naoshima on November 17, 2019, Inujima on December 8, 2019, and Takamatsu City on November 14, 2019. The islanders interviewed were met by chance on the field sites. The secondary data sources include

official island documentation, development plans, websites and reports, books, scholarly journal articles and papers, and promotional brochures.

The research employs Albert O. Hirschman's Exit, Voice, and Loyalty model to characterize the problems brought about by population loss, and this research puts forward three new elements instead. These elements are, Entry, Connectivity and *Morabeza*, and in essence, encompass the enhancement of the island voice formation for self-reliance, demographic expansion, and the regeneration of Naoshima, Teshima, Inujima, Megijima, and Ogijima islands by countering the effects of Exit and the underutilized option of Voice on the islands. Furthermore, the study intends to characterize the situation experienced in these five islands, amplify islanders' concerns and expectations, and understand the changes envisaged by islanders and their satisfaction with the current situation.

Hirschman's model presented Exit and Voice as the two responses to a firm or organization's quality decline. Members would either Exit or Voice their grievances in the hope that management would correct the decline in quality. However, Exit and Voice cannot be seen as optimal solutions to difficulties faced by islanders. On the one hand, the Exit option depleted the islands of their population and continues to do so with a high number of elderly inhabitants and a low number of young islanders. On the other hand, although the Voice option worked successfully in the past in resolving a public health hazard that rampaged Teshima island, that same option is insufficient to thwart the decline in livelihood options for the young generation. Moreover, raising Voice in small island societies (often with smaller populations) becomes more complex over time. Exit can be reversed with the incoming wave of islanders who return due to art tourism, the wake of

migration stirred by art-related activities, and the increase in visitors who pass through the islands. The first element, Entry, is thus to counter the depopulation and ageing that is taking place in all five islands.

The second element, Connectivity, stems from the inter-island connectivity revived between the islands, with the recent art tourism activities taking advantage of their proximity. The islands belong to a web of human interaction formed between the islanders of each island and visitors passing by its ports, creating collective relationships in the networks. The islands went from having little connection to each other – since the diminishing capacity of local industries, agriculture, and fisheries – to having a new inter-island connection only through the efforts of art tourism.

At the start of this study, the researcher had a clear notion that the element of Collectivity started with art tourism in the area needed to be nurtured for the islanders' benefit. The Collectivity sense inside the islands, among their inhabitants, is present in their communities at different levels. However, in contrast, although the islands developed collective relationships thanks to Benesse Art Site Naoshima and Setouchi Triennale, cooperative action between islanders remains scarce.

While the art tourism industry has the potential to assist in reversing the region's depopulation process, islanders voice concerns over its sustainability and island revitalization. The reasons for this are twofold. Firstly, islanders disclosed the necessity to diversify their economies and decrease their dependency on tourism activities that are not sustainable throughout the year. Secondly, although art tourism has stimulated a new wave of Entry, additional effort should be made to ensure that new migrants and returnees establish themselves on the islands for extended periods.

Islands are places of encounter that shape human relationships between islanders and non-islanders. *Morabeza* informs relationships as island hospitality. Through the practice of *Morabeza*, the boundaries between the host and the guest can be blurred. Additionally, islanders' feelings of Collectivity and attachment to their islands can be reinforced. The concept, originally from Cabo Verde, illustrates the necessity to coexist with others, convert strangers into friends, and welcome others with warmth and respect while closing any barriers between people.

Examining the island hospitality in Naoshima, Teshima, Inujima, Megijima, and Ogijima islands, it is possible to argue that islanders' *Morabeza* towards each other is closely connected to their Collectivity and sense of community and how they help and interact with each other. In addition, it is connected to how islanders cooperate in fostering close and united relationships among themselves. The need to convert strangers into friends and erase barriers between people on islands allows *Morabeza* to facilitate the development of Entry, Connectivity and Collectivity relying on island networks.

Furthermore, the close community relationships between islanders and their interaction with visitors can attract people to become new islanders in a process that benefits the island's regeneration, countering the effects of Exit. The islands' future is intrinsically connected to the human relationships being created on the islands, contributing to their demographic expansion and benefiting the island's future regeneration and revitalization process.

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This is dedicated to my beloved parents, Francisca & Miguel Évora and my brother, Ricardo.

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Chapter 1: Setting the Scene: The Art of Welcoming Others – The Island Lure and *Morabeza*

Islands do well to remain sensitive to 'border crossings': it is because of a ship appearing on their horizon – or a plane landing in their airport that their history then changes forever.

Godfrey Baldacchino

A distant shadow. A small shore. A long wait. Welcoming others to island shores is as ancient as travel. When the first explorers ventured into the sea, they initiated the long process of having roots at home and building routes from home due to the unique circumstances of their locale. Leaving one's shores meant arriving elsewhere and dealing with the uncertainties of simply passing through other coastlines and other lands. The voyages led to connecting with others and experiencing different places, habits, cultures, and people. Thus began the relationship between host and guest that is present until today in our society, although with significant changes and different understandings.

My previous work defined an island as a small piece of land surrounded by water, where the sea is regarded not as a barrier but as an extension of its islandness.[1] Its mainland or surrounding waters may have limited resources, and inhabitants may partake

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[1] I defined island in this way after analysing the definition of multiple authors in this field. For a more detailed understanding of my process see:
Évora, Stephanie. 2022. "Toward a Theory of Islandness: A Case Study of Art Tourism in the Naoshima Island, Japan." *International Journal of Afrasian Studies* 1 (1): 101–19.

in multiple economic activities that amplify their impact due to geographical factors (Évora 2022, 104).

Islands may be places of encounter that take advantage of tourism, using them as nodes connecting islanders and visitors. Islanders clearly understand *them and us*: "them" here being outsiders of the island, and "us" being island locals raised and integrated into the community. Islanders live with their local knowledge and past experiences adapting to the constant changes that may arrive on their shores because island life connects to specific characteristics. Some of these characteristics are put forward by McCall (1994).

The author proposed eight characteristics found on islands. The research was primarily based on the Pacific Islands, however the study's findings are applicable to other regions including the islands included in this research.

These eight characteristics are as follows,

a) land borders on islands are clearly defined;

b) sea resources are key for island states and Exclusive Economic Zones (EEZ) can occupy more surface area than land resources;

c) islands' land limitation is made clear with the lack of resources;

d) islands are seen as strategic security outposts and are often claimed by continental states;

e) islands have a clear ideological division of in-group and out-group;

f) although islanders do not necessarily see the sea as a limitation, but as an extension of their lives, they have a sense of limitation socially and culturally bounded by their small size and amplified by globalization;

g) human relations tend to have some specific regional characteristics by which islanders guide their social commerce;

h) and lastly, in many islands, emigration is not an option but a necessity "leave some people must, for the rest to survive" (McCall 1994, 103).

In this study, the above-mentioned characteristics are identifiable from the research sites examined coupled with the interview narratives collected.

The relationship between islanders and non-islanders is analysed through the lens of guest-host hospitality and its relation to islandness. This study focuses on the perspective that hospitality is imbued in social life while intersecting mobilities and immobilities in one place. The relationship between islanders (immobilities) and non-islanders passing by their ports, be it tourists or migrants (mobilities), is used to foster Connectivity (physical) and Collectivity (psychological) between islanders and non-islanders to enhance Entry into the islands' networks. Distinguishing between hospitality and hospitality in island settings becomes imperative to achieve the set goal.

Hospitality is described and extolled by a series of authors in different fields. For example, Selwyn (2012, 172) argued that "hosts offer guests hospitality by giving them a combination of space, food, warmth, respect, and an opportunity to initiate or consolidate relationships", embodying instances of "coming together and transition" (2012, 176) for society itself. Likewise, Derrida (2005) stated that although the ethics of

hospitality may differ, "there is no culture or social bond without a principle of hospitality" (2005, 6).

According to Lashley (2008), hospitality is rooted in social engagement, "(hospitality)…refers back to traditions, both cultural and domestic, of concern by hosts for the well-being of guests" and "implies a selfless commitment to the meeting of the psychological and emotional needs of the guests". The author relates hospitality to social exchange and culture but stresses the point that hospitality is not static nor timeless. With changes in society, the obligations on how to be hospitable mutate along with the society's cultural and religious transmutations. Hospitality does not cease to exist the more a civilization changes. It simply means that hospitality adjusts its form and how it presents itself, as with everything else. Social interactions in medieval times do not necessarily resemble ancient Greece or post-industrial societies. Hence, the guests' needs evolved with societal changes (Lashley 2008, 69–70).

King (1995) divides hospitality into three types: private hospitality or individual-to-individual acts, accommodations offered to travellers by non-commercial organizations in the social interest, and commercial hospitality or services provided to travellers for profit. Since ancient times, private hospitality has always been in society, even though travelling during that era could be dangerous. Moving from one place to another took a long time and exposed people to natural dangers in addition to animal and human attacks. Societies developed an "ethic of hospitality" to provide safe trips to those who had to travel from home or relocate to a distant location. In developing hospitality, the concept became a two-way relationship. The host would welcome the traveller and

provide shelter, food, security, and entertainment, while the guest was expected to pose no harm to their host or make him uncomfortable.

The second hospitality type flourished mainly with accommodation provided by local administrators and religious organizations like monasteries. Hospitality was done on behalf of "social interest" to facilitate the exchange of public servants and merchants between areas or as a service to God. Both instances focused on providing a minimum of comfort for travellers and spartan conditions at times. Lastly, with improved travel conditions, commercial hospitality or services provided to travellers for profit flourished in the Roman Empire. Roads were extended, bridges connected different areas, and inns and drinking establishments emerged. Although services were provided for profit, the conditions for travellers did not improve until much later. Initial establishments divided their services by class, and most had spartan conditions for those of lesser financial means. The advent of hotels, following the French Revolution, came to accommodate the emerging middle and business classes.

Lashley (2015) identifies different reasons for offering hospitality to others. The motivation to host visitors ranges from the hopes that one will have some personal gain, to hospitality being offered purely for the delight of giving the other pleasure. The author also puts forward a distinction on hospitality depending on different features inherent to hospitality activities and their experiences: cultural/social domain, domestic/private domain, and commercial domain. The first domain, the cultural/social domain of hospitality relates to pre-industrial societies. It reflects on the social situations in which hospitality takes place, in conjunction with the effects of belief systems and social cues in the production and consumption of food, drink, and accommodation. Hospitality is

seen as a moral duty in entertaining neighbours and strangers, and a failure to do so generates social condemnation.

The second domain refers to the domestic/private hospitality domain and deals with issues related to providing food, drink, and accommodation in the home along with host and guest obligations. Hospitality is seen then as an instrument to create ties between people and forge friendships. The domestic/private domain is connected to most pre-industrial societies. The third and last domain, the commercial domain, relates to hospitality as an economic activity with food, drink and accommodation being supplied for the exchange of money. This feature takes place in most post-industrial societies today, creating a series of pressures and ambiguities regarding the purpose of hospitality. The author argues that the commercial hospitality industry could and should learn from the past regarding "social obligations and settings" to understand the relationship between host-guest and how to make visitors feel welcome (Lashley 2015, 3–5).

Being hospitable was understood as a moral[2], virtuous, and noble obligation in antiquity, from ancient Greece and Rome to Jewish, Christian, and Islamic traditions. Additionally, it was believed to be linked to political power and social hierarchy (Selwyn 2012, 173). There was a belief that hospitality was deeply connected with cultural and religious obligations that are not present in modern industrialized societies today (Lashley 2008, 71). The relationship between guest and host presents particularities depending on the culture analysed.

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[2] For deeper discussion on the morality of hospitality and religion and examples, see Lashley and Morrison (2015); Lashley (2015); Kearney and James Taylor (2011).

The Japanese distinctive concept of hospitality is *omotenashi*. The Tourism Agency in Japan uses the term *omotenashi* as a keyword in its tourism campaigns to attract inbound tourism, although there is no clear definition of the word (Ohe and Peypoch 2016). The term is usually understood as a "way of offering hospitality to guests" while "putting more weight on politeness and kindness in contact with guests" (2016, 1262–63). The Japanese customer service is known for its perfectionist preparations and politeness towards guests. Exploring hospitality in Japan, *omotenashi* focuses on politeness and kindness when dealing with guests, while in comparison, Western hospitality focuses on friendliness (Ohe and Peypoch 2016, 1263).

The changes to hospitality incorporates the forms in addition to research approaches. According to Lynch et al. (2011), hospitality has been associated with numerous disciplines and framed differently in each area, from social sciences, managerial sciences, history, anthropology, science and technology to cultural and social studies. The author presents a series of areas that deserve further attention and discussion, such as historical approaches to hospitality, hospitality and virtuality, embodied hospitality, the ethics and politics of hospitality, and the relationship between hospitality and (im)mobilities. This research aims contribute to the latter concept by investigating the perspective that hospitality offers to intersect mobilities (including mobilities of tourists and migrants) and immobilities (2011, 14).

The author argues that there is a need for further research, considering interdisciplinary approaches to expand hospitality studies and relate them to cultural, political, and social matters. Studies in different fields covering hospitality and its practices have brought countless definitions and theoretical frameworks pertinent to their

area of study. However, the plurality of what hospitality is, or rather, what it represents, should not be underestimated as a simple theoretical disputation. Scholars from different disciplines should instead "engage with each other in substantial ways" and avoid constricting hospitality into an economic activity with "commercial exchanges" of "commodities" between guest and host (Lynch et al. 2011, 4–5).

Hospitality is then a connecting instrument that can be utilized to attract and connect hosts and guests. For this study, the host is an islander from one of the islands in the Setonaikai region in Japan, namely Naoshima, Teshima, Inujima, Megijima, and Ogijima islands. The islanders' hospitality to tourists, migrants and other inhabitants creates ties and relationships that strengthens the network of islands and serves as a solution for the systematic loss of human capital that threatens the region. But what hospitality can be studied and analysed on these islands and how does it present itself in the relationships between the people involved in the island life? The answer will be explored by delving into the island hospitality found in Cabo Verde (my country of origin) and what I observed in these five Japanese islands since the beginning of my research in 2019.

The islands possess a mix of residents that influence and are influenced by non-islanders passing through their ports. The openness to non-islanders and islanders is always revealed in words, actions, and attempts to connect and help, even with the small resources available on the islands. Upon my first encounter with islanders in Naoshima, Teshima and Inujima islands in 2019, it became clear that the feeling of being home and welcomed reflected the hospitality the islanders showed when dealing with visitors. Upon further inspection, it started to seem as if the behaviour demonstrated by islanders on

these islands had similarities to the hospitality offered in Cabo Verde, although with a distinct name – *Morabeza*.

The Republic of Cabo Verde is a small archipelago nation, 640 km off the Western coast of the African continent and according to the Instituto Nacional de Estatística de Cabo Verde (2021) has a resident population of 483,628 people. The island country is made up of ten islands of which nine of these are inhabited. The archipelago is divided into two groups: Northern Windward (*Barlavento*): Boa Vista, Sal, Santo Antão, São Vicente, São Nicolau, and Santa Luzia; Southern Leeward (*Sotavento*): Brava, Fogo, Maio, and Santiago.

The country's characteristics were determined by the history, geography, and economics of the time of the islands' settlement (Amaral 2004). The island hospitality is a product of the country's history after its discovery in 1460 and the islanders fight for their own culture and characteristics. *Morabeza* as a form of island hospitality is to be understood as kindness and friendliness not only to a fellow islander who experiences the same hardships related to the island life, but the concept of *Morabeza* extends to all those who cross the island's ports either as visitors or as prospective migrants. The concept illustrates the necessity to coexist with others, convert strangers into friends, welcoming others with warmth and respect while closing any barriers between people. The close community relationship between islanders and their interaction with visitors can attract people to becoming new islanders in a process that benefits the island's regeneration.

As argued by Teixeira (2009), the most prosaic meaning of the word *Morabeza* is the typical Cabo Verdean kindness that justifies a unique form of hospitality based on generosity, friendliness, and simplicity. The author further adds to the difficulty of

translating and explaining the word by repeating one of the islanders' beliefs that "one cannot explain *Morabeza*, it must be experienced" (Teixeira 2009, 4). After all, Fernandes (2006) eloquently described *Morabeza* as "culture's attitude towards all people. It teaches us to walk the street with an open heart, a smile, and the spirit to help the next man" (2006, 83).

Hospitality in the sense of *Morabeza* is then to be understood as kindness and friendliness to not only a fellow islander who has experienced the same hardships of the island life. But it is to extend this *Morabeza* to all those that cross the island border represented by the water. Baum (1997) discusses the importance of water in the fascination of islands and how locals and visitors both cherish the same feeling of "separateness" that water guarantees. Water, much as the shore, should not be understood as a barrier since, to an islander, the sea is just an extension of the island. As eloquently put by Dening (2004, 6) cited in Baldacchino (2012b), the shore is "(…) a double-edged space, in between: an exit space that is also an entry space; a space where edginess rules" (2012b, 59). The urge that an islander must dialogue comes from the necessity to know what is 'across the pond' not only for curiosity but also for a desire to connect with "a fellow man" and perhaps be of assistance.

This study does not see the island as an isolated land mass cut out from the world but as a network that is always changing and connecting to new shores. Islandness is then entangled with *Morabeza* and affects the islander's Connectivity and Collectivity with islanders and non-islanders. The enhancement of an inter-island collectivity, inhabitants' openness to non-islanders and islanders alike, and the connection between islands are the key route to their full development and will be explored in this study.

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1.1 Background and Significance of the Study

1.1.1 The Setonaikai

This study analyses five islands as its case study for self-reliance in island communities. Naoshima, Teshima, Inujima, Megijima, and Ogijima islands are a group of islands that belong to the Benesse Art Site Naoshima and take part in the Setouchi Triennale. The islands are located inside the Setonaikai region, also known as the Setouchi or Seto Inland Sea[3] area of Japan. The name 'Seto Inland Sea' was first used to refer to the entire region around 1882 after foreigners referred to the region on these terms; previously, parts of the area were called 'Nada' (basin) and 'bay', like Suo Nada and Osaka Bay. Seto Inland Sea Natural Park was one of Japan's first national parks. The park was created on March 16, 1934. It is well known for its scenery filled with characteristic small islands, mountains, old port towns, terraced fields, and many ships cruising through the water and spots where tourists flock for the "symbiotic relationship between humans and nature" (Yanagi 2008, 4–9).

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[3] Denomination used in the English language.

Map 1: Location of the Setonaikai
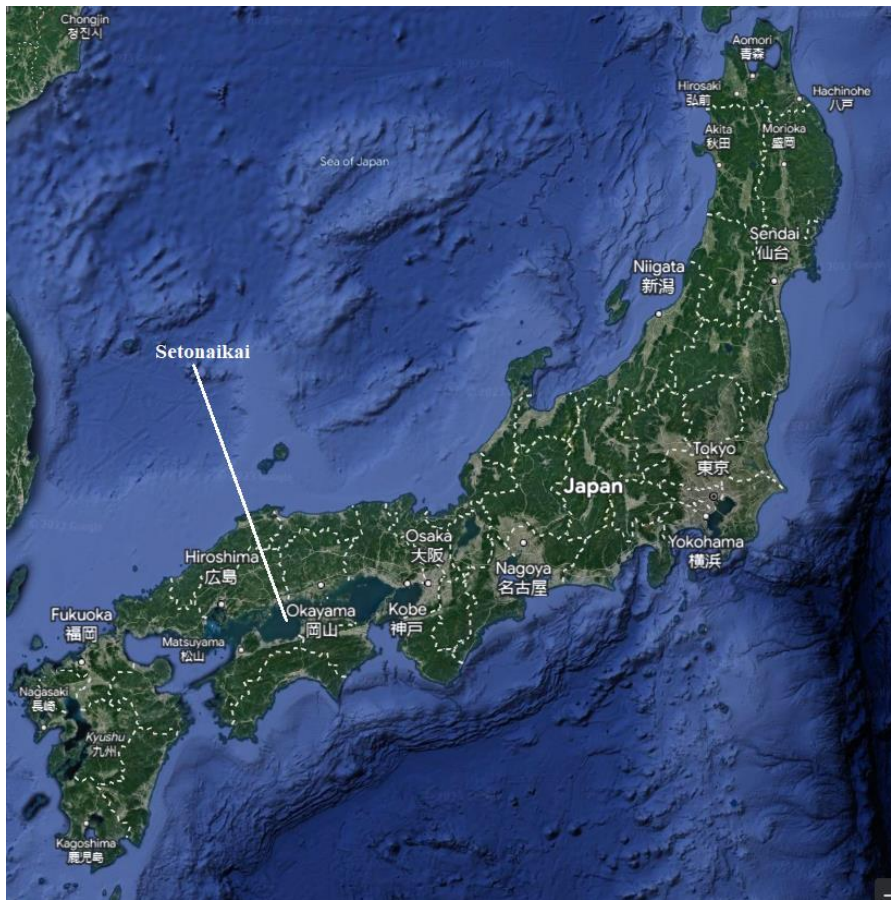
Source: Adapted from Google Earth (2015)

The Setonaikai region was, in ancient times, a vital transportation route that connected Nara, Kyoto, and Kyushu. Additionally, it was a major transportation route for trade with China (traded high-quality Chinese medicines, scents, porcelains, fabric, and books for Japanese sulphur, mercury, mother-of-pearls, fans lacquer work in gold and silver, and swords) and Korea (traded pottery, cotton thread, textiles and sulphur and copper from Japan) (Shively and McCullough 1999, 636; Sansom 1990, 180). The extensive coastal shipping area around Setouchi compensates for Japan's lack of navigable rivers (Dolan and Worden 1992, 74) for safe transportation.

In the past, the region became extensively exploited with the expansion of farmland, preferred by feudal lords called *daimyo,* since it resulted in an increase in feudal taxes and rice crops. After the Meiji Restoration, the government built many factories, thus starting the area's industrial development. They developed a coal mining business in Ube and mechanized cotton spinning factories in numerous towns. Machine and chemical works to support the military were built in Osaka and Tokyo, in addition to copper mining in Osaka. The Japanese Industrial Revolution began to spring to life around the Sino-Japanese War at the end of the 19th century, and they constructed a naval port in Kure (Kohno 1977, 447). Until the Second World War, the Setonaikai was responsible for most of Japan's salt production, but this changed when industrialization was prioritized after the war (Encyclopedia Britannica 2012). In 1957, Japan focused on improving infrastructure and engaging in heavy industrialization to maximize growth, improve national life, and full employment (Kosai 1987, 566).

With the heavy industrialization efforts instigated in the region, a series of significant pollution problems arose on different islands all along the Setonaikai. Moreover, with all the industrial activities around Setouchi, its air and waters darkened, as pollution spread among the islands. Yoshimi (2011) describes the situation in Setonaikai in precise and sombre detail:

> In the new industrial district, the harbour was dredged, and the earth and sand were used as landfill while the construction of dams, irrigation channels and roads completely altered the landscape. After full-scale operations got underway, asthma symptoms induced by pollution increased among local residents, and tens of thousands of fish were found floating belly up in the water, victims of cyanogen

and other chemicals contained in industrial waste. The fish that were caught retained a putrid smell no matter how they were cooked, making them unsaleable at market. The islands around Osaka were almost buried under the plastic and polystyrene waste that was washed ashore, and after the seas off Hiroshima became contaminated with cadmium, a huge number of tumorous gobies were discovered. (…) In the vigorous push for economic growth in Japan, the Seto Inland Sea area had been transformed into a sea of death (Yoshimi 2011, 240–41).

A few islands in the Setonaikai are located close to major mainland cities. The presence of several industrial sites, focused on refining, mining, chemical, shipbuilding, and salt production, attracted many workers to the islands during their prime. With the declining economy, closure of industrial sites and environmental problems brought by industrial waste disposal, the region, to present day, suffers from a low birth rate, an ageing population, and a loss of work opportunities for the people (Yagi 2010).

Naoshima, Teshima, Inujima, Megijima, and Ogijima islands, as well as others, face these problems. The loss of population owing to islanders migrating from the above-mentioned group of islands relates to the developmental path chosen by the region. The loss of inhabitants brought significant consequences to the islands, with the lack of human capital and infrastructure like schools being the most prominent ones. Naoshima island saw its population fluctuate from 7600 inhabitants in 1960 during the peak industrial period to 3071 inhabitants present today (Kagawa Prefectural Government 2020). As remarked by Funck and Chang (2018), most all remote islands in Japan are experiencing a decline in the number of inhabitants and Naoshima island follows the same path. The

authors observed that the differences in population number accompanied the fluctuations of the staff at Mitsubishi Materials.

Over the decades, population decline has been a significant problem that has escalated and brought a myriad of social, economic, cultural, and health challenges to Japan (Coulmas 2007; Thang 2013) and Asia (Eggleston and Tuljapurkar 2010). Not only are the islands in Setonaikai losing their population to migration, but there is also an issue of the ever-growing number of elderly islanders. Remote islands in Japan have high ageing rates among their population (Funck 2020, 178). For example, according to Kagawa Prefecture (2013), in 2013, the ageing rate in Naoshima's region was over 50%, with Ogijima island presenting an ageing rate of 68.5% in 2010.

Japan has been referred to as a rapid ageing society by many and for decades with Coulmas (2007, 4) stating that the discussion over ageing in Japan began as far as in the 1980s and remains a part of the public conversation to present day. On the one hand, the increase in the number of the elderly population in Japan can be interpreted by some of its positive outcomes, such as: first, the presence of a healthy low-fat diet and a good health care system guarantees that the elderly enjoy a healthy retirement; second, the elderly "can grow old in peace" and can leave their children a significant wealth when compared to other generations; and third, the long life expectancy can be interpreted as positively influenced by technological advances in health and hygiene with a national health insurance ensuring access to medical services at a low cost (McCargo 2013; Coulmas 2007).

On the other hand, the demographic changes brought by the ageing population has brought negative consequences such as the burdening of the health-care expenditures.

Physicians will have to treat a large number of patients over 65 years old. Hospital stay, care and discharge will have to be adjusted for the needs of the patients and health insurance needs will be affected by the raise in number of patients over 65 years old with raised costs and specified long-term treatments (Ikegami 2010). With the increase in age and the added necessity for health services, the remote islands ageing population are left with no choice other than to move to bigger cities in search of medical services adding one more layer to the loss of population in the small and remote islands.

However, there seems to be a recent trend in individuals interested in moving to rural areas. The 2014 White Paper, the Japanese Ministry of Land, Infrastructure, Transport and Tourism (MLIT) stated an increase in people's interest in relocating to rural areas compared to 2005, with figures growing from 17% to 32.7% for individuals in their thirties (Klien 2016, 97). According to Funck (2020), the "revival of the countryside" (*den'en kaiki*) has been a new trend in which municipalities and islands appeal not only to tourists but to new residents as well to move to the countryside. Since 2014, government policies have been dedicated to this phenomenon. However, as pointed out by the authors, this trend is not influential on a macro-level, and a strict rural society structure hinders how it disseminates.

1.1.2 Background of Naoshima, Teshima, Inujima, Megijima, and Ogijima Islands

a) Naoshima Island

Naoshima island belongs to Kagawa Prefecture and consists of Miyanoura District, Honmura District and Tsumu'ura District. The island has an area of 8.13 km^2; as of 2022, it had a population of 3,071 people, according to Kagawa Prefectural Government (2020a).

Between the 17th and late 19th centuries (Edo Period), Naoshima prospered financially and culturally. However, by the beginning of the 20th century, the island's fishing industry began to derail. The islanders then turned to the copper smelting industry to regain economic stability. Mitsubishi Materials contributed to the island's economic development in the past and is the leading industry on the island employing most of the population. Farmland has decreased significantly on the island, with most farming activity limited to home gardens (Kagawa Prefecture 2013, 6). Located in the northern part of the island, is the Mitsubishi Materials Corporation Naoshima Smelter and Refinery; the central part of the island holds the educational and administrative areas with schools and the town hall; in the southern part of the island, we can find the Benesse Art Site Naoshima and museums (Kagawa Prefecture 2013, 2).

b) Teshima Island

Teshima island is part of the town of Tonosho in the Shozu District and belongs to Kagawa Prefecture; and consists of five areas: Ieura, Suzuri, Karato, and Kou area. The island has an area of 14.5 km^2; has a population of approximately 760 people (Teshima

Community Centre 2022). The island possesses a variety of well-known products such as strawberries, olives, mandarins, lemons, *nori* (dried seaweed) and *somen* (thin white noodles). The rice fields, on the other hand, are the most recognizable and well-known produce having been cultivated on the island since ancient times (NPO Teshima Tourism Association 2018; NPO Teshima Tourism Association and Tonosho Town Office Commerce and Tourism Department 2019).

c) Inujima Island

Inujima island belongs to Okayama Prefecture and has an area of 0.54 km^2. The island has a long history of supplying granite stones to be used in the Edo Castle, Osaka Castle, and Okayama Castle. Starting from 1909, a copper refinery was established on the island. Since the closure of the refinery, the island has endured a drastic population decline from 5000 people at its peak to a population of 54 in 2010 (Okayama Prefecture 2013) and 47 inhabitants in 2015 (Benesse Art Site Naoshima 2019a).

d) Megijima Island

Megijima island belongs to Kagawa Prefecture. It is located 5.5 km north of Takamatsu Port. The island had a population of 136 people in 2015 (SanukiSetoShimaNet 2016), declining to 174 in 2010 from 212 in 2005 (Kagawa Prefecture 2013, 3). Currently, the island has 125 people (Kagawa Prefectural Government 2020a). As of 2010, 56.9% of residents worked in the primary industry, 3.1% worked in the secondary sector, and 40.0% of locals are employed in the tertiary industry (Kagawa Prefecture 2013, 6). The

island is known for its three to four meters of stone walls that run along the edge of the village and protect the houses from harsh weather. The island appears in the Japanese folklore Momotaro and Onigashima.

e) Ogijima Island

Ogijima island belongs to Kagawa Prefecture. It is located 10.1 km north of Takamatsu Port. Like most remote islands of Japan, the island experiences a decline in population number. For example, Ogijima went from 248 people in 2000 to 162 people in 2010 (Kagawa Prefecture 2013, 3) to 148 people in 2015 (SanukiSetoShimaNet 2016). Currently, the island has 132 people (Kagawa Prefectural Government 2020a). Most of the population are employed in the tertiary industry (Kagawa Prefecture 2013, 6).

1.1.3 Benesse Art Site Naoshima and Art Tourism in the Setonaikai

The islands are connected through art-related activities conducted out by Benesse Holdings, Inc. and Fukutake Foundation that fall under the umbrella of art tourism, a subcategory of cultural tourism. Arts tourism "refers to travel which is motivated by an interest in the performing and visual arts including opera, ballet, music and arts festivals" and that arts tourism benefits the image of a destination "making it a more attractive place to visit, live and work" (M. Smith, MacLeod, and Robertson 2010, 9–11).

The first art-related infrastructure built on the island was the Benesse House Museum, built in 1992, followed by a series of artworks and exhibitions set on Naoshima first and then spread to Inujima and Teshima islands. Benesse Art Site Naoshima began

operating in Inujima in 2008 with the opening of the Inujima Seirensho Art Museum. Later, it expanded to Teshima in 2010 with the start of the Teshima Art Museum (Benesse Art Site Naoshima 2013). Both museums are the main attractions of the respective islands. The tourism weaved into these islands is a cultural tourism subcategory that has garnered global enthusiasm and momentum in the past years in Setonaikai, especially for its overwhelming features in Naoshima, Teshima and Inujima islands.

Naoshima spent years developing small-scale art sites until the start of the Chichu Art Museum in 2004. The museum attracted a significant number of tourists after its opening. Setouchi Triennale further contributed to the increase in visitors to Naoshima and other islands involved in the art festival (Funck and Chang 2018).

The Setouchi Triennale art festival significantly boosts the islands' tourism. The festival, which started in 2010, revived the traditions of each island that participated in its first season. The islands that took place in the first edition of the international art festival were the following: Naoshima, Teshima, Megijima, Ogijima, Shodoshima, Oshima, and Inujima (Setouchi Triennale Executive Committee n.d.). The year marked the beginning of the involvement of Megijima and Ogijima in the art tourism industry in the region. The two islands are part of the Setouchi Triennale and have art pieces installed on the islands yearly.

According to Funck and Chang (2018) and Qu (2020; 2019), the Benesse Art Site Naoshima and Setouchi Triennale have served as triggers that attract new migrants to the islands in the region and have served to promote community revitalization. Setouchi Triennale Executive Committee (2017) General Report for Setouchi Triennale 2016 lists a series of projects aimed at local revitalization initiatives between islanders, organizers

of the art festival and artists taking part in Setouchi Triennale 2016. The report points out that several families with school-aged children relocated to Ogijima since the art festival's first edition and prompted the reopening of the nursery school in May 2016. It details activities conducted by islanders to welcome visitors to the different islands involved in the art festival: Teshima islanders served local jelly, Naoshima islanders set up rest areas, Megijima islanders acted as guides for some art sites, and Inujima islanders received visitors with music and traditional sweets made by the local women's association (Setouchi Triennale Executive Committee 2017, 22–26).

Qu (2020) stated that first-time visitors to Teshima are attracted because of the art but repeat visitors return for the island life and culture apart from the art. They stay longer in local businesses and try to experience the "island culture, communicating with nature by visiting the mountain and coastal locations" (2020, 261).

The region's art tourism industry has significantly changed the islands' socio-economic development by connecting the islands in the region. As revealed in Évora (2022), the art tourism activities were fundamental in reconnecting Naoshima, Teshima, and Inujima islands with the new maritime route that originated because of the Benesse Art Site Naoshima.

Figure 1: Connection Between Islands and Surrounding Ports
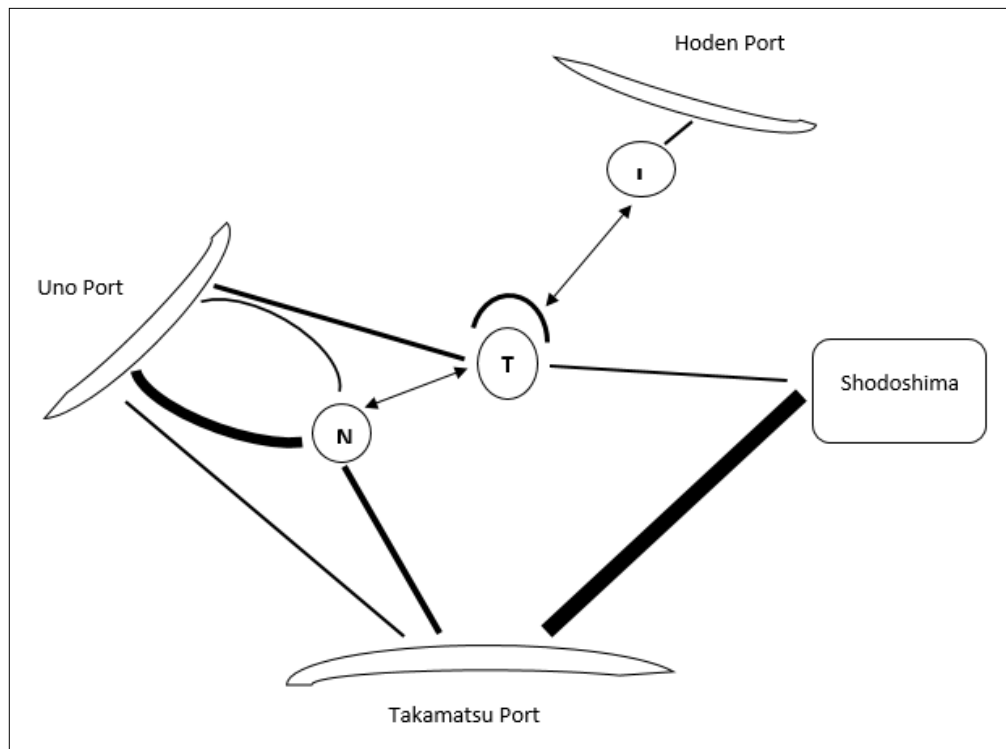
Source: Adapted from Évora (2022)

N – Naoshima Island; **T –** Teshima Island; **I** – Inujima Island

In Figure 1, the thickness of the lines connecting the areas shows the frequency of the connecting ferry/high-speed passenger boat services between them: the thicker the line, the more frequent the connection. Connections between the islands and the nearest mainland ports appear to be more significant, with the connections between Naoshima, Teshima, and Inujima being the fewest in the region. Moreover, the boat services between islands are also used by visitors as part of the art tourism circuit (Évora 2022, 110).

The tourism Industry has contributed to making locals' lives more manageable with the addition of a convenience store and ATM that Naoshima island did not have beforehand and longer working hours for supermarkets. The art-related activities increase the number of visitors to the islands, increasing the region's awareness. As a result,

Naoshima, Teshima and Inujima have experienced a new influx of migrants planning to settle on the islands (Évora 2022).

Islands struggle for diversity in their economics with the limited options and resources they are presented with. At the same time, the tourism industry has become the basis of many island economies due to how easy it can attract visitors (Lockhart 1997, 7). While it is true that the industry has brought significant changes to the islanders' livelihoods and the region, the past study showed that islanders do not think that art tourism should be the only developmental strategy for the islands (Évora 2022).

With a predominance in Exit, lack of human capital as a result of population decline and islanders' migration, common feature shared by all five islands involved in the study, it became necessary to relate the Exit, Voice, and Loyalty (EVL) model to the islands' situation.

1.2 Hirschman's Exit, Voice, and Loyalty Model

Hirschman begins *Exit, Voice, and Loyalty: Responses to Decline in Firms, Organizations, and States* (1970) by stating that "under any economic, social, or political system, individuals, business firms, and organizations, in general, are subject to lapses from efficient, rational, law-abiding, virtuous, or otherwise functional behavior" (1970, 1). Being that true, what options do individuals have when encountering such "lapses" on the firms or organizations that they belong to. The author responded to the statement by arguing that when presented with "deterioration" individuals have two options of action, choose between Exit (leave the relationship) and Voice (manifest displease through

communication to improve the situation). The author further stated that not only do customers and members have two options to quality decline, but that the two can be influenced by the degree of Loyalty bestowed on the firm or organization that one belongs to.

Exit and Voice were presented as responses to quality decline to correct what was wrong and improve the firm or organization. However, these two options cannot be seen as the solution to the island's problems, nor can they explain the situation the islands find themselves in now. The Exit of islanders did not benefit the islands in changing their socio-economic situation. Instead, we have five islands with a significantly low population and in need of human capital and infrastructures. As stated by Connell (2018), migration in island societies became part of islands' characteristics with the flow of people between islands and mainland cities, sometimes challenging the island's future. The population decline in Naoshima, Teshima, Inujima, Megijima, and Ogijima islands is aggravated by the advanced age of most of their inhabitants.

Although the second option as a response to the quality decline, Voice, had a strong and positive effect in Teshima against the illegal industrial waste disposal forced on the island. Voice is not significant now, with an apparent necessity for some additional help in making the islanders' voices heard across the five islands.

1.3 Research Questions and Objectives

The main research question aimed to be answered by the present study is: *Can Entry, Connectivity, and Hospitality stimulate self-reliance through Morabeza in island*

networks? This study believes in islands' rights to autonomy in leading their development. Therefore, enhancing Connectivity and Collectivity on the island networks will serve as a mechanism to allow islanders to exchange their experiences and ideas and build a foundation for mutual development.

This study plans to answer three sub-questions:

a) Can the loss of population be reversed in small islands?

b) How can *Morabeza* facilitate Connectivity and Collectivity towards insiders and outsiders in small islands?

c) How can *Morabeza* facilitate openness towards outsiders and insiders to stimulate Entry into small islands?

Upon answering the sub-questions mentioned above, this study plans to achieve the following objectives:

- Examine how the effect of Exit can be reversed in island networks.

- Understand the relationship between islanders.

- Understand ties between islanders and non-islanders.

- Explore how *Morabeza* can enhance Entry into island networks.

- Explore how *Morabeza* can improve Connectivity and Collectivity.

- Expand study on the art tourism network in Setonaikai by giving Voice to islander's narratives.

1.4 Theoretical Framework

Following the results from the Évora (2022), field observations of the islands, the analysis of the Exit, Voice, and Loyalty (EVL) model, and taking into consideration the research question trying to be answered by this study, I elaborate on the theoretical framework to be used throughout the research and illustrate it in Figure 2.

The EVL Model treated the relationship between actors as a vertical action where the actors had a bottom-up influence. The two options, Exit and Voice, are alternatives to one another, while Loyalty could stimulate the creation of Voice and hamper the Exit option by delaying it. Hirschman has regarded Voice as the optimal option for countering the decline in satisfaction with a firm or organization. However, how the argument was put forward generated a series of critiques regarding its effectiveness and relation to Exit.

Figure 2: Dissertation's Theoretical Framework
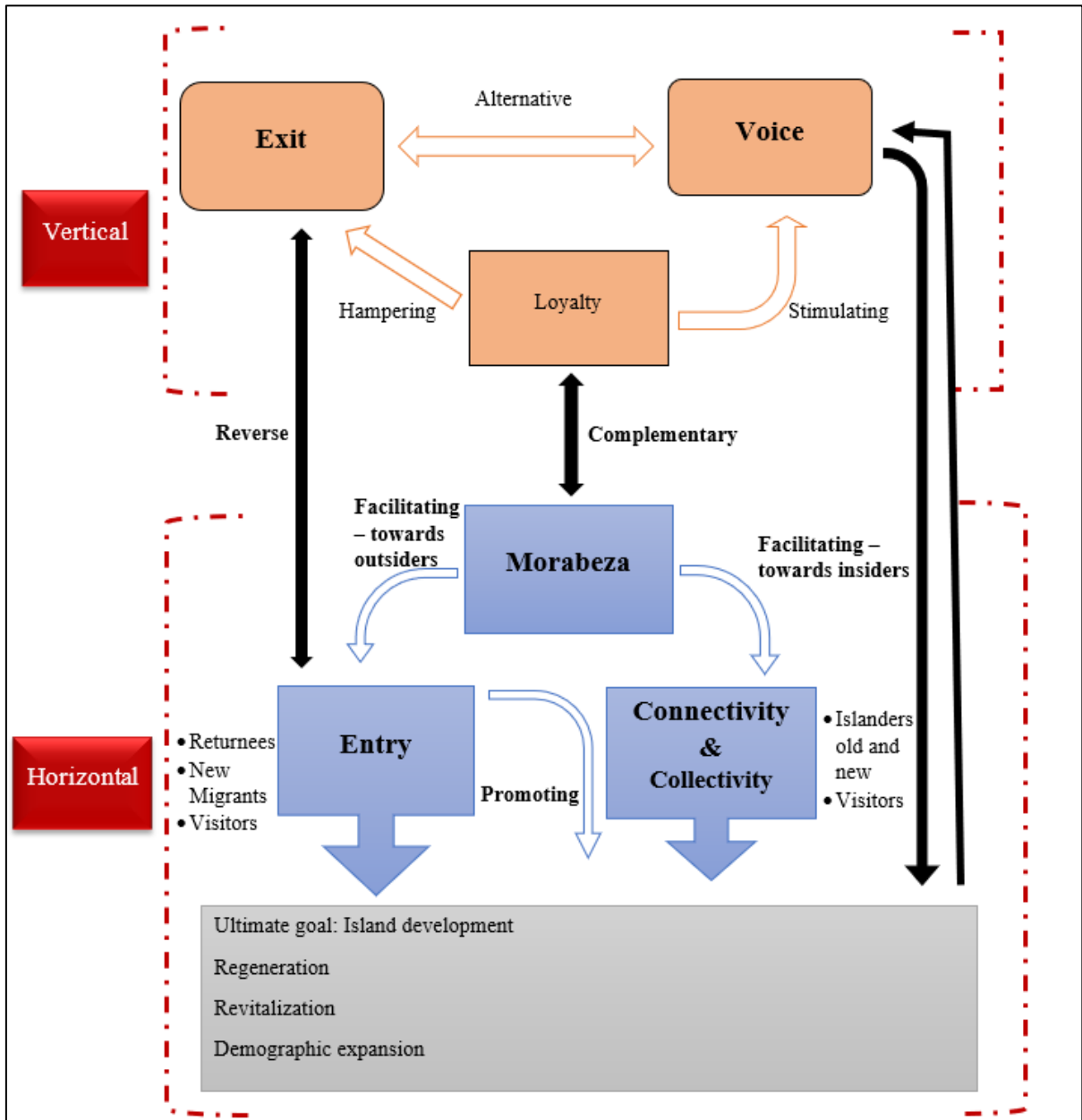
Source: Created by author (2022)

In this research, I revise the EVL model and instead offer Entry, Connectivity and *Morabeza* as elements aimed at enhancing island Voice formation for self-reliance, demographic expansion, and regeneration of Naoshima, Teshima, Inujima, Megijima, and

Ogijima islands by countering the effects of Exit and a low presence of Voice on the islands.

The Exit process is reversed with the incoming wave of islanders that returned due to the art tourism industry, the wake of migration that the art-related activities stirred, and the visitors that passed through the islands. After dividing the respondents into three groups (Natives islanders, New Migrants, and Returnees), I identify the reasons for Exit offered by the respondents. Firstly, islanders left looking for further education opportunities since the islands lack the presence of junior and senior high schools or, in the case of Inujima island, elementary schools. Secondly, islanders left looking for better job opportunities since all the islands have limited work opportunities with the decrease of jobs in agriculture and fishing industries. Finally, some islanders pointed out that some left the islands for the lack of entertainment options, especially for the younger generation.

Entry into the islands counters the depopulation and ageing that was taking place in all five islands. Entry is then used as a response to the Exit option with the wave of new migrants relocating to the islands, islanders returning to their islands, or establishing relationships with visitors that pass through their ports. Additionally, over time, Entry promotes Connectivity and Collectivity between islanders and non-islanders. Connectivity is offered as an alternative in neutralizing the adverse effects that "too much voice" can have in conveying dissatisfaction. Connectivity stems from the inter-island connectivity revived between the islands, with the recent art tourism activities taking advantage of their proximity (this element, along with Collectivity, is put forward during the discussion in Chapter 5). The islands belong to a web of human interaction formed between the islanders of each island and visitors passing through its ports (Évora 2022).

This study uses *Morabeza* hospitality as the third element for our theoretical framework to nurture Loyalty to the islands and regulate the relationship between original members, new members, and non-members. Through *Morabeza,* the boundaries between the host and the guest can be blurred. Islanders, for their propensity and possibility of adventuring beyond the island shore, having done it or knowing someone who did it, may have developed a readiness and friendly way to receive and accommodate a neighbour, someone from a different island or even a different country. The concept illustrates the necessity to coexist with others, convert strangers into friends, welcoming others with warmth and respect while closing any barriers between people. The close community relationship between islanders and their interaction with visitors can attract new islanders in a process that benefits the island's regeneration. Thus, *Morabeza* is complemented by Loyalty and works towards facilitating Entry while at the same time promoting Connectivity and Collectivity between islanders old and new, and visitors.

These three elements stem from the need to identify the internal dynamics of island life, best practices, and difficulties for enhancing Voice formation in island networks needed to stimulate islanders' self-reliance. With Entry, Connectivity, and *Morabeza* as the new elements added to the relationship between actors, their actions are developed in a horizontal position.

1.5 Methodology

1.5.1 Data Sources

The primary data for this study consists of narratives of interviews conducted on the islands of Naoshima, Teshima, Inujima, Megijima, and Ogijima. A total of 21 interviews were conducted: six in Naoshima, six in Teshima, three in Inujima, four in Megijima, and two in Ogijima. The interviews were conducted from April 14 to 23, 2022. The data gleaned from these exchanges were supplemented with the researcher's observations while on the islands and three interviews conducted in Naoshima on November 17, 2019, in Inujima on December 8, 2019, and in Takamatsu City on November 14, 2019. All the interviews were recorded with the interviewee's permission and later transcribed and compiled to better understand and analyse the information provided by the respondents. The interviews were confidential, and the names were changed to preserve the identity of the interviewees. Additionally, the study used official census information on the five islands being studied.

The secondary data sources consist of official Island documentation, websites, development plans, and reports related to Naoshima, Teshima, Inujima, Megijima, and Ogijima islands produced by Kagawa Prefecture, Okayama Prefecture, Ministry of Land, Infrastructure, Transport and Tourism of Japan, and data and analysis presented in these documents. Furthermore, the study also consulted books, scholarly journals and papers revolving around the concepts analysed during the research. In addition, this study used websites and promotional brochures related to the Benesse Art Site Naoshima, Setouchi Triennale, and Tourism Associations from the different islands.

It is worth mentioning the difficulty in securing respondents for the interviews. There was a clear difference in the island's atmosphere between 2019 and 2021 (observation field trip) and April 2022. With each trip, islands such as Inujima appeared to be more abandoned. The onset of the COVID-19 pandemic disrupted the islands' activities and made it significantly difficult for islanders to be approached by outsiders.

In addition to the interviews collected on the islands, the researcher used observation notes from the field trips to determine changes observed on the islands and the relationship between islanders, new migrants, and visitors.

1.5.2 Interview Technique

In collecting narratives, the study used semi-structured interviews[4] prepared by combining questions informed by theory with information transmitted to the researcher by the interviewees, using personal narratives of lived experiences (Fontana and Frey 2003; Galleta 2013). The islanders who were interviewed were randomly chosen using the snowballing sample technique. This method served to acquire the necessary information and appropriately analyse the lived experiences of the interviewees.

All interviews, apart from one conducted in English, were conducted in Japanese, and recorded in their entirety with the person's permission. Since the researcher is not fluent in Japanese, a translator and interpreter was enlisted to assist with the interviews and the complete transcriptions. While on the islands, we approached residents,

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[4] For an example of questions asked during the interviews, see Appendix A section at the end of this study.

introduced ourselves and explained the motive for our visit and the intent for conducting interviews. Upon inquiring if the interview could be recorded, we then conversed with each person. The interviews followed some of the interview techniques referred to by Yow (2016) from 1) how to prepare for the interview, 2) initiating the interview, lessening any tension that the interviewee could experience, 3) building rapport during the interview to avoid misunderstandings and show that we were following what was being said, 4) to clearly state when we were moving from one question to another while giving the interviewee enough time to add additional information before moving one, 5) to ask for clarification of specific terms or events, 6) and lastly to observe verbal and non-verbal cues given during the interview.

Guided by stylised research methods such as semi-structured interview, I improvised my own way of conducting interviews adapting to local conditions. I approached interviewees differently given that it is necessary to experience different ways of approaching the interview since each individual's answers differ depending on their personality and experience (Terkel and Parker 2016, 147). For example, some interviewees answered questions in depth, while others showed no interest in answering certain questions, even with some probing.

The interviews followed a non-formal environment, with some interviewees offering drinks, snacks, and tours through their neighbourhoods, leading in some cases to other residents being introduced as possible interviewees. This was mainly observed in Megijima, Ogijima and Teshima islands, where, when explaining the difficulty in conducting interviews, some islanders took it upon themselves to recruit volunteers for the study and introduced other islanders to us.

Studying islands and islanders on their own terms and in their own spaces enriches the results of the research by presenting their narratives regarding their island experiences and expectations. As noted by Fontana and Frey (2005) "to learn about people, we must treat them as people, and they will work with us to help us create accounts of their lives" (2005, 722).

1.5.3 Participants Description

Of the total number of interviewees, 11 were female, and ten were male, with them being either retired, self-employed, employed by others, or a part-timer. The age of the interviewees varied slightly from island to island, but most were over 60 years old as illustrated in Figure 3.

Ogijima island has the highest average age, 72 years old, followed by Inujima island at 66 years old. The islanders' age attests to the difficulty of conducting interviews in Ogijima and Inujima since the islanders avoided contact with people coming to the islands.
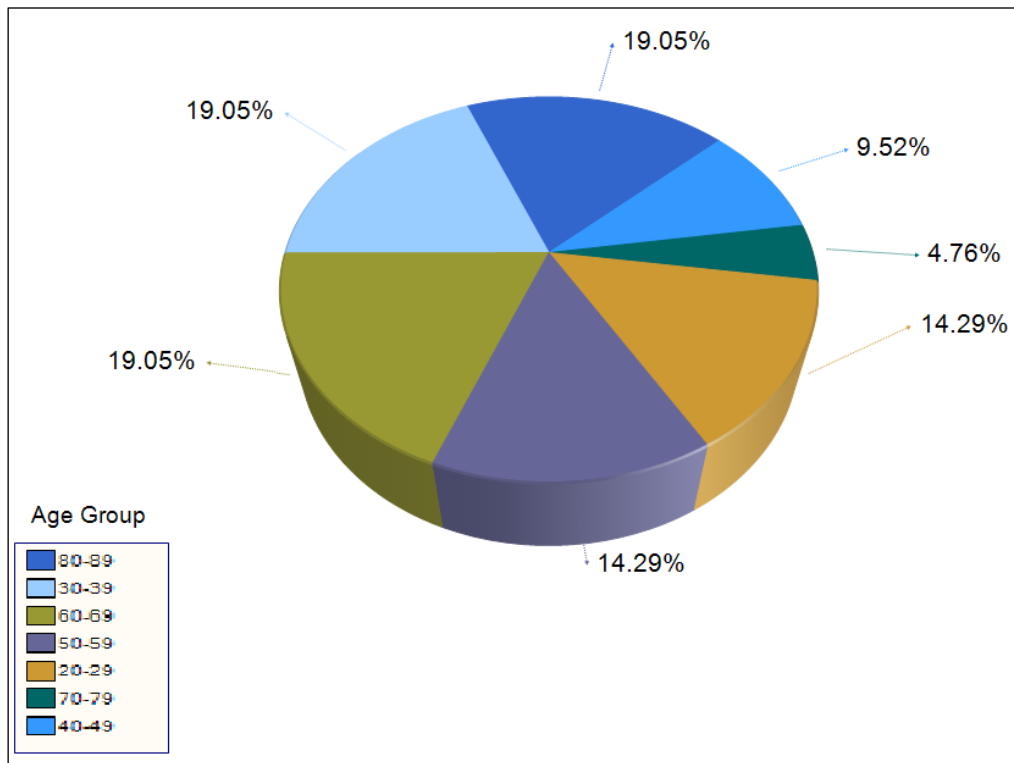
The respondents who participated in the interviews were divided into three groups depending on their relationship to Naoshima, Teshima, Inujima, Megijima, and Ogijima islands considering the Entry element applied in the study.

They were classified into Native islanders, Returnees (islanders), and New Migrants. Natives are islanders born on the islands or those who moved to live on the islands decades ago. Of the interviewees, two islanders were born and raised on their island and had never left to live elsewhere. Five islanders relocated to Naoshima, Megijima, Inujima, and Teshima islands decades ago. Returnees are islanders (natives or not) who leave the islands for one reason or another and later return to live on their islands. The study identified nine islanders who had left their islands to live in Osaka, Kyoto,

Okayama, and Tokushima, and even adventuring abroad to the United States of America and later returned to their respective islands.

Finally, new migrants in this study are those who moved to the islands after 2010 (after the spread of Benesse Art Site Naoshima to all the five islands covered in this research) and settled in one of the islands. From 21 interviewees, the study identified five new migrants that moved to Inujima, Megijima, Naoshima, Ogijima, and Teshima between 2011 and 2022. Apart from those directly interviewed in this study, other new migrants were identified by the locals interviewed.

1.6 Structure and Outline of Dissertation

This dissertation consists of three main parts. The first part consists of discussions on the hospitality on islands, the Entry, Voice and Loyalty model, and the concepts of island tourism and art tourism. Exit from the islands and the consequences brought by depopulation are explored. The second part of the dissertation analyses the impact of art tourism in the Setonaikai, Entry of new residents and visitors, as well as the return of islanders to their islands, and the inter-island connections created from the art-related activities organized by the actors involved in the Benesse Art Site Naoshima and Setouchi Triennale. The Connectivity and Collectivity elements of the dissertation are then presented and discussed. The third and final part of this dissertation presents the island hospitality observed on the islands, discusses *Morabeza* on the network of islands and its relation to Entry, Connectivity, Collectivity, and the future of the islands.

The scope and the outline of the chapters in this dissertation are presented as follows:

Chapter 1: Setting the Scene: The Art of Welcoming Others – The Island Lure and *Morabeza* – the first chapter of the dissertation begins by introducing the island as a concept to acclimate the reader to this research's study area. It follows by discussing the concept of hospitality, followed by introducing the central figure for the theoretical framework of this research, *Morabeza* or the essence of island hospitality. The chapter introduces where the Setonaikai area is and briefly presents the islands to be studied: Naoshima, Teshima, Inujima, Megijima, and Ogijima islands. Next, the chapter touches on population decline and ageing in Japan, particularly Setonaikai, followed by the relationship and consequences of the art tourism industry operated by Benesse Art Site Naoshima in the islands analysed in previous research. The chapter introduces the rationale behind the theoretical framework created by the author of this study.

Chapter 2: Exit, Voice, and Loyalty Model – the second chapter of the dissertation introduces the Exit, Voice, and Loyalty Model created by Albert Hirschman upon publishing *Exit, Voice, and Loyalty: Responses to Decline in Firms, Organizations, and States* in 1970. The chapter summarizes the model's elements and the criticism related to its framework and description. Afterwards, the chapter uses the theoretical concept of Exit and Voice to analyse the current situation in the studied islands. The adverse effects of excessive Exit and difficulty maintaining Voice in present island societies.

Chapter 3: Island Tourism and Art Tourism Traits in the Setonaikai Islands – the third chapter of the dissertation conceptualizes the concepts of island tourism, its consequences on island societies and the socio-economic impact of tourism on islands.

Furthermore, the chapter further defines and explores the art tourism concept used in the islands by Benesse Art Site Naoshima. Moreover, the chapter introduces the Setouchi Triennale as an art festival organized in Setonaikai every three years and spread to over 12 locations. Afterwards, the chapter presents the Entry process of islander returnees, new migrants, and tourists to the islands and how it affects the local communities.

Chapter 4: The Setonaikai, Islands, and Art Tourism: Observing Entry from the Ground – the fourth chapter of the dissertation presents the development of the Benesse Art Site Naoshima in Naoshima, Teshima and Inujima islands and the involvement with Setouchi Triennale along with Megijima and Ogijima islands. It then traces the historical developmental path of the islands and their relation to the present art tourism and festival tourism found on the islands and islander's expectations.

Chapter 5: "The Sea We Cross; From Boats We Wave": Connectivity and Collectivity Among the Islands and Islanders – the fifth chapter of the dissertation describes and analyses the relationships brought about by art tourism in the region and the changes experienced in Naoshima, Teshima, Inujima, Megijima, and Ogijima islands. It also analyses the inter-island connectivity present in the islands, the Collectivity among islanders and the islands and explores the islands' current situation through the islanders' narratives.

Chapter 6: "I Welcome You and I Welcome Others": *Morabeza* in the Setonaikai? – the sixth chapter of the dissertation describes and analyses the interview narratives collected in Naoshima, Teshima, Inujima, Megijima, and Ogijima islands and evaluates instances of *Morabeza* that are present on the islands. Considering the interview narratives, the chapter presents instances of *Morabeza* between islanders, *Morabeza*

between islanders and new migrants, and *Morabeza* towards visitors to the islands. Moreover, the chapter explores how island hospitality can promote Entry, Connectivity and Collectivity to the islands.

Chapter 7: Conclusion: From Strangers to Friends – the seventh and last chapter of the dissertation presents the key results and main conclusions from the study on whether the three elements put forward in this study could benefit the islands' demographic expansion, islander and non-islander relationship, island regeneration, and importance to islander's self-reliance.

Chapter 2: Exit, Voice, and Loyalty Model

Albert O. Hirschman introduces in *Exit, Voice, and Loyalty: Responses to Decline in Firms, Organizations, and States* (1970) two possible responses to a quality decline in a firm or organization: Exit and Voice, given that according to the author, the "performance of a firm or an organization is assumed to be subject to deterioration for unspecified, random causes which are neither so compelling nor so durable as to prevent a return to previous performance" (Hirschman 1970, 4).

The book came to garner incredible influence from its publication until today, perhaps because the author took two simple behavioural options and applied them in a new framework that presents itself as being more complex the more it is analysed. Furthermore, the author stated that not only do customers and members have two options to a firm's deterioration – Exit and Voice – but that the two can be influenced by the degree of Loyalty bestowed on the firm or organization that they belong to. Loyalty is more often than not confused as a third option for deterioration response, as noted by John (2017, 523). However, Loyalty is not a third option and should not be treated as such. One does not choose to Exit, Voice or be loyal to a firm or organization. Instead, Loyalty is used to strengthen Voice and hamper Exit.

This chapter describes the Exit, Voice, and Loyalty Model (EVL) created by Hirschman. It also presents the main criticisms aimed at the framework and its discourse and shares the variety of fields that have used the model in their analysis or have added elements to the framework.

2.1 Exit

Exit is defined as a response to a firm or organization's deterioration, and it takes form when "some customers stop buying the firm's products or members leave the organization" resulting in "revenues drop, membership declines, and management is impelled to search for ways and means to correct whatever faults led to exit" (Hirschman 1970, 4).

The Exit option is seen as a 'widely' acceptable and powerful course of action since it is supposed to inflict revenue losses and force management to act. As such, Exit is seen as one of the virtues of the "free enterprise system". However, the modus operandi in which Exit operates is under-researched, according to Hirschman (1970). The author proposed a deeper analysis of the inner workings of the Exit option and differentiated between the two elements. First, the lower the quality of a product, the lesser it is bought. Therefore, in this case, Exit equals revenue losses. Second, "upon finding out about customer desertion, management undertakes to repair its failings" (Hirschman 1970, 23). Management reacts in the function of loss in sales. The bigger the loss, the quicker something must be done to correct the error that started the revenue loss.

Hirschman hypothesized that demand elasticity determines whether there would be a big or a small Exit from a firm. The more demand for a product when quality is decreasing, the more Exit of customers a firm might have. If demand is inelastic, then the Exit will be small, and there will be quite a small revenue loss, which will not grab management's attention to the situation. On the other hand, if demand is very elastic, then there will be immoderate Exit, making the revenue losses big enough to destroy the firm

without giving the management time to locate the problem. Therefore, the quality elasticity of demand should be "neither very large nor very small" (Hirschman 1970, 24).

Another point to take into consideration when using Exit as a mechanism for recuperation from performance lapses is that a firm needs to have a mixture of *alert*[5] and *inert*[6] customers. Alert customers give feedback to management, while inert customers provide the time and dollar cushion necessary to enact changes. Some customers must remain "unaware of, or unperturbed by, quality decline." If customers Exit all at once, management would not have the time nor the economic tools to bring the firm back to its potential (Hirschman 1970, 24–25).

Hirschman (1970) adds, however, that Exit could fail to cause revenue losses "*if the firm acquired new customers as it loses the old ones*[7]" (Hirschman 1970, 26). If there is a uniform quality decline among all firms of an industry, they would be "exchanging" customers between them, since those who Exit one firm would go to the competition. The author calls this Competitive Collusive Behaviour. Exit then becomes ineffective in these circumstances since the management does not realize that there is something afoot.

Another possibility is a new product that is not yet perfect but that is sold by other firms. When flaws appear in the product, the customer would consider switching to the same product from the competition while seeking the perfect one. All the firms have the same quality problem, but they are not aware that their customers are being substituted by the ones from the competition. The more producers of the same product, the more competition and pressure on firms to look for solutions to crises that may arise.

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[5] Emphasis from the original text.
[6] Emphasis from the original text.
[7] Emphasis from the original text.

Competing firms give the illusion that "the grass is always greener on the other side of the fence," that is, it is possible to avoid a defective product by buying from the competition. In a monopolized market, customers would learn to live with imperfection and "seek happiness elsewhere" (Hirschman 1970, 27).

2.2 Voice

Following the discussion on Exit, Hirschman presents the second option for firms or organizations' deterioration, the option to Voice. Voice is defined by Hirschman as:

> any attempt at all to change, rather than to escape from, an objectionable state of affairs, whether through individual or collective petition to the management directly in charge, through appeal to a higher authority with the intention of forcing a change in management, or through various types of actions and protests, including those that are meant to mobilize public opinion (Hirschman 1970, 30).

The Voice option presented is thus rich in details and much more desirable for a firm or organization than Exit since the members will act to change the dissatisfaction while remaining within. The author attempts to bring into the economic debate the power of Voice, which until the moment was mainly discussed among political scientists. Although, political scientists studied the situation with focus on circumstances where the only alternative to Voice was "acquiescence or indifference" (Hirschman 1970, 31).

However, even with the virtues of Voice, if done in excess, it could risk a firm's recovery if those discontent with deterioration harass management with their protests. According to the author, the case was more likely to happen with politics rather than

economics since it was common to think that the more "active, alert, and voiced" people were the better for democracy.

Nonetheless, some studies showed that people had long periods of political apathy. Since the democratic system seemed to survive even with political apathy, it showed that the relationship between the political activism of citizens and stable democracy were more complex than initially thought. To tackle this misconception and create a balance, Hirschman argued that there needs to be a mixture of alert and inert citizens or an "alternation of involvement and withdrawal" for the option to be effective in correcting deterioration (Hirschman 1970, 32). Voice alerts management to failings, but it must give time for management, old or new, to respond to pressures to fix the identified problem.

Voice is used when the Exit option is unavailable. This might be the case in social organizations like the family, the state, or the church. In the economic sphere, it should be possible to observe the Voice option interacting with the Exit option because of the mixture of monopolistic and competitive elements of the market. In this case, customers would observe the deterioration of a product and declining sales but choose not to Exit, they instead choose to Voice their unhappiness about the quality decline. Voice can then be viewed as a residual of Exit. Those who stay are candidates to Voice and as opportunities to Exit decline, the role of Voice increases. With Exit unavailable, Voice carries all the responsibility of alerting management to problems (Hirschman 1970, 34). Voice is then a complement to Exit and not a substitute with the possibility of Voice having a destructive effect being lessened by the combination to Exit (Hirschman 1970, 36).

In some cases, Voice can be seen as an alternative to Exit if customers are convinced that Voice will be effective in addressing quality problems and may then postpone Exit and choose Voice as the dominant reaction mode. Therefore, Exit can depend on the ability or willingness of customers to choose the Voice option. It is more likely that customers will choose to Voice dissatisfaction if deterioration happens gradually. In some cases, Exit will be the *last resort*[8] in case Voice fails to bring any change. Voice can then be a substitute for Exit as well as its complement. Hirschman then ponders on what circumstances Voice would be preferred over Exit. To this he identified four circumstances:

- When customers (or members) feel that they can do something to change the problem in quality and only by remaining in the firm can they exert their influence.

- When customers (or members) hope that the complaints made by others coupled with their Loyalty (of remaining in the firm), will improve the situation.

- When customers (or members) expect the cost of changing to another product (or organization) would eventually change their options and force them back.

- When customers (or members) choose to remain because of their "loyalty" toward the firm (or organization). They either stay and try to use their Voice to get through to management to address the quality problems or wait and suffer in silence hoping that something will be done (Hirschman 1970, 37–38).

The cost must be also discussed not only as the cost of releasing the Exit option but as the direct cost of Voice as well. The direct cost of Voice comes forth when customers or members spend time and money in an effort to produce changes in the policies or

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[8] Emphasis from the original text.

practices of the firm or organization that they are engaged with. According to Hirschman, Voice is more costly than Exit because the bigger the number of goods and services that a customer purchases the less, he is willing to use Voice since his influence decreases. Because of this, Voice has more influence in organizations in which a person is a member than in a firm where he buys products.

The type of product purchased can influence whether Exit or Voice is used, for example, if the product is inexpensive and nondurable, the customer may just change to another product. However, if the product is expensive and durable, then the customer might resort to Voice instead of Exit. The management is propelled to pay attention to the customers complaints because they can still retain the patron and "word-of-mouth propaganda" is extremely powerful for standardized goods (Hirschman 1970, 41).

Hirschman outlines that, customers may be influenced by past experiences with the cost and effectiveness of Voice and choose the Exit option when they would possibly gain more by choosing Voice instead. The possibility of Exit can "*atrophy the development of the art of voice*[9]", or in other words, Exit requires a "clearcut either-or decision" while Voice is an "*art*[10] constantly evolving in new directions" (Hirschman 1970, 43).

2.3 Loyalty

Hirschman (1970) warns that if the Exit option is present, the probability of people choosing the Voice option effectively decreases. Voice only plays a serious role in

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[9] Emphasis from the original text.
[10] Emphasis from the original text.

organizations when there is virtually no Exit option. This can be the case for organizations where the Exit option is "ordinarily unthinkable": family, tribe, church, and state. Examples of organizations that rely heavily on Exit and little on Voice are competitive business enterprises. The author adds that in organizations where Exit is not possible, they use expulsion or excommunication to deal with members. However, this can be used as a Voice deterrence in some cases, "Expulsion can be interpreted as an instrument – one of many – which "management" uses in these organizations to restrict resort to voice by members" (Hirschman 1970, 76).

Loyalty is then introduced to further the coexistence between Exit and Voice and stimulate the latter. The author claims that "clearly the presence of loyalty makes exit less likely" and that it gives "more scope to voice" (Hirschman 1970, 77). There are two possibilities for which Exit was possible, but members chose Voice instead of leaving: 1) the extent to which the members or customers were willing to trade off the certainty of Exit against the uncertainty of an improvement on the product (they know that they can always Exit, so they stay and wait to see if the problem will be fixed or not); 2) the evaluation that the members or customer has of their influence in the organization (how much they think they can change with their Voice by staying in the organization and exerting their influence).

The choice of opting for Voice instead of Exit was due to Loyalty since the prospect of Voice "increases with the degree of loyalty." However, he adds that both factors are not independent, a member or customer with an attachment to a product or an organization will look for ways to increase his influence if he thinks the organizations 'needs to go back on track'; on the other hand, a member who has or thinks he has influence in an

organization and believes he can get it "back on track" will develop a strong sense of attachment to the organization. Although a member can stay loyal and not raise their Voice while staying in the organization, they do so expecting that someone would speak or that something will improve the situation (Hirschman 1970, 78).

Loyalty deters Exit but at the same time, the existence of Loyalty is dependent on the possibility of Exit. The possibility that a member or customer can choose to Exit, is used as a bargaining power against a firm or organization. The effectiveness of Voice is strengthened with the "*threat* of *exit*[11]" either explicitly or by making all the parts well aware of its possibility. If there is a lack of Loyalty, Exit becomes practically costless apart from the cost of collecting information on a possible substitute product or organization. Additionally, with the absence of Loyalty, members are not aware of how much influence they have on an organization and as such, the Exit option is selected in silence. The threat of Exit is usually carried out by loyalists, members "who leave no stone unturned" looking for means to correct deterioration (Hirschman 1970, 82–83).

2.4 Criticism and Revisions

The EVL model has gained a considerable number of adaptations and usage by researchers from different fields since the book's publication. Over the years, Hirschman provided further discussions on the EVL model and addressed some of the criticisms addressed to his work (Hirschman 1974; 1978; 1981; 1992; 1993), but the author contradicts himself in some instances and changes arguments in others. The *Employee*

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[11] Emphasis from the original text.

Responsibilities and Rights Journal in 1992 dedicated a special issue to discussing Hirschman's model with scholars providing different bodies of work analysing and criticizing the EVL model and dissatisfaction with organizations (Saunders 1992). More recently the model has been thoroughly described and a detailed account of the literature on the EVL model was compiled by John (2017).

Loyalty has been the most criticized aspect of the EVL framework, starting with Barry (1974) who said that, "Hirschman succeeds in the use of this simple framework in drawing together a number of apparently disparate phenomena" (1974, 82), proceeding to dissect all the arguments used by Hirschman. According to Barry (1974, 95), Loyalty is an "*ad hoc* equation-filler" included with the sole purpose of making the equation "work" as it is "not a significant phenomenon", and Hirschman contradicts himself during his argument for Loyalty with it being too broad for use (1974, 99).

 Gehlbach (2006) criticized most of the argumentation put forward for Loyalty because, according to him, Loyalty results depend on its nature and Hirschman failed to differentiate and conceptualize the matter. Other authors who criticized Loyalty for being too broad and inoperable were Birch (1975); Laver (1975); Withey and Cooper (1989); and Dowding and John (2011). Several authors have challenged whether Loyalty enhances Voice as supported by Hirschman (Barry 1974; Birch 1975; Dowding and John 2011). Others criticized Hirschman for neglecting to acknowledge that Silence could be an option for deterioration response and that Loyalty instead of enhancing Voice could instead empower Silence in its place (Barry 1974; Birch 1975; Gehlbach 2006).

Many authors have criticized the Voice option for numerous reasons, but the more recurring has been that Hirschman did not account for the difficulty in Voice formation

and "how likely is voice to appear in sufficient volume to make it worth the while of managers to improve their performance?" (Barry 1974, 88) and that Hirschman disregards the existence of the choices "exit (leaving) and non-exit (staying)" and "voice (activity, participation) and silence (inactivity, non-participation)" (Barry 1974, 91).

Just as studies have done before, the current research intends to adapt the EVL model through revisions focusing on the framework to better fit this research by seeking to re-conceptualize the model for island societies. According to Gleeson (2016, 27), the first reconceptualization of the EVL model was in the 1980s when Neglect was added as a passive reaction to deterioration in romantic involvements (Rusbult, Zembrodt, and Gunn 1982; Rusbult and Zembrodt 1983). The re-conceptualizing gave origin to the Exit, Voice, Loyalty, and Neglect (EVLN) framework that is widely used today by studies in employee reactions and behaviours in the workplace (Dan Farrell 1983; D. Farrell and Rusbult 1992; Withey and Cooper 1989). Neglect is defined as "passively allowing conditions to deteriorate through reduced interest or effort, chronic lateness or absences, using company time for personal business, or increased errors" (Rusbult et al. 1988, 601).

Gehlbach (2006) re-examined the EVL model by using a game-theoretic model to analyse the relationship between Exit and Voice to facilitate empiric examination between the two. The author explored dimensions that were ignored by Hirschman in his initial argumentation and furthermore tried to put forward ways in which Hirschman's model could be improved, taking into consideration some of its major criticisms. Gehlbach (2006) argued that Hirschman was unable to realize that organizational leaders might opt to suppress Voice or Exit and that they may or may not suppress Exit depending on their interests; the difference between static and dynamic effects of Exit and the

possibility of Silence being an option was not taken into consideration; and lastly, that Hirschman ignored the conflict of interest between members of an organization and the leadership. The author ends by advancing possible ways in which the model might be generalized to incorporate features of political reality absent from the model.

Dowding et al. (2000) criticized the framework for ignoring that public goods could have a complicated role in the Exit and Voice relationship and the dynamics of past-present experiences when choosing one of the options. The author went further in not only criticizing EVL but also added to the framework by proposing a "three exit, three voice" framework with Exit being: moving location, moving from public to private providers, and moving between private and public providers; while Voice had the options of private voice, voting and collective action (Dowding and John 2008). The framework was later further developed into an empirical study and contributed to the discussion of collective action as citizens' response (Dowding and John 2012).

Additional researchers have used the model to conduct studies in different fields varying from family issues (Gonalons-Pons and Calnitsky 2021), emigration, migration and climate change (Hoffmann 2005; 2010; Gammage 2004; Noy 2017; Burgess 2012), political participation (Ross 1988), job dissatisfaction (Dan Farrell 1983; Withey and Cooper 1989), employee satisfaction (Davis-Blake, Broschak, and George 2003), housing renovations (Bengtsson and Bohman 2021), employee participation and unions (Luchak 2003; Sverke and Goslinga 2003; Boroff and Lewin 1997), local/global governance and social contract and participation (Sharp 1984; Bekker and Leildé 2003; Kuyper, Bäckstrand, and Schroeder 2017; Kentikelenis and Voeten 2021; Lavelle 2007; Revkin and Ahram 2020), health services (Dowding and John 2011; James and John 2021; Cohen

and Filc 2017), nuclear power and energy policy (Ramana 2013), football (Kiernan 2017), public choice theory (Witt 2011), modernization theory (W. R. Clark, Golder, and Golder 2017), to economic and social development (Ottati 2003).

2.5 *"For us getting older it gets better living here but for the young people it is just boring":* Exit and Voice in the Setonaikai

Hirschman's EVL model, created in 1970, illustrated two seemingly simple responses to a firm or organization's quality deterioration. Members or customers had to choose whether to Exit the firm or organization or whether to Voice their grievances and wait for the management to correct the cause of the decline in quality. The correlations between Exit and Voice begin to form when the author further adds that Voice is used when the Exit option is unavailable, with the first being a complement or an alternative to the latter. The efficacy of Voice depends on the momentum and situation. To strengthen the possibility of Voice, Hirschman then put forward Loyalty as a means of complementing the coexistence between Exit and Voice. According to Hirschman, Loyalty was to stimulate Voice and decrease the likelihood of Exit.

Taking into consideration the conceptualization of the EVL model, it becomes imperative to correlate the theory with the practice. Analysing the Exit option as a response to a quality decline in island societies, we arrive at migration. With the years and different stages of development, migration became an "expected and accepted phenomenon" in islands and later became part of islands' characteristics. The exchange

of people between islands and between islands and mainland cities became a see-saw condition that, at times, challenged the island population (Connell 2018).

According to Connell (2018, 264), "migration is primarily a response to real and perceived inequalities in socio-economic opportunities, within and between islands and states: a straightforward search for social and economic mobility." Migration takes into account education and health services, environmental risks and degradation, change of expectations towards standards of living, change of expectations regarding desirable employment, employment crises, a decline in land availability, agricultural work decline with younger generations having less interest in the activity, growing population and changes in commodity prices (Connell 2018). These push and pull factors influences islanders' decision-making, "among the most mobile of people seeking opportunities to support themselves and their island families" (Randall 2021, 141).

For the islands involved in this study, the Exit option became closely related to the developmental path chosen for the region, did not benefit the islands and brought significant consequences of low population and need for human capital and infrastructures. Of all the islanders interviewed for this study, only Ikeda-san[12], aged 87 and Fujii-san, aged 69, two native islanders, chose to remain on their respective islands (Teshima and Ogijima) without ever thinking of moving somewhere else. The remaining nine islanders chose the Exit option and lived outside their island, having moved to different places, with some relocating within the country, Osaka, Kyoto, Okayama, Tokushima, and even adventuring abroad to the United States of America. Osaka was the

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[12] All names used in the study are fictitious. The interviews were confidential, and the names were changed to preserve the identity of the interviewees.

most popular destination among the islanders, with five out of nine moving to the prefecture. After years of living outside their islands, these islanders relocated back home and stated they did not have intentions of leaving their islands if they could avoid doing so.

Change in the population's geographical distribution has put tension on urban areas' ability to provide goods, services, and proper infrastructure (Matanle 2014). But this phenomenon has brought significant changes to the islands' population and endangered the future of the five islands used in this study. Upon looking at the chronological population record from Naoshima island in Figure 4, it is possible to observe how the number of inhabitants changed over the decades and the clear downward trend.

Figure 4: Population Trend for Naoshima Island
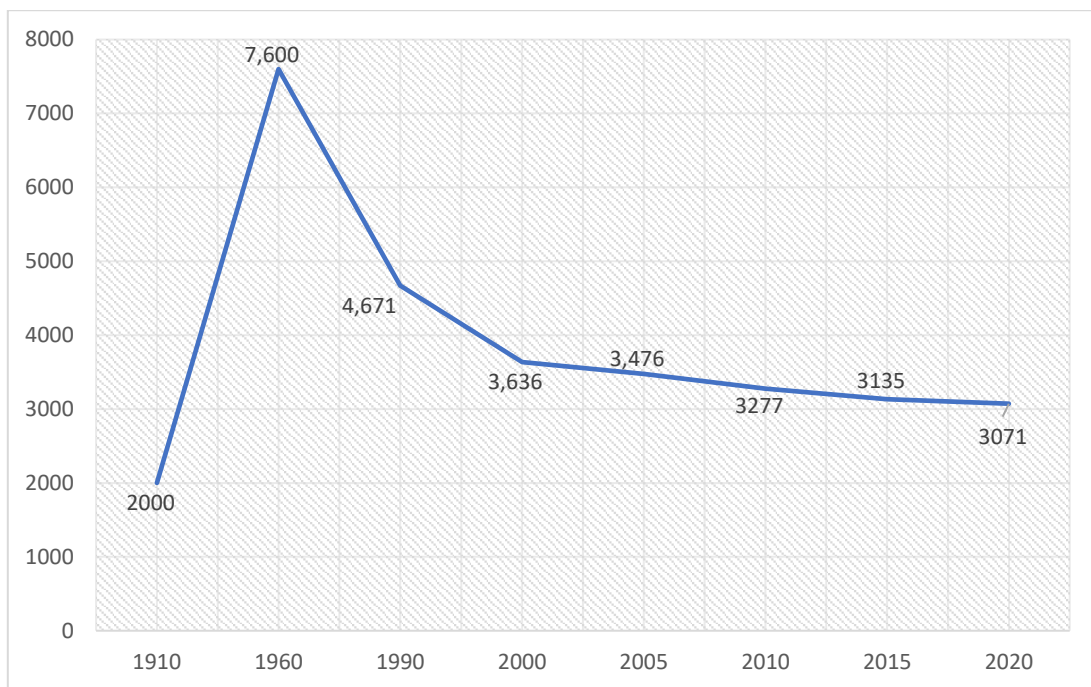
Source: Adapted from Kagawa Prefecture (2013); Kagawa Prefectural Government (2020a); Funck and Chang (2018)

From the 17th to the 19th century, the island witnessed a prosperous life with agriculture and fisheries, however, by the beginning of the 20th century, the island's growth began to decline alongside the fishing industry. Naoshima's developmental path changed when, in 1917, the Mitsubishi Mining and the current Mitsubishi Materials Corporation Naoshima Smelter was established (Naoshima Town Office 2016) and the island's population swelled to 7600 inhabitants, with the majority connected to the mining and smelter company. However, although most of the islanders are still employed by the company, the number of islanders proceeded to decline significantly from before the 90s and this trend has not stopped. As a result, the current population on the island is 3071 people. Since even Mitsubishi employees choose the Exit option, as recalled by one of the islanders:

> When Mitsubishi Materials employees retire, almost all of them leave Naoshima. Medical services, like a hospital, and shopping are very inconvenient. The cost of land is very expensive too. Okayama land is cheaper than here so almost all of them build a house there before they retire. Some native islanders also build houses in Okayama. Anyway…Naoshima is inconvenient (Suzuki-san interview, 2022).

When questioned on the reasons that made them leave Naoshima, the respondents enumerated a series of motivations with the first being further education. According to Yamada-san, "After they get married, they move out. Most people go out because of educational policies after having children, they don't think that what we have here is enough. They want their children to receive education in another place" (interviewed by author, 2022). Naoshima does not have a high school, making it impossible for islanders

not to pursue further education either in Okayama or Takamatsu city (the two main ports directly connected to the island, one on each side of the Setonaikai). Kojima-san left to attend high school outside the island and, after graduation, went to university abroad, returned to live and work in Osaka and is currently residing in Naoshima once again.

The same also applies to islanders on the remaining islands, as stated by Kurosaki-san "I moved to Kyoto after I graduated high school. There is no high school here, so I went to Shodoshima island's high school" (interviewed by author, 2022) and Inoue-san "I went to Kansai to go to a vocational school" (interviewed by author, 2022) in Teshima island who had to leave for further education. Although, in some cases, islanders and new migrants might decide to relocate their families sooner:

> Some people want to raise their children in a place rich in nature until their children must go to elementary school. The number of elementary school children has decreased and there are no extracurricular activities like ballet, swimming, or basketball, here on the island. After their children become elementary school students most people move out of the island (Nohara-san interview, 2022).

Following education, the biggest reason for islanders to choose the Exit option is the lack of work opportunities throughout the five islands as pointed out by Matsumoto-san who left Megijima; Kato-san who left Ogijima; Sakai-san who left Inujima; and Suzuki-san who left Naoshima due to not having a fixed occupation and lived in Osaka and Tokushima but has been back for the last 40 years:

> I did not have a fixed occupation here and so I moved away. I lived in Osaka for five and a half years then I came back to Naoshima. I stayed in Naoshima for five

and a half years and worked as a machine operator. Then I lived in Tokushima for three years then I came back to Naoshima and became self-employed as a house painter. After that, I cooked and sold Takoyaki and Yakisoba until the COVID-19 pandemic. Now I opened a bike rental shop (Suzuki-san interview, 2022).

The same reality was also found in Teshima and described by Ikeda-san, who even though never left the island, understood the conditions and lack of opportunities that have been plaguing Teshima and said that "almost all young people move away, they cannot live here because the number of fish is decreasing. In the past we cultivated rice fields and did fishing. Because of that we could spend our lives here" (interviewed by author, 2022).

As observed in Figure 5, nowhere else the reality of a shrinking population is so alarming as in Inujima island, where the population today is merely 40 people on an island that used to shelter thousands.

Figure 5: Population Trend for Inujima Island
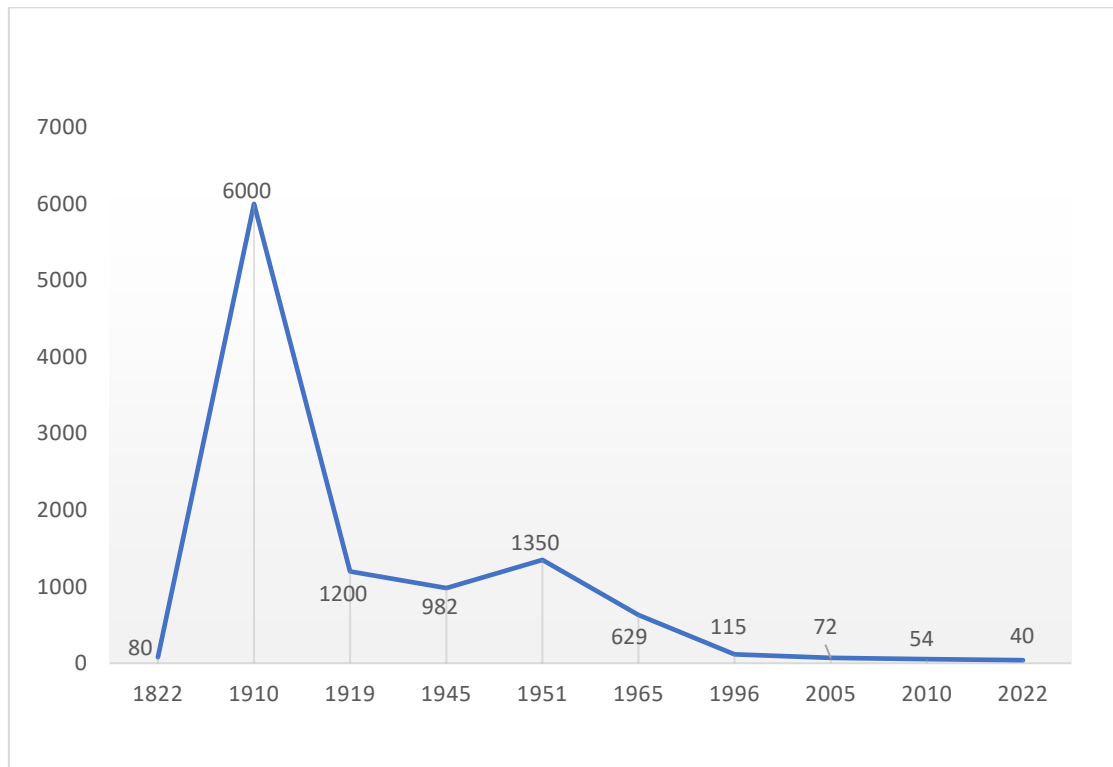
Inujima island saw exponential growth in the number of inhabitants with the opening of the copper refinery in 1909. From 1822 to 1910, the population went from 80 to 6000 people, even though islanders complained that the refinery polluted crops and damaged nature. In 1919, the refinery closed its doors due to the collapse of copper prices (Yoshimi 2011), and the population decline began. By 1945, the island had 982 people, but that number rose to 1350 by 1951 after the Japan Sulphur Company Ltd. established a treatment plant in 1935, and islanders started cultivating olives from Shodoshima in 1947. However, following the population trend observed in Figure 5, the island's population decreased again by 1965, and the trend has continued up to this day when Inujima island has only 40 people, according to Sakai-san (interviewed by author, 2022).

The respondents from Inujima presented a similar situation to the other islands with islanders having to move for work "my children also left this island because there are no work opportunities. My children moved to Okayama" (Akai-san interview, 2022) or after they retire as pointed out by Uchida-san "*ojiichan* and *obaachan's* children take them to the mainland because their spouse passes away…then they go to retirement homes in the mainland" (interviewed by author, 2022).

The ageing population in Inujima poses a serious question about the future of the island and the fears that it brings to the community. When asked about Inujima's future population, Uchida-san reflected on the uncertainty of the subject:

> I don't know…honestly. There is no place to live here. There are a lot of vacant houses, houses with no roofs…If they want to build a new house it takes a lot of effort, so this is very difficult for them. In 10 years, the population will decrease to 30 people. Ten years ago, the population was 50. The population will decrease a little bit (Uchida-san interview, 2022).

Picture 1: Abandoned Post Office

Source: Picture taken by the author on Inujima island (2019)

Picture 1 shows the abandoned Post Office building on Inujima island and the state of neglect of the installations. The same old, run-down-looking houses were spread across the island.

The loss of inhabitants and the ageing of those who remain is an issue shared by all five islands. Even though the islands have registered several new migrants, almost all the respondents agree that the population on the islands will decrease in the future due to the islanders' advanced age. Figure 6 presents the population trend for the five islands and shows the downward trend that has been following the islands for quite some time. An exception was observed in Ogijima island, where the population increased for the first time in decades. The number of residents went from 132 in 2020 to 153 in 2022.

Figure 6: Recent Population Trend in the Islands

	2000	2005	2010	2015	2020	2022
■ Naoshima	3,636	3,476	3277	3135	3071	3007
■ Teshima	1,327	1169	1018	867	716	764
■ Inujima	79	72	54	47	40	40
■ Megijima	244	212	174	136	125	114
■ Ogijima	248	189	162	148	132	153
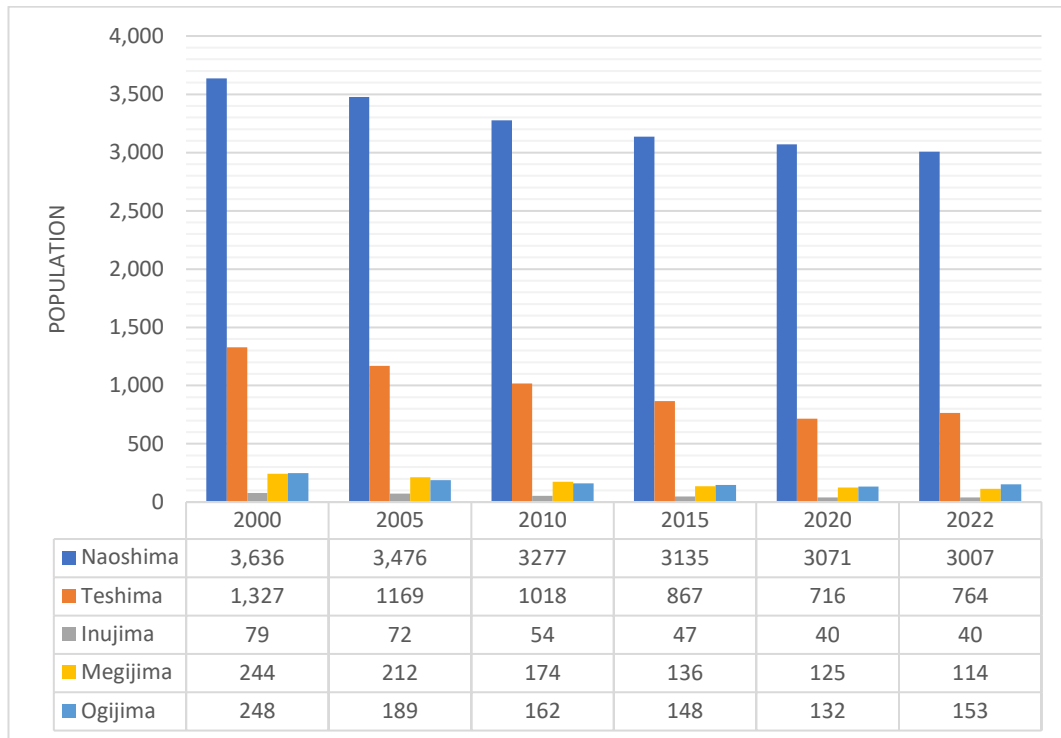
Source: Adapted from (Okayama Prefecture (2013); Kagawa Prefecture (2013); Kagawa Prefectural Government (2020a); SanukiSetoShimaNet (2016); Teshima Community Centre (2022); Benesse Art Site Naoshima (2019a); Sakai-san interview (2022)

*Naoshima's 2022 values, Teshima's 2005 and 2020 values, Inujima's 2020 values and Megijima's 2022 values are estimates.

As remarked by Yamaha-san in Megijima island, "the population will decrease sharply. I heard that some people passed away this year. They are almost all around 70 to 90 years old" (interviewed by author, 2022). The declining population of the islands is seen as one of the challenges that need to be addressed:

> The biggest challenge is ageing and depopulation. Most people are 70 years old: they can't do what they were able to do when they were young. For example, cleaning, moving things…they can't do by themselves, and they are suffering

from this. Even if they throw the trash, it is difficult for them. (…) The most serious problem is elderly people leaving alone. Recently an elderly man passed away and was discovered too late. I would like to take activities to take care of the elderly. The current Ogijima leader is trying to take care of elderly people through digital IT, but this activity is not going well. Two people passed away without being seen by anyone. The islanders who can move have to take care of elderly people who are living alone and are not leaving their homes (Kaneko-san interview, 2022).

The number of elderly couples and those who live alone has undergone a constant increase. According to Kingston (2019, 188), as much as 90% of those aged 65 and over are living alone. Some find it increasingly difficult to care for themselves in rural areas and villages due to the lack of young and middle-aged people who, at times, were relatives and neighbours who would look out for and help each other. With the shrinkage in population, community resilience in rural areas is decreasing (Matanle 2014).

Besides the already mentioned reasons that islanders choose to leave Naoshima, Teshima, Inujima, Megijima, and Ogijima, the islanders also mentioned the lack of entertainment options on the islands and how it affects the younger generation of islanders. As mentioned by Sakai-san in Inujima island, "There is no shopping centre and restaurants, so we must go outside to buy groceries" (interviewed by author, 2022). While in Naoshima, Watanabe-san stated, "the other reason most young people move away is that there is no entertainment and no opportunities to meet people. Young people want something stimulating. This island is cosier than urban cities. Even if young people move away from the island, some of them return" (interviewed by author, 2022).

The same sentiment was shared by Kojima-san on Naoshima island:

It has nothing interesting [laughs] … especially for the young people nothing is attractive… don't you think so?... For the old people like… for us when getting older it gets better living here but for the young people, it is just boring. A small community. Everybody knows everything [laughs] they don't like that" (Kojima-san interview, 2022).

Even though some authors like Hoffmann (2005; 2010) argue that some governments use emigration as a key factor for regime stability, such as in the Cuban case, and a way of reducing stress in the labour market. Following the consequences that the Exit option brought to the five islands being studied, it is possible to observe that the lack of work opportunities, limited education, ageing, retirement, and limited entertainment are all interconnected and affect the islands equally. Leaving their island is not something seen as an easy option for the islanders, and it systematically brings negative effects to the island's life. Since opting for Exit is not such a simple and clear-cut action as argued by Hirschman (1970) and the consequences that it brought to the islands hindered the island life more than anything, it remains unknown if the Voice option is used by the islanders as the optimal solution.

Hirschman (1970) stated that members could choose the Exit option since it was easier and less costly. Voice is considered by the author as complex and with a cost that could hinder its activity. However, later in *Essays in Trespassing: Economics to Politics and Beyond* (1981), Hirschman added that in a situation that affects public happiness, Voice will have an advantage over the Exit option. For the sake of public interest, Voice will not be seen as costly but as something beneficial "deterioration in the taste of a firm's

food product will give rise to exit; but the presence of a health hazard will lead to voice" (Hirschman 1981, 214–19).

The Setonaikai region suffered considerably with the heavy Industrialization efforts carried out in the port cities around the Inland Sea. The air and water in the region was significantly polluted (Yoshimi 2011) and brought consequences to the economic activities in the region. According to Toda (2008), since 1985, the fishery and aquaculture production have been decreasing due to the deterioration of the environment necessary for fish and shells' development triggered by water pollution[13] and the "destructive reclamation on marine forests and tidal flats" (2008, 23).

Teshima island suffered from pollution due to the illegal dumping of industrial waste, which started around the 1970s and became one of Japan's most prominent industrial waste scandals. The pollution scandal is a prominent case of how the Voice option was used even when the Exit option was available, and the islanders fought for decades to resolve an issue that affected the whole island's population.

The islander's ordeal began in December 1975 when the company Teshima Sogo Kanko Kaihaku applied for a permit at Kagawa Prefecture to dispose of harmful industrial waste. By February 1976, Teshima residents collected 1425 signatures and filed a petition with Kagawa Prefecture to stop the company's plans for the construction of the processing plant. Between February and March, the island's residents heavily petitioned the prefecture, and organized the Haikibutsu Mochikomi Zettaihanntai Teshima Jumin

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[13] For further discussion on marine pollution caused by oil spills, chemical pollution by dioxins, endocrine disruptors, and marine debris see Imai (2008).

Kaigi[14], and protested at the Kagawa Prefectural Office against the company's plans for the island. Teshima Sogo Kanko Kaihaku then modified its application in September of the same year and instead applied not for disposal of "harmful industrial waste" but to "industrial waste on the plea of earthworm cultivation" and was granted the license by the prefecture in February 1978. The island residents hesitantly prepared to accept the company "under the condition that no harmful waste be brought on to their island" (Maruyama 2003, 49).

Unfortunately, the company began daily shipments of industrial waste from the Osaka area to Teshima island and by 1983, several complaints against the open burning field of industrial waste on the island increased exponentially. Following this, the Teshima's resident association began a campaign against the illegal dumping of waste on the island. In 1987, the first cases of health issues started to arise, and residents repeatedly complained of health problems caused by the illegal waste's open burning. From 1990, when the company's owner was arrested and accused of violating the Waste Disposal and Public Cleaning Law until 2000, Teshima's resident associations organized a fierce campaign[15] against the company and Kagawa Prefecture for the removal of the waste dumped on the island and its cleaning (Maruyama 2003).

The islander's ordeal came to an end in 2000 when a final agreement was made between Teshima residents and Kagawa Prefecture, and it was determined that the local

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[14] Author's literal translation to English: The Congress of Teshima Residents Resolute to Oppose to Bringing Industrial Waste onto the Island.

[15] For detailed information and pictures about the campaign, strikes and meetings organized by the three residents' association and more information on the Teshima pollution incident, please consult the page: ＮＰＯ法人瀬戸内オリーブ基金, 廃棄物対策豊島住民会議, and 豊島応援団. n.d. "豊島事件を見る (The Teshima Incident)." Accessed September 9, 2022. https://www.teshima-school.jp/struggle

government would be issuing an apology to Teshima's islanders for neglecting to thwart the serious damage inflicted on the island and its inhabitants, additionally to agreeing to remove the industrial waste from the island (Takatsuki 2003). The island's soil, underground water and air were severely damaged after all the years of illegal industrial dumping. Following participatory risk communication, large amounts of public funding have been allocated for detoxification, but engineering work is still ongoing on Teshima island (Nakachi 2013).

Raising Voice on a small island could bring repercussions. Voicing against the community and politics could be isolating (Noy 2017) since the size of the island makes it possible for very close community ties. However, this was not the path chosen by Teshima islanders. Upon being confronted with a major public health issue, islanders took matters into their own hands and protested for decades until the issue was solved.

Today, the industrial pollution in Teshima serves as a reminder of the serious negative effects that industrial exploitation brought to the Setonaikai and remains in the memories of those involved with the issue, like Midori-san, who still identify the incident as the biggest challenge for Teshima island:

> The biggest challenge is industrial waste. I have faced this industrial waste problem since I got married. We were not doing anything but outside people dumped garbage here. There was a lot of garbage on the shore. I was suffering from this problem because my child was coughing. (…) The whole island fought this. (…) Although we overcame this difficult situation, we are still fighting. My family was greatly affected by this (Midori-san interview, 2022).

Contrary to Midori-san, Ikeda-san (interviewed by author, 2022) does not think of the past industrial pollution as a challenge for the island and instead sees it as already resolved. Perhaps the fact that the two live in different districts, Midori-san lives in the Ieura area while Ikeda-san lives in the Karato area and was affected differently and thus influences the weight assigned by the islanders to the industrial pollution.

Exit and Voice cannot be seen as optimal solutions to problems faced by islanders. The Exit option depleted the islands of human capital and infrastructure necessary for the sustainable development of the islands and the region. All five islands lost population and continue to do so with a high number of elderly inhabitants and a low number of young islanders. While the Voice option did work in the past in resolving a public health hazard that rampaged Teshima island, that same option is not significant. Moreover, raising Voice in island societies becomes more difficult over time.

Chapter 3: Island Tourism and Art Tourism Traits in the
Setonaikai Islands

According to Kakazu (1994), in general, small island economies have a set of innate characteristics and problems that they face. First, small island economies have less economic diversity due to the low range of human and natural economic resources and markets and high transport costs. Second, small island countries have opened themselves to international markets to overcome deficiencies. However, this resulted in significant deficiencies in their trade and dependency on foreign trade in most cases. Third, islands tend to focus their exports on a very limited selection of primary products while at the same time importing a wide variety of products. In addition, the markets where they are associated also tend to be limited; for example, in the case of island states that were former colonies, their markets tend to be tied to former colonial governments. Furthermore, relying on the export of limited resources can pose a threat to the islands, considering how susceptible they are to natural disasters.

Fourth, these island economies have a bigger trade deficit with the import bill being met through major income sources such as ODA (Official Development Assistance), tourism income and remittances. Fifth, the high cost of transportation is a barrier to socio-economic development. Sixth, island nations tend to have high population pressure that may cause slow economic growth rate. This leads small islands to generally have high unemployment rates and lower standards of living. Lastly, islands that are scattered and far from large markets encounter problems with diseconomies of scale in production,

investment, consumption, transportation, education, and administrative services (Kakazu 1994, 4–8).

Agricultural activity on islands is restricted by climate and soil conditions and the advancing age of farmers and machinery. An underdeveloped fishing industry with mostly artisanal fishing. However, many island states have been trying to diversify their economy to distance themselves from the dependency on primary commodity exports. Industrial development is usually restricted on islands by limited human resources, high transport costs, inadequate infrastructure, limited mineral resources, and limited capital (Lockhart 1997, 6–7). As such, islands look to tourism to diversify their economic activities from agriculture, fishing, and other traditional livelihoods (Graci and Maher 2018).

Islands struggle for diversity in their economic system with the lack of options they are presented with. On the other hand, the tourism industry has become the basis of many island economies due to how easy it can attract visitors (Lockhart 1997, 7). Tourism on islands has now enjoyed a long tradition, especially on the so-called warm water islands, of visitors travelling to experience the 'islandness' of a specific place. Some islands have their economic development subordinated to the tourism industry (Sharpley 2012, 170). Island tourism on "sun-drenched, white-sanded, palm-fringed paradises" islands and cold water islands have their characteristics that attract tourists. Call it "lure" as Lockhart (1997) or 'fascination' by Baum (1997). Islands "provide a sense of adventure to travelers" just by crossing the water and increasing their separateness from a mainland. If the 'water' aspect is removed, it may decrease the attraction to some visitors (Baum et al. 2000, 214–15).

3.1 Island Tourism

Island tourism has three major specificities: first, the risk of saturation on an island that serves as a tourism destination that, with time, would diminish hospitality and welcoming feelings; second, small island economies can become too focused on the tourism industry, excluding any other serious alternative of productive activity; and lastly, tourism depends on sea and/or air connections with airports and seaports characteristically located in the capital city and main urban areas. This fact leaves rural and remote areas and outlying islands, in the case of archipelagos, at a disadvantage since tourists concentrate on arrival and departure areas (Graci and Maher 2018, 248–49).

These specificities can be observed on Naoshima, Teshima, Inujima, Megijima, and Ogijima islands because the five islands had extremely low populations receiving and accommodating a significant number of visitors in a short amount of time, making the islanders feel overwhelmed. The number of visitors that passed through the islands as they attended the Setouchi Triennale Art Festival was quite significant when compared to the number of locals. An increasing number of economic activities are being tailored towards the service industry on the islands. The islands with the easiest access, Naoshima, Teshima and Megijima, enjoy a higher number of visitors when compared to Inujima or Ogijima islands. The attraction to the tourism industry is made more prevalent in these five islands with their characteristics and the specificities that the tourism industry carries in the region.

Baum et al. (2000) attempted to characterize island tourism and its attraction. First, for visitors, the island is seen as a different environment from the urban areas where they

originate, with islands being "slower paced, emphasizing traditional, old fashioned values" and a "finite geographical environment" (2000, 214–15).

A clear demarcation of the boundaries between who is 'in' and who is 'out' symbolized by the water encircling an island. Second, access to island destinations incurs additional costs depending on the island's location, less flexibility in transportation types with only air or sea routes being available, and less room for spontaneous travelling since booking in advance is necessary. Transportation to and from the islands can be severely restricted by bad weather. Third, island tourism is highly seasonal. Tourists tend to flock to island destinations in high numbers during specific seasons, with most concentrating on the warm months. Fourth, several small islands have a high-level dependency on tourism, with cold water islands attempting to diversify their economic activities more than warm water islands. Lastly, the large influx of tourists on small island destinations tends to affect the local community in cultural, social, and environmental terms with "high and interactive" contact with "positive and negative" results due to the limited land size (Baum et al. 2000, 216–17).

The distinction between cold and warm water islands observed in Figure 7 illustrates the different traits present on the island's destinations and, consequently the different types of tourists arriving at their shores. As a result of the clear distinction in seasonal changes in Japan, the traits preferred by tourists engaging in activities in Naoshima, Teshima, Inujima, Megijima, and Ogijima islands are more connected to warm water islands given that they take advantage of the pleasant temperatures, beaches and green vegetation found on all the islands while exploring the art installations and

museums. In the course of the winter months, the islands' tourism industry practically stops with the lack of visitors adventuring in the region during the cold and windy days.

Figure 7: Traits of Warm Water and Cold Water Islands as Tourism Destinations[16]

Warm Water Islands
- Extended season
- High air and water temperatures
- Sun
- White, sandy beaches
- Lush vegetation, colorful flowers
- Fruits, spices, rich buffets
- Relaxation, party fun
- Leisure (sun, sea, sand, sex, shopping)

Cold Water Islands
- Short season, often within two months
- Low air and water temperatures
- Rain, potentially even snow and hail
- Rocks, cliffs, hiking trails
- Barren land, little vegetation
- Few dishes
- Exploration, adventure
- Serious leisure

Source: Adapted from Graci and Maher (2018, 248)

Previous research subjects on island tourism focused on visitors' patterns, environmental, sociological, economic, and educational tourism impact, and case studies (individual or small clusters of islands). Studies concerned with the impact of tourism development on the physical environment and host populations emerged in the 1960s. Following this, studies on the rapid urbanization and lack of planning in coastal areas in the Mediterranean. Most of the research showed a "conflict between tourism and the

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[16] For more on warm water and cold water island tourism and aspects see Baldacchino (2006); Butler (2006); Gössling and Wall (2007); Graham (2020).

physical environment" with the destruction of coastal habitats for the construction of resorts that, in cases, are poorly designed and the local population forced to move because of rising land prices. Tourism and the host community studies showed that the local society and customs are an essential tourism resource with community lifestyles, friendliness of islanders and traditional ceremonies being utilized as selling points by tourism organizations. The author also noted that most of the research had been case-oriented, with islands serving as case studies on empirical research (Lockhart 1997, 10–13). Other studies focus on the 'remoteness', socio-cultural insularity, otherness and 'separateness' as challenges and opportunities faced by islands when positioning themselves as desired destinations (Sharpley 2012, 167).

3.1.1 Socio-Economic Impact on Islands

Tourism development has a dual reality. On the one hand, you have tourists visiting a destination for the environment and the social-cultural aspects of the place. On the other hand, these same tourists and this industry influence and change the specificities of their place of destination (Hall 2012). The island's condition can be highly disturbed by tourists, bringing additional expenses in energy, waste, roads, telephone lines, food, and water supply. The more pronounced this influence, the more limited the land area of interaction is. The challenges that tourism brings to islands are specific to them.

Several scholars have extolled the arguments for the economic benefit of tourism for island economies (Healy 1994; Briguglio, Butler, et al. 1996; Briguglio, Archer, et al. 1996; Lockhart and Drakakis-Smith 1997; Richards 2009). Island tourism provides

islanders with employment opportunities in services that are catered directly to tourists and through indirect relations (goods and services supplied to tourist services, and through arts, crafts, and souvenir production). The industry can also prevent emigration from islanders by offering skilled and unskilled job opportunities on their local islands. Tourism helps small islands diversify their economy and move away from dependency on agriculture and primary goods exports (Randall 2021, 194).

Notwithstanding the plethora of benefits presented by some scholars, it is also verifiable that the tourism industry entails negative results for islanders and island life (Shareef, Hoti, and McAleer 2008; E. Clark et al. 2007; Pratt 2015; Dodds and Butler 2019). It is common for many inputs necessary for the industry to be purchased and shipped from out of the islands, making for a "leakage" of the economic benefits that would otherwise provide gains for the local island community. Tourism development contributes to the rise in property value on island communities, leading to gentrification in some cases, with locals not being able to compete with tourists or foreign investors acquiring land and property. The same happens with the spread of short-term units, such as Airbnb, leading to the same effect described above. Another negative result is the disproportionate level and nature of jobs accessible to islanders. Some of the higher managerial positions are not filled by islanders but by skilled workers brought to the islands to fill these roles. Islanders' job opportunities end up being unskilled, seasonal, and part-time oriented (Randall 2021, 194–96).

Figure 8 summarizes both the positive and negative economic impacts of tourism on islands.

Figure 8: Range of Economic Impact of Tourism on Islands

Positive
• Increases positive tax revenue (e.g. taxes and foreign exchange raitings) • Attracts foreign investment/capital • Provides employment for Islanders • Diversifies the economy • Discourages labour emigration "brain drain" • Assists in development of shared public infraestructure
Negative
• Low multipliers/ "leakage" of benefits off island • Questionable impact on local employment (seasonal/part-time few benefits, largely unskilled jobs • Profits repatriated off-island • Purchases by islanders from non-island sources • Competition for land and labour drives up local costs • New specializations in tourism "Dutch disease" and co-opting of government priorities

Source: Adapted from Randall (2021, 195)

According to Lockhart (1997), the increased call for accommodation, facilities and transportation systems that accompanied tourism development resulted in many islands undergoing remarkable landscape alterations. In most cases, these alterations were done to accommodate visitors' needs. Most of the accommodation facilities were centred around coastal resort areas or urban settlements. With the development of new trends in accommodation quality and holiday interests, some of these facilities spread to mountainous areas and peripheral locations.

Baldacchino (2012a) points out the relation between tourism and infrastructure on islands, noting that it can increase the number of visitors and challenge the "state of nature". Tourism infrastructure can have an environmental impact on the island. Construction must be recognized as having an impact on island economies since it can

involve transportation, energy, communication, printing, and all domestically related to islands.

Accoupled to the above-mentioned economic impacts on islands, studies have shown that tourism development brings social and environmental impacts (Bramwell and Lane 1993; Clifton and Benson 2006; Graci and Dodds 2010). Communities' quality of life and living conditions can be improved. Tourism programs can enhance educational opportunities and international awareness. T. Baum (1997) stated that the quest for economic development through tourism could put communities at risk by disturbing their way of life and local culture. This makes for the loss of the "island experience" that initially attracted visitors to the island. Additionally, the fascination with islands can create an assortment of problems concerning land management, pollution, and access.

Considering the limited land size of the island destinations, the relationship between visitors and islanders can be exacerbated, especially in small, densely populated ones. It is common for an island to become "overwhelmed" by a large number of visitors after its "discovered" by the tourist masses. The high influx of visitors on a small piece of land with a limited number of locals can intensify the insider-outsider relationship. As Graci and Maher (2018) noted, "hospitality and welcoming behaviour may quickly turn to disgust and irritation, which can threaten the sustainability and future of the tourism industry on any small island" (2018, 248). This aspect can be particularly true for the islands used in this study. All five have a small land size and a very limited population that feels invaded by the high number of visitors to the islands.

The tourism weaved into these islands is a cultural tourism subcategory that has garnered global enthusiasm and momentum in the past years in the Setonaikai, especially

for its overwhelming features in Naoshima, Teshima and Inujima islands. The following section will discuss the specificities of art tourism in Naoshima, Teshima, Inujima Megijima, and Ogijima islands.

3.2 Art Tourism

This study examines islands in the Setonaikai part of the Benesse Art Site Naoshima and Setouchi Triennale Art Festival. The islands are connected through art-related activities carried out by Benesse Holdings, Inc. and Fukutake Foundation that fall under the umbrella of art tourism, a subcategory of cultural tourism.

According to Bywater (1993), cultural tourism had become a significant portion of global tourism by the 1990s, with United Nations World Tourism Organisation (UNWTO) "claiming that 40 percent of international tourists were cultural tourists" (cited in Richards 2021, 1). It was a form of tourism initially reserved for the social elite. Additionally, mass tourism further encouraged cultural tourism in the 20th century, with developments in air transportation facilitating travel to new and further destinations. With the recognition of culture as an economic force, its development opened new ways for tourism studies, with culture tourism becoming more sought and researched (Richards 2021).

With time came an expansion in the understanding of cultural tourism with changes in its consumption and production. It became necessary to rethink its definition, and so cultural tourism moved from "all movements of persons to specific cultural attractions, such as museums, heritage sites, artistic performances and festivals outside their normal

place of residence" (Richards 1996); to be defined as "passive, active and interactive engagement with heritage, arts and culture(s) of communities, whereby the visitors gains new experiences of an educational, creative, and/or entertaining nature" (M. K. Smith 2016, 17).

The shift in the definition is a more accurate way of describing cultural tourism[17] with its recent changes since cultural tourism fragmented into a series of niches and typologies, namely heritage tourism, art tourism, film tourism, gastronomy tourism, music tourism (Richards 2011), creative activities, popular culture, rural environments, festivals and special events, religious sites, language, indigenous communities and traditions, ethnic groups in cities (M. K. Smith 2016).

According to M. Smith, MacLeod, and Robertson (2010), arts tourism "refers to travel which is motivated by an interest in the performing and visual arts including opera, ballet, music and arts festivals" and that arts tourism benefits the image of a destination "making it a more attractive place to visit, live and work" (2010, 9–11).

Franklin (2018) defined art tourism "as any activity that involves travel to see art and would include those people who travel very specifically to see art somewhere else as well as those who often or occasionally include visits to see art among other activities during tours, holidays or other trips away from home" (2018, 399–400). The author describes the history and evolution of art tourism since the classical world, the relation between art, the artist, the place where the art is placed, and the need to research the phenomenon further since it is constantly changing and evolving, "it has remained true

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[17] For more on cultural tourism, its evolution, and emerging research see Richards (2021); on performing cultural tourism see Carson and Pennings (2019).

for a very long time that people have had to travel to see art; that art is one of the things that people have always travelled for" (Franklin 2018, 404).

Visitors to Naoshima, Teshima, Inujima, Megijima, and Ogijima travel to the islands to see the art installations, museums, expositions, and art performances that take place on the islands throughout the year and during the Setouchi Triennale, as such, befitting the description. Rakić and Lester (2016) also explore the relationship between travel, tourism, and art, focusing on case studies from around the world to describe connections between artists, artworks, locals, tourists, and all in between. This relationship can be played to the advantage of the tourist destination if organised taking into consideration the place, its people, and the true objective of the activities.

Furthermore, the art tourism present in the Setonaikai islands gains a significant boost from another niche of cultural tourism with the Setouchi Triennale or Setouchi International Art Festival – festival and events tourism. Festival and events tourism "covers attendance at traditional or contemporary celebrations of culture, which can include music, dancing, gastronomy, arts and sports." They can take various forms, such as carnivals, arts festivals, music festivals, food and wine festivals, sporting events, mega-events, circuses, and others (M. Smith, MacLeod, and Robertson 2010, 66–67).

According to Smith, MacLeod, and Robertson (2010, 67), many festivals strive to improve an area's image and 'put it on the map'. According to Quinn (2005), there has been a proliferation of art festivals in numerous cities and urban areas. The spread of art festivals in the last 15 years or so can be explained by: the use of culture for job creation and diversification, globalization, ever-changing attitudes to urban management, and changes in the structure of economic production. However, the author notes that festivals

fail to conceive as "cultural forms of consumption" with organizers and cities failing to connect them to their local places.

M. Smith, MacLeod, and Robertson (2010, 69–70) warn us about some of the harmful elements of festival and events management, such as:

- Ownership – who owns the festival and event: locals, public sector, or private sector?

- they can be community-oriented or tourist-oriented; however, these two are not always fitting.

- festivals that become too international or tourist-oriented tend to lose their "local roots and local interest."

- destinations can grow to be too overcrowded during certain times of the year, making locals and even visitors inclined to stay away as a result.

Since the opening of the Chichu Museum in 2004 in Naoshima and the beginning of the Setouchi Triennale in 2010, the island has been amply advertised in magazines and art-related circles as a 'Mecca' for art fans and enthusiasts. It has been acknowledged by the Okayama Prefecture's Remote Island Promotion Plan for the islands' future development to increase the number of visitors and auxiliary in community revitalization, as well as by other reports (Naoshima Town 2010; Okayama Prefecture 2013; Ministry of Land Infrastructure Transport and Tourism 2010), and has been the target of art-related studies (see Kondo 2012).

However, notwithstanding the success of the art-related activities in the region, we must take into consideration the pitfalls mentioned above of festivals and events management since, first, the base of the operations on the islands is privately funded and

organized, and second, the struggle to be community-oriented or tourist-oriented can be felt in the Setonaikai. Lastly, as will be discussed in Chapter 5, the affluence of tourists to the islands during the Setouchi Triennale causes the islands to suffer with overcrowding exacerbated by the limited land size of the five islands.

According to Lockhart (1997), researchers started to focus on small island issues in the early 1960s and seminars, and international conferences have been held regularly to discuss particularities and similarities in small island states. In addition to the common issue of isolation, they also noted a "fragile" dependence on a limited range of economic activities. Islands have depended on tourism as a cure-all for economic and social development, decrease in populations' participation in agriculture and fisheries, lack of resources, limited markets, and even depopulation.

The belief that the art tourism industry present in the Setonaikai can be a solution to the problems faced by the islands in the region has been discussed by authors like Yagi (2010), who believes that art tourism "will improve those insular communities and return the area to its former glory as an artery of dynamic cultural exchange of urban and insular life alike." (2010, 130) While it is true that the industry has brought significant changes to the islanders' livelihoods and the region, the past study showed that islanders do not think that art tourism should be the only developmental strategy for the islands. Islanders on Naoshima, Teshima, and Inujima islands saw their development subordinated and connected to each other. Moreover, the past study showed that islanders believe that "dependency on an exterior force for development must be overcome with innovation and diversification of the economy, with islanders taking part in a collective decision process as key stakeholders for the islands' future" (Évora 2022, 115).

3.3 "They Come, They Change, They Stay": Entry as Reverse to Exit

Diversifying the economy on the islands will not only benefit the economic development in the region, but it will guarantee a sustainable retention of new possible residents awakened by the region's exposure to art tourism.

Island tourism is better understood as a process where not only the local community is influenced by the visitors passing by their ports or airports, but the tourist is also influenced by the community that they are exploring. As argued by Kohn (1997, 15) "in this small island context at least, tourism may be seen as one modern element in a larger process of shifting identities, whereby incomers may become islanders", and where islanders that had left their islands for a life outside, may be beckoned to return.

To better understand the relationships between all the actors on Naoshima, Teshima, Inujima, Megijima, and Ogijima islands, this study classified the participants by considering their relation to their island and the first element of Entry. Entry is used as a response to the population loss experienced in the region with migration to bigger cities and the ageing population of those that remain. As such, the participants were divided into three groups: Natives, Returnees, and New Migrants.

Natives are islanders born on the islands or those who moved to live on the islands decades ago. Of the total interviewees, two islanders were born and raised on their island and had never left to live somewhere else. Five islanders moved to the islands decades ago, with Akai-san having moved to Inujima around 59 years ago, Sato-san to Megijima 15 years ago, Shimizu-san to Naoshima 30 years ago, and Nohara-san to Teshima 35 years ago. All four interviewees moved to their respective islands after marriage. Suzuki-

san (interviewed by author, 2022) moved to Naoshima 74 years ago during childhood and later lived and worked outside the island in Osaka Prefecture and Tokushima island. Suzuki-san then returned to Naoshima and has remained on the island for the last 40 years.

Returnees are islanders (natives or not) who leave the islands for one reason or another (to be explored shortly) and later return to live on their island. The study identified nine islanders who had left their islands to live elsewhere and returned. Returnees had different reasons for returning to their islands, with some going back simply to work (Sakai-san interview, 2022) or for romantic afflictions as recalled to this researcher by Watanabe-san between laughter and good humour "after I broke up with my girlfriend, I came back to Naoshima" (interviewed by author, 2022).

Given the closeness of the community and the advanced age of most of the population, family reasons placed a necessity on returning to the islands, as suggested by Inoue-san in Teshima: "they must come back to take care of their parents because now it's an ageing society." Inoue-san is, in fact, part of the number of returnees to Teshima, "my father is self-employed, so I came back to help my father" (interviewed by author, 2022). While in Ogijima, Matsumoto-san returned to the island five decades ago after having married his wife. Returning to their island also meant new business opportunities, as was the case of Kato-san (interviewed by author, 2022) in Megijima, who stated that the reason for his return was to open his own business.

New migrants in this study are those who moved to the islands after 2010 (after the spread of Benesse Art Site Naoshima to all the five islands covered in this research) and settled in one of the islands. From 21 interviewees, the study identified five new migrants that moved to Inujima, Megijima, Naoshima, Ogijima, and Teshima islands between 2011

and 2022. Uchida-san moved to Inujima 10 years ago, Yamaha-san moved to Megijima in 2021, Yamada-san moved to Naoshima in 2011, Kaneko-san lived on Ogijima on weekends between 2011 to 2017 and moved permanently to the island in 2018. Sasaki-san had moved to Teshima the day prior to the interview and was scheduled to live on the island until the end of the Setouchi Triennale Art Festival season. Apart from these four, one former new migrant, Yoshida-san, was identified as well but only permanently resided in Naoshima for three months, having preferred to relocate to Uno and commute to work in Naoshima every day. Apart from those directly interviewed in this study, other new migrants were identified by the locals interviewed.

Islanders could quickly identify the new migrants and take an interest in recollecting them during the interviews in Megijima: "recently three men came from Tokyo. They do agriculture like growing mushrooms, and they started a hamburger restaurant" (Kato-san interview, 2022); or as recounted by one Inujima islander "I think young people will come here. Three people came here in two or three years to start their business" (Akai-san interview, 2022).

The most given reason as a pull factor for visitors to visit or for new migrants to relocate was the presence of art tourism and the Setouchi Triennale, with Sakai-san stating that in Inujima, "Setouchi Triennale is the reason why people move to this island" (interviewed by author, 2022). Nohara-san reflected the same in Teshima: "people move to this island because of Setouchi Triennale. New migrants and visitors increased since this festival started" (interviewed by author, 2022). The same sentiment was echoed in Teshima island by Kurosaki-san, "The number of new migrants has increased for the last 10 years. In Japan, there are many young people who want to live in rural areas. There

was no Setouchi Triennale 10 years ago…There were no visitors to Teshima until Setouchi Triennale" (interviewed by author, 2022). While Suzuki-san attributed equal weight to "art tourism and Mitsubishi Materials" in Naoshima (interviewed by author, 2022).

When the question was directed at the interviewees personally, the answers varied. Uchida-san in Inujima stated that "the trigger was the art museum, and I also came here when the art museum was built" (interviewed by author, 2022) and now have their own business; Yoshida-san had moved to Naoshima for work since they wanted "to work using English" in the booming hospitality business that was present on the island in 2019 (interviewed by author, 2022). Yamaha-san relocated from Takamatsu City to Megijima island as an alternative to living abroad and manages a guesthouse on the island.

Another reason given by a new migrant who moved to Naoshima in 2011 was the attraction to the island community:

> I came to Naoshima to live 'my way'. The distance of communication between people is very close in Naoshima and they cooperate with each other. The island is very free. There is an atmosphere for me to be myself. For example, people here greet each other regardless of age. In Tokyo, I did not know my neighbourhood, and I did not interact with my neighbours. It is important for me, that I get along with the elderly and children in Naoshima. I am interested in more than art and community, unlike in the countryside. So, this is the difference between Naoshima and rural areas. For people, more than art and community is important (Yamada-san interview, 2022).

The close community relationship between islanders and their interaction with visitors can attract new islanders in a process that benefits the islands. Figure 9 demonstrates the process that islanders have identified in some cases. Shimizu-san pointed out that "once visitors come here, they decide to move to the island and become migrants. They started to open cafes and restaurants. The reason why they live here is that Naoshima islanders are very good people, for example…islanders give visitors food…" (interviewed by author, 2022). The same process was described by Yoshida-san "some people came as tourists, and they decided to move here because Naoshima was a good place. (…) Naoshima has a good and strong environment because many people pass by this island" (interviewed by author, 2022).

Figure 9: Entry Process
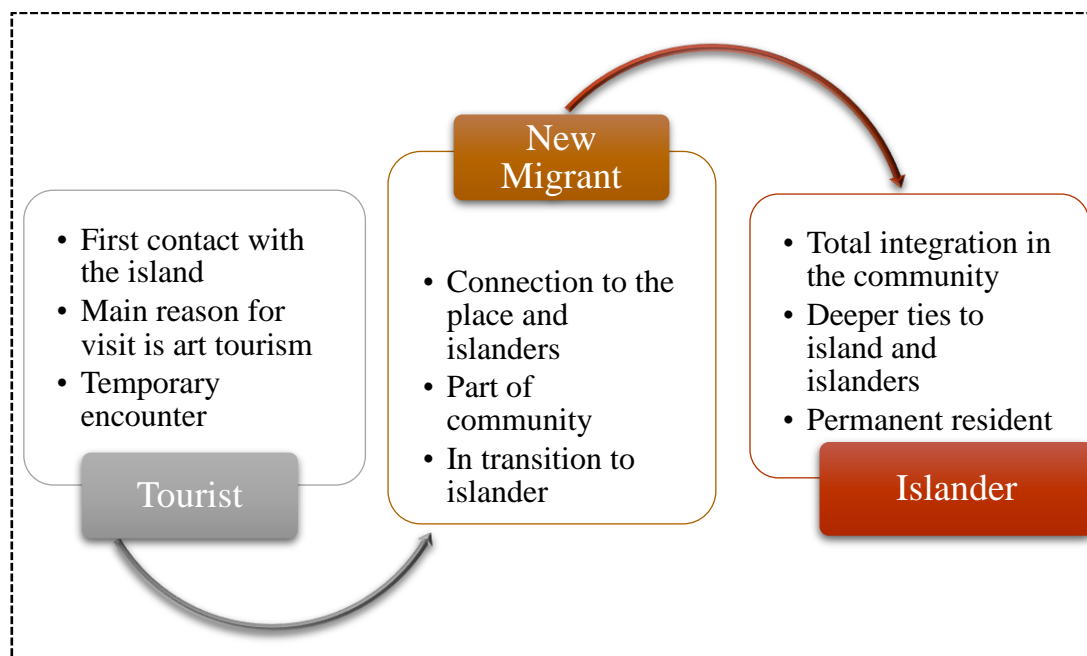
Source: Created by author, Own study (2022)

As observed in Figure 9, the island Entry process that is taking place in the region evolves in three phases. First, people visit Naoshima, Teshima, Inujima, Megijima, or Ogijima islands as tourists for the first time and establish their initial contact with the islands. Of those that pass through the island, a number of them become repeat visitors and so, from the regular trips, they decide to move to one of the islands as new migrants. The new migrants then initiate attempts to be part of the community and create a connection with the place and the islanders. With time and developing bonds with the community, the new migrant will evolve into identifying as an islander and completely integrate into the island life and islandness of their place of residence. The completion of the process depends on whether *Morabeza* between all the groups can enhance the Entry of a new set of people to the islands and on the strength of the Connectivity (physical) and Collectivity between visitors, new migrants, and islanders.

The process from Tourist to New Migrant, to Islander was also explored by Kohn (1997) in an anthropological study on a small island in the Inner Hebrides of Scotland where the tourists' identity, lifestyle, and behaviour evolved over time to give turn to residents that "were there because it had become their home and workplace. (…) their lifestyles adapted to meet the lifestyle experienced by most other full-time residents. (…) and they filled most spare moments with the responsibilities of actively participating in a busy local social scene" (1997, 22) and to whom other tourists identified as islanders upon arriving at the island. During my visits to the islands, unbeknownst to me, I had observed some of the new migrants to the islands and expected them to be native or long-term islanders. During the interviews, when I revealed such, the interviewees confided that indeed all visitors to the islands expected them to be native islanders.

In some cases, the most prominent advocates for relocating new people to the islands can be the islanders themselves:

> The reason I moved to Naoshima was that an *obaachan* recommended me to come to live here. She said that if someone is a good person, they would be a good islander. If *obaachan* thinks that visitors are good people, they recommend them to live in Naoshima. She was a member of parliament. I was attracted by her desire to improve Naoshima's development. Islanders are like *obaachan* and *ojiichan*. They treat me like they have known me for a long time (Yamada-san interview, 2022).

The same process was also observed on Megijima island, where some visit the islands for art or the scenery and nature (Sato-san interview, 2022). While on Ogijima's case, according to Kaneko-san, the reason is simple "Cats. Ogijima is famous for being a cat island. Most people visit the island to see the cats" (interviewed by author, 2022). Kaneko-san visited Ogijima for the first time in 2010, lived there on the weekends from 2011 to 2017 and five years ago moved permanently from Osaka to Ogijima.

The Entry process, however, might have been disturbed with the COVID-19 pandemic with the decrease in the number of tourists due to the halt of domestic and international travel. During my visit to Naoshima in 2021, it was revealed to me that islanders in Teshima refused to have tourists on the island for fear of the respiratory virus and did not want Benesse to open some of their attractions. As a result of the significant decrease in visitors, some restaurants in Teshima closed indefinitely. In Naoshima, the lack of tourists was felt by the local businesses as well, with most of the visitors being from Okayama Prefecture and Takamatsu City.

Some resistance to being approached by outsiders permeated until 2022 and hindered part of the interviews largely due to the age of most islanders with most of the interviewees being over 60 years old[18]. Ogijima island has the highest average age, 72 years old, followed by Inujima island at 66 years old. The islanders' age attests to the difficulty of conducting interviews in Ogijima and Inujima islands since the islanders avoided contact with people coming to the islands. The resistance to being interviewed was because they feared close contact due to the spread of COVID-19. The same fear manifested in other islands as well.

Picture 2: Sign Displayed on Ogijima Port
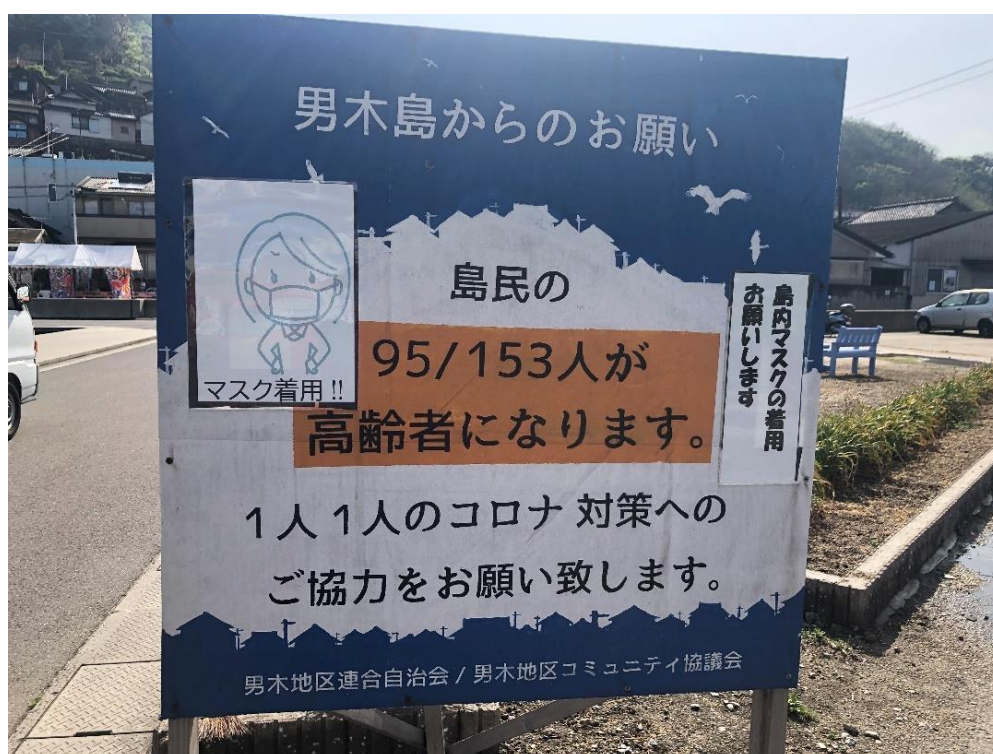
Source: Picture taken by the author on Ogijima island (2022)

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[18] For a deeper characterization of socio-economic elements of the interviewees, see Appendix B section at the end of this study.

Regarding whether they interacted with visitors on Teshima island, Inoue-san answered, "there are many elderly people, so they are scared to interact with visitors after COVID-19. Usually, we greet each other. If we see visitors walking, we give them rides in our car. Now we want to interact with visitors, but we can't" (interviewed by author, 2022). Nohara-san shared the same feeling: "After COVID-19, we don't interact with them. In the future, if it gets back to how it was before COVID-19 and the medicine for COVID-19 is created, I think islanders will interact with visitors more" (interviewed by author, 2022).

The reserved distance could be felt increasingly so in Inujima, where the smallness of the island with its houses close to each other felt disturbingly empty and quiet throughout the day. Most of the people observed roaming the streets, when any, were visitors that had arrived in the passenger boats that connect Inujima island to ports in Hoden (Okayama City), Teshima, and Shodoshima islands. With a population of around 40 people, Inujima felt empty to visitors and locals. According to Akai-san, concerning visitors, "sometimes I talk a bit with them. Because there is nothing good that comes from being alone and I also don't see the native islanders here. I guess I hope I have many chances to talk to visitors" (interviewed by author, 2022).

Entry as a response to the lack of population and ageing of islanders is increasingly important for the future of the islands as some move back at a later stage in life or for those needing care according to Fujii-san, "I think it is good to come back here. Most people come back here after retiring. The other reason why they come back is to take care of their parents" (interviewed by author, 2022).

As noted by the interviewees' ages and the population demographics of all five islands, the ageing of the population is a difficult barrier that needs to be crossed for the future of the islands and islanders' wellbeing. Entry, as reverse to Exit, offers us several options for relocating or returning to the islands, countering the ageing and population decline, bringing a younger population and a possibility of children being born on the islands, with them being the future farmers, fishermen and entrepreneurs in Naoshima, Teshima, Inujima, Megijima, and Ogijima islands.

The next chapter presents the development of the art tourism industry on the islands examined in this study and analyses the current situation experienced by the islanders from Naoshima, Teshima, Inujima, Megijima, and Ogijima islands.

Chapter 4: The Setonaikai, Islands and Art Tourism: Observing Entry from the Ground

This chapter will present the development of the Benesse Art Site Naoshima in Naoshima, Teshima and Inujima islands. In addition, the chapter will explore Naoshima, Teshima, Inujima, Megijima and Ogijima islands' involvement with Setouchi Triennale. The historical developmental path of the islands is traced and related to the art and festival tourism presently found on the islands. Through islanders' narratives collected in the five islands, field observations, past research, and studies on island revitalization, I intend to characterize the situation experienced in these five islands and amplify the islanders' concerns and expectations with the art tourism in the region.

4.1 At Last the Shore: the Islands

Map 2: The Islands of the Study Highlighted by Colour
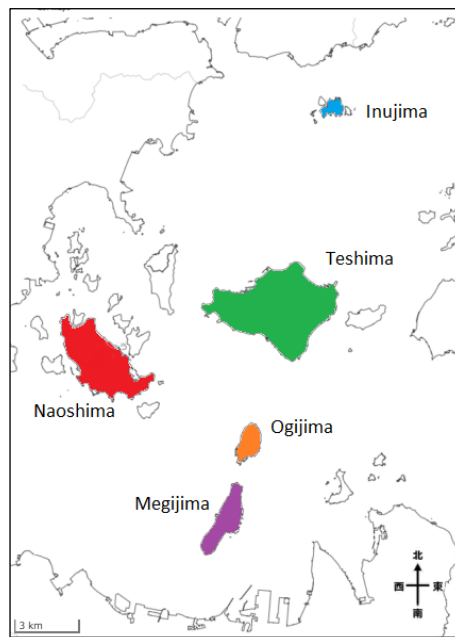
Source: Adapted from Geospatial Information Authority of Japan (n.d.)

The map presents the Naoshima (red), Teshima (green), Inujima (blue), Megijima (purple), and Ogijima (orange) islands separated by colour for a better distinction of size and distance between the five islands.

4.1.1 Naoshima Island

Map 3: Naoshima Island Aerial View
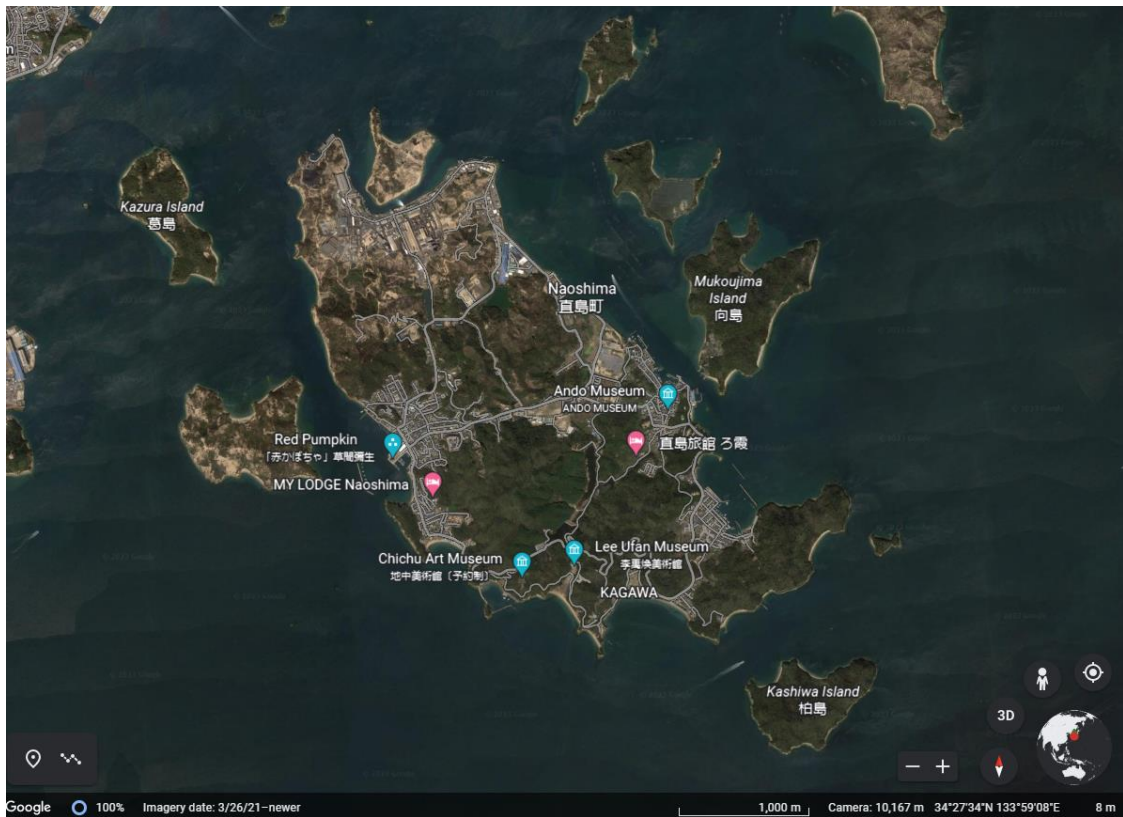
Source: Adapted from Google Earth (2021)

Naoshima island belongs to Kagawa Prefecture and is comprised of Miyanoura District, Honmura District and Tsumu'ura District. The island has an area of 8.13 km^2; as of 2020, it had a population of 3,071 people, according to Kagawa Prefectural Government (2020a). Naoshima is part of an archipelago of 27 islands of various sizes,

of which three are inhabited (Naoshima, Mukojima, and Byobujima islands). The islands are considered Remote Islands and can only be accessed by boat. Naoshima island can be accessed by ferry from Takamatsu Port (Takamatsu City, Kagawa Prefecture) in a one-hour ferry ride. The island can also be accessed by ferry boat from Uno Port (Tamano City, Okayama Prefecture) by a 20-minute ferry ride (Ministry of Land Infrastructure Transport and Tourism 2010, 1).

The island settlement began to form in the late 16th century when Takahara Tsugutoshi built a castle and a town, '*Honmachi*', after he acquired Naoshima and two other neighbouring islands in 1582 (Kondo 2012, 50). Naoshima island got its name in 1156 when Emperor Sutoku (1119-1164) was exiled to this area. Upon being impressed by the islander's sincerity and kind nature, he named it 'Naoshima' – which means 'honest island'. The island became a territory of the Shogunate during the Tokugawa era, and it served as a key strategic point in the Setouchi region, having prosperous salt and shipping industries. The island became Naoshima Town on April 1st, 1954, with the enforcement of the town system (Naoshima Town Office 2016).

Between the 17th and late 19th centuries (Edo Period), Naoshima prospered financially and culturally. However, by the beginning of the 20th century, the island's fishing industry began to decline[19]. The islanders then turned to the copper smelting industry to regain economic stability. In 1917, Mitsubishi Mining Company Ltd., the current Mitsubishi Materials Corporation Naoshima Smelter, was established (Naoshima Town Office 2016). The Naoshima refinery focuses on copper, precious metals, and

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[19] Agriculture and fishing were the only prosperous economic industries on the island. However, due to decline in productivity in 1916, the leader of the island invited the Mitsubishi Limited Partnership Company to establish its activities on Naoshima.

recycling (Shimizu 2007). Until the beginning of Mitsubishi's activities on the island, residents were mainly dependent on fishing and agriculture, but they soon turned to the smelter and refinery factory. The operations quickly attracted large scores of migrant workers to the island (Yoshimoto 2011, 296).

The copper-smelting activities in Naoshima continued until the Second World War and, in the 1950s, accounted for 85 per cent of the island's tax revenue. The company operating the factory built a hospital, a movie theatre, government buildings, and schools and conducted road repair works in a bid to develop Naoshima's infrastructure (Yoshimi 2011, 243). The island population swelled to 7800 people by 1960. However, over the years, with the streamlining of operations since a new refinery opened in 1969, the population proceeded to drop considerably (Yoshimoto 2011, 296).

Mitsubishi Materials has contributed to the island's economic development in the past and employs most of the population until today. However, the smelter company brought air pollution problems to the island as well as toxic gases destroying crops and trees in the northern part of the island. The situation has been alleviated with desulfurization technology and efforts to plant trees in the depleted mountains (Kodama 2015).

The Mitsubishi Materials Corporation Naoshima Smelter and Refinery is located in the northern part of the island. The central part of the island holds the educational and administrative areas with schools and the town hall. The Benesse Art Site Naoshima and museums are located in the southern part of the island. The amount of farmland has been decreasing on the island significantly, with most of the farming limited to home gardens.

However, the fishing industry is still significant with the large-scale cultivation of '*hamachi*', Tai (sea bream), and *nori* (seaweed) (Kagawa Prefecture 2013).

4.1.2 Teshima Island

Map 4: Teshima Island Aerial View
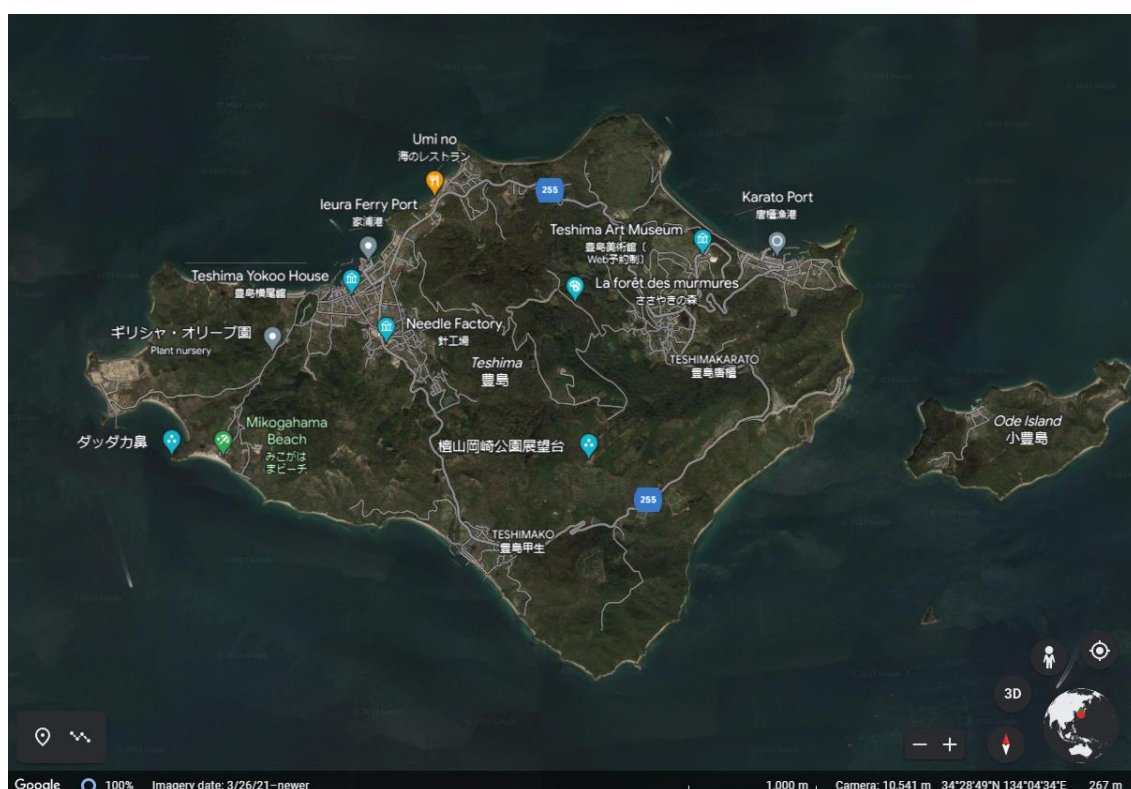
Source: Adapted from Google Earth (2021b)

Teshima island is part of the town of Tonosho in the Shozu District and belongs to Kagawa Prefecture. It is comprised of five areas: Ieura, Suzuri, Karato, and Kou area. The island has an area of 14.5 km^2 and has approximately 764 people (Teshima Community Centre 2022).

The island used to have three nicknames: 'the island of milk' due to its thriving dairy farming; 'the island of welfare' due to welfare facilities built after the war; and 'the island of rock' for the rocks enjoyed great appreciation in the past for being resistant to fire. The island possesses a variety of well-known products such as strawberries, olives, mandarins, lemons, *nori* (dried seaweed) and *somen* (thin white noodles). Finally, the rice fields, are the most recognizable and well-known produce having been cultivated on the island since ancient times (NPO Teshima Tourism Association 2018; NPO Teshima Tourism Association and Tonosho Town Office Commerce and Tourism Department 2019).

According to Yoshimoto (2011, 295), Teshima was the only island in Japan that produced enough rice to export outside the island, with extensive terraced rice paddies and irrigation ponds. The island, along with Inujima, is famous for its quarries and for the rocks that are more malleable than Inujima's granite stones.

Teshima island suffered one of the most prominent industrial waste scandals in Japan after the actions started by the Teshima Sogo Kanko Kaihaku company. The company polluted the island with its illegal dumping activities. The company owner was arrested in 1990 after years of complaints brought by the residents regarding the open burning of industrial waste in the west part of the island. It was discovered that the company had illegally dumped copious amounts of shredder dust, plastic, waste oil, and sludge on the island. The industrial waste contained around twelve kinds of poisonous materials (Takatsuki 2003; Maruyama 2003; Yoshimoto 2011).

4.1.3 Inujima Island

Map 5: Inujima Island Aerial View

Source: Adapted from Google Earth (2021a)

Inujima island belongs to Okayama Prefecture and has an area of 0.54 km^2. The island has a long history of supplying granite stones that were used in the Edo Castle, Osaka Castle, and Okayama Castle because of its high quality and robustness (Takahide, Minami, and Masayuki 2012). Inujima island's refinery facility was built in 1909 as a relocation of what was called a "problem facility". This move did not appease the islanders, who complained that the refinery's relocation polluted their crops and damaged their nature. In 1913 it was sold to Fujita Conglomerate but was shut down in 1919 due to the collapse of copper prices (Yoshimi 2011, 243).

Ever since the closing of the refinery, the island has endured a drastic population decline from 6000 people at its peak in 1910 to a population of 982 people in 1945, to 629 people in 1965, to 75 people in 2005, and 54 people in 2010 (Okayama Prefecture 2013; Okayama City Office n.d.) and 47 inhabitants in 2015 (Benesse Art Site Naoshima 2019a). Today, the island has around 40 people, the majority of whom are elderly.

Not only has the population declined considerably on the island, but the average age of islanders is relatively high, as pointed out by Akai-san, "I am 81 years old. However, I am younger than most other people here" (interviewed by author, 2022).

In connection to the significant decrease in population, the island has a considerable number of deteriorating empty houses, giving some parts of the island an eerie feel. As best described by Favell (2016), after disembarking at Inujima port, one can observe "bug-infested abandoned houses, the crumbling factory, the polluted quarry lake, the overgrown landscape, and the terminal village population of a dozen old people" (2016, 110).

A small number of islanders depend on the fishery as their source of income, and others, until 2010, were dedicated to the stone industry. The tertiary industry sector, and services, employed 80% of the islands' population, with businesses ranging from shops to restaurants to bungalows (Okayama Prefecture, 2013, p. 26).

4.1.4 Megijima Island

Map 6: Megijima Island Aerial View

Source: Adapted from Google Earth (2021b)

Megijima island belongs to Kagawa Prefecture, located 5.5 km north of Takamatsu Port. It has an area of 2.66 km^2. The island had a population of 136 people in 2015 (SanukiSetoShimaNet 2016), a decline from 174 in 2010 and 212 in 2005 (Kagawa Prefecture 2013, 3). Currently, the island has 125 people (Kagawa Prefectural Government 2020a). As of 2010, 56.9% of residents worked in the primary industry, 3.1% worked in the secondary industry, and 40.0% of locals were connected to the tertiary industry (Kagawa Prefecture 2013, 6).

The island is known for its three to four meters stone walls that run along the edge of the village and protect the houses from harsh weather. The wall runs around the seafront and encircles the village, providing a labyrinth of passages between the houses. The island appears in the Japanese folklore Momotaro and Onigashima and has a 4000-square-meters in area and 400 meters in depth cave known as the Onigashima Cave. The circuit inside the cave introduces the Legend of Momotaro with various *Oni* inside the cave detailing Momotaro's adventures (Kagawa Prefectural Government 2020b).

The island has an extensive beachfront that attracts several visitors during the summer months, especially from Takamatsu city, for one-day trips due to the proximity between their two ports, according to Yamaha-san (interviewed by author, 2022).

Megijima has a close relationship with Ogijima island, as stated by all those interviewed in Megijima:

> We interact with Ogijima deeply because it is very close…for example, some brides come from Ogijima but not from Megijima. We have a connection through relatives. Some Megijima islanders come to see the cherry blossom. We don't interact with other islanders except for Ogijima although some islanders may know other islanders (Kato-san interview, 2022).

4.1.5 Ogijima Island

Map 7: Ogijima Island Aerial View
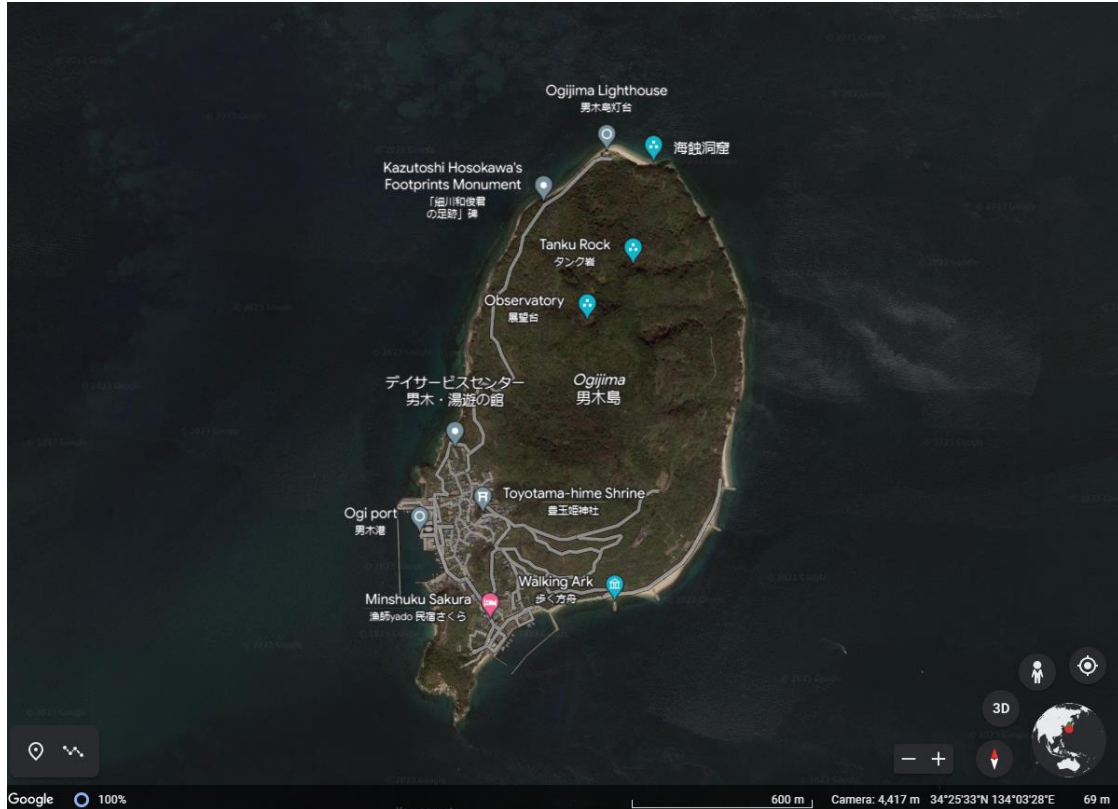
Source: Adapted from Google Earth (2021d)

Ogijima island belongs to Kagawa Prefecture, located 10.1km north of Takamatsu Port. It has an area of 2 km². Like most remote islands of Japan, the island has experienced a decline in population over the last two decades. Ogijima went from 248 people in 2000 to 162 in 2010 (Kagawa Prefecture 2013, 3) to 148 in 2015 (SanukiSetoShimaNet 2016). In 2020, the island had a population of 132 people (Kagawa Prefectural Government 2020a). However, according to the Ogijima Neighbourhood Association, the population increased to 153 in 2022. The majority of the population, 61.8%, works in the tertiary

industry while 36.4% of the population works within agriculture and fisheries sectors (Kagawa Prefecture 2013, 6).

The island has close ties to Megijima island due to their proximity and islanders' individual social relations with each other. A 20-minute boat ride separates the two islands since Ogijima is only 1 km north of Megijima island.

The island has numerous attractions that have been around for decades and enjoys some success in attracting visitors. Before the art tourism industry, one of the biggest attractions on the island was the Toyotama-Hime Shrine and the Ogijima Lighthouse, built in 1895. Toyotama-Hime Shrine is located on the top of a mountain after a steep climb through stone stairs that allows one to see the whole island. Since ancient times, the shrine has been known as the Legend of Princess Toyotama. The lighthouse was built entirely of granite in a Western-style and rose to fame in 1957 as it became the location of the movie 喜びも悲しみも幾歳月[20] (English title: "Times of Joy and Sorrow" or "The Lighthouse") by Keisukke Kinoshita. The path from the port to the lighthouse takes 30 minutes on foot from the port or 15 minutes by bicycle (Kagawa Prefectural Government 2020c). The island is covered in vegetation and has an abundance of insects. The fauna has reclaimed parts of the walking paths that are less frequented by humans.

The island was once called the 'cat island' due to the number of stray cats roaming its narrow streets, but that has changed with volunteers and non-profit organizations neutering and spaying the stray cats and decreasing their numbers. As explained to me by Kaneko-san during one of the interviews, the sheer number of stray cats on the island

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[20] Romaji: *Yorokobi mo Kanashimi mo Ikutoshitsuki*.

used to bring damage to farmers and households thus increasing islanders' complaints about the situation:

> The number of cats was on the increase six years ago. There was plenty of damage from the cats. For example, they ruined the fields and scratched the nets. There were only two people who took care of the cats. On the other hand, cats breed rapidly, so the number of cats increased. In such a situation, the former Ogijima leader was focused on saving cats five years ago while focusing on the tourism industry. He reduced the number of cats from 165 to 70 in collaboration with cat activity groups like NPO or animal welfare groups in Takamatsu (Kaneko-san interview, 2022).

Transportation on the island is mainly by foot due to the streets being extremely narrow and the existence of many slopes and stairs within the village. The brochure distributed for the Setouchi Triennale 2022 with the information on the island calls the attention of visitors to the lack of public bathrooms on the island, the steep and narrow streets, and to "be careful not to get in the way of the residents of the island" ("Setouchi Triennale 2022: Megijima, Ogijima, Oshima, Takamatsu Port" 2022, 12). A similar message can be found in the Teshima Guide Map and Timetable prepared by NPO Teshima Tourism Association and Tonosho Town Office Commerce and Tourism Department (2022) and distributed for Setouchi Triennale 2022.

4.2 Benesse Art Site Naoshima and Art Tourism in the Setonaikai

Naoshima, Teshima, and Inujima islands are a group of islands that belong to Benesse Art Site Naoshima, a collective name for art activities conducted by Benesse Holdings, Inc., and the Fukutake Foundation. The three islands, along with Megijima and Ogijima islands, are involved in the Setouchi Triennale.

The Benesse Art Site Naoshima project originated in 1985 with an exchange between Tetsuhiko Fukutake, the founding president of Fukutake Publishing, and Chikatsugu Miyake, the mayor of Naoshima at the time. However, Tetsuhiko Fukutake passed away six months after this exchange with Miyake, and his son, Soichiro Fukutake, took up the project (Benesse Art Site Naoshima 2013, 12).

Table 1 presents some of the main infrastructure operated by Benesse Art Site Naoshima and the opening years and locations of the Setouchi Triennale.

Table 1: Opening of Main Facilities and Activities of Benesse Art Site Naoshima and Setouchi Triennale

Year	Facility	Location		Year	Facility	Location
1989	Naoshima International Camping Ground	**Naoshima**		2010	Setouchi Triennale 2010	Naoshima, Teshima, Megijima, Ogijima, Oshima, Inujima
1992	Benesse House Museum	**Naoshima**		2010	Opening of the Teshima Art Museum	**Teshima**
1998	House Project starts	**Naoshima**		2013	Setouchi Triennale 2013	Naoshima, Teshima, Megijima, Ogijima, Oshima, Inujima, * 6 islands, 2 ports
2004	Chichu Art Museum	**Naoshima**		2016	Setouchi Triennale 2016	
2008	Opening of Inujima Seirensho Art Museum	**Inujima**		2019	Setouchi Triennale 2019	
2010	Start of Inujima Art House Project	**Inujima**		2022	Setouchi Triennale 2022	

Source: Adapted from Benesse Art Site Naoshima (2019b; 2013); Setouchi Triennale Executive Committee (n.d.; 2020)

*The organizing committee added six more islands since Setouchi Triennale 2013: Shodoshima, Shamijima, Honjima, Takamijima, Awashima, Ibukijima islands, and Takamatsu and Uno Ports.

Following the campground activities in 1989, the Benesse House Museum opened in 1992 as the first art-related infrastructure built on Naoshima. The museum is located on the southern part of the island in the "Museum Area", along with the Chichu Art Museum and the Lee Ufan Museum. The area is connected to the island's districts by a free shuttle bus provided by Benesse that runs per the schedules of the museums in the

area (Town Naoshima Tourism Association 2019, 2–3). Until 1998, all the art exhibitions were held within the 'Museum Area' and did not have contact with the local community. However, this changed in 1998 with the Art House Project when Benesse purchased an old building formerly owned by a prominent local family and renewed the building as the first art installation for the Art House Project. The exhibition was named *Kadoya* and was finalized by cooperation between the artist and the local community who contributed to assembling the art piece (Yoshimoto 2011, 299).

As one interviewee in Naoshima stated, "Benesse created the artworks 30 years ago. The number of people interested in art increased, and the number of cafes, guesthouses, and restaurants increased consequently. The fishing industry is declining because the number of fish decreased, so the island shifted to the tourism industry" (Yamada-san interview, 2022).

When asked why art and why in Naoshima island, Soichiro Fukutake stated his belief that "contemporary art could make a difference: it would be possible to effect change by placing art that takes a healthy, critical view of contemporary society in original Japanese landscape untainted by modernity" (Fukutake 2011, 25).

Benesse Art Site Naoshima began operating in Inujima in 2008 with the opening of the Inujima Seirensho Art Museum. Later, it expanded to Teshima in 2010 with the opening of the Teshima Art Museum. Both museums are the main attraction on their islands and connect to the islands' history of industrialization. Seirensho Art Museum is integrated into the former copper refinery formerly operated on the island.

According to Yoshimoto (2011), locals in Inujima were eager for the beginning of the museum operations, but the contrary was observed in Teshima. Islanders were more

reluctant to be involved in the Setouchi Triennale and were "wary of a company intruding on their island", having fresh in their minds how the island had been used as an illegal dumping ground years before. The construction location of the museum on the island was initially questioned by the islanders because "it seemed to contradict the festival's ideal of preserving food sources and scenery" (2011, 305).

The unique feature of the current art tourism industry on the islands is that it allows visitors to explore and experience art beyond just the museum. In addition to the usual museum exhibitions, artworks are spread throughout the different districts and neighbourhoods along all the islands, in private or public properties. Visitors are then encouraged to explore the island's landscape and discover all art-related structures. Adventuring on the islands allows visitors to see a "unique glimpse into the islanders' lives and identities, as well as a participation in the fusion of the traditional and contemporary cultures with nature" (Évora 2022, 108).

Just as Kondo (2012, 53–60) reported, my study also observed Benesse Art Site Naoshima's characteristics in the islands where the project was present. The collective of art activities and exhibitions are located in a remote place, a number of the artworks are fixed and permanent on the islands, a private company manages them in cooperation with local government and islanders, and boundaries between visitors and artworks are vague in many cases.

4.3 Setouchi Triennale

The art tourism industry of the islands takes a significant boost from The Setouchi Triennale Art Festival. The festival, which started in 2010, revived the traditions of each island participating in the festival's first edition. They were: Naoshima, Teshima, Inujima, Megijima, Ogijima, Shodoshima, and Oshima islands.

According to Fukutake (2011), "one of the reasons for holding the Setouchi International Art Festival 2010 is to cultivate this new type of relationship between cultures and corporations and to promote ideas such as regional revitalization through art, the concept of public capitalism, and the creation of a utopia on earth" (2011, 29).

After the first edition in 2010, the sessions were divided according to the seasons (autumn, spring, and summer) in 2016 and 2019. The division was made to alleviate the burden on the number of tourists visiting the islands. The festival now has 12 islands and two ports participating in the art-related activities, with 108 days in 2016 and 107 days in 2019 (Setouchi Triennale Executive Committee 2020; 2017). The number of art exhibitions and art-related activities varies from one island to another, as well as the number of visitors passing by the islands' ports.

The art festival gains a significant ally in connecting islanders to the festival with the help of the Nonprofit Organization Setouchi Koebi Network, also known as Koebitai. Koebitai is a volunteer-based Non-profit that helps bridge the relationship between the different islands taking part in Setouchi Triennale, the artists, and visitors to the islands. When asked how Koebitai relates with islanders and connects them to Setouchi Triennale, I obtained the following answer:

Setouchi Triennale is held every three years, but outside of the festival, we continue to work to support other activities for two years. So, two years outside the festival, we try to connect the locals and activities. (…) Those activities will continue to lead to the next festival so, even…if the festival returns every three years and then go back it's not enough…and for islanders, it is not satisfying at all, so we continue our activities throughout the year even outside the art festival. We deal with a variety of activities. For example, we join autumn festivals and cultural activities on the islands. We train the guides for tours. We have training and meetings to continue the activities (Stakeholder #1 interview, 2019).

Koebitai volunteers seem to be well established within the islands where they support the festival and enjoy a positive response from islanders in Teshima and Megijima islands, according to Nakashima (2012). Koebitai volunteers play an essential role in exposing the islands to "volunteer tourists", as stated by Funck and Chang (2018), even if the prefectural government office "hadn't thought of volunteers as tourists" (2018, 90). The Entry of tourists/visitors to the islands can therefore have different visibility.

The number of visitors who pass by the islands' ports during the Setouchi Triennale depends on the location and connection to the region since the festival relies on maritime transportation to the venues. Although the festival's first edition in 2010 concentrated in Naoshima, Teshima, Inujima, Megijima, Ogijima and Oshima islands, the remaining editions spread to other islands in the region, including Shodoshima, Shamijima, Honjima, Takamijima, Awashima, Ibukijima, and Takamatsu and Uno ports (Setouchi Triennale Executive Committee 2020).

Figure 10 presents the number of visitors to Naoshima, Teshima, Inujima, Megijima, and Ogijima islands during Setouchi Triennale's second edition in 2013 up to the fourth edition in 2019 and compares them to the islands' population.

Figure 10: Islands' Visitors During Setouchi Triennale in 2013, 2016, and 2019
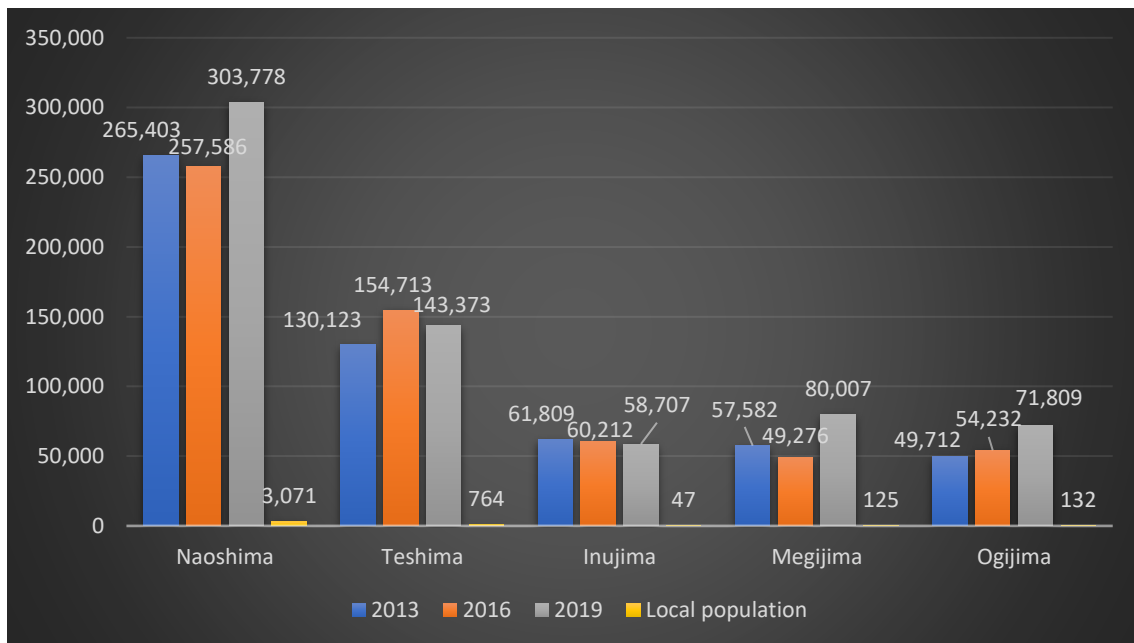
Source: Adapted from Setouchi Triennale Executive Committee (2020, 3; 2017, 16); Kagawa Prefectural Government (2020a); Teshima Community Centre (2022); Benesse Art Site Naoshima (2019a)

Figure 10 illustrates the significant differences in the number of visitors to each island and the local population, showcasing the amplified perception of Entry on the smaller islands. Naoshima island has the most visitors among the five islands during the Setouchi Triennale. The number of visitors increased considerably between the second edition in 2013 and the fourth edition in 2019, from 265,403 to 303,778. The same trend is observed in Megijima and Ogijima, with the number of visitors increasing with each

art festival. Megijima island had 57,582 visitors in 2013, but the number rose to 80,007 in 2019, making it the most visited (slightly more than Ogijima island).

While visitors to Teshima seem to fluctuate between the three art festivals, the number of visitors passing by Inujima during the art festival has decreased with each edition. The number of visitors to Inujima islands went from 61,809 in 2013 to 60,212 in 2016 and 58,707 in 2019, revealing a decrease in interest in the art festival.

Although some islanders in Naoshima might be relieved if the number of visitors decreases since the significant number of visitors to the islands during the year has resulted in inconvenience, and hence complaints from some islanders. For example, the streets become overcrowded during the art festival, making it challenging for drivers to avoid pedestrians. Shimizu-san revealed that "not everyone thinks well about visitors and the tourism industry. Older people want to live quietly. Many people are visiting, especially during Setouchi Triennale. I think we don't want any more [visitors and tourism industry] because this is enough" (Shimizu-san interview, 2022); islanders in Inujima might feel the opposite.

The Entry element in Inujima is seen as a positive consequence of the islands' exposure due to art tourism. Uchida-san (interviewed by author, 2019) stated that tourism allows islanders in Inujima to talk and interact with visitors and provides job opportunities for the elderly on the island. Akai-san shares the same opinion and is, in fact, one of the oldest employees in the services industry connected to tourism on the island:

> Some people are 85 or 90 years old and work at the art museum as part-timers. People like that can see the future… If Benesse goes well…we rely on the tourism industry…Benesse gave us work so that islanders could be fine. We work, for

example, by cleaning the roads or gardening four times a week, only three hours in the morning. But in the summer, we work from 6 a.m. to 9 a.m. ….sometimes 7 a.m. …for only three hours. Now I work at Inujima Nature House for visitors (Akai-san interview, 2022).

Akai-san also revealed that having visitors on the island was a good opportunity to talk to people since nowadays it has become more and more challenging to see and interact with other islanders due to the advanced age of most and since the 2020 COVID-19 pandemic.

The sheer number of visitors to the islands, illustrated in Figure 10, presents another significant feature of the island's daily life. Inujima island has a current population of around 40 people, according to one interviewee. An island of fewer than 50 inhabitants receiving up to 58,707 visitors in a year can be overwhelming, especially given Inujima's small 0.54 km^2 land area.

The difference in visitors passing along Naoshima, Teshima, Inujima, Megijima, and Ogijima islands and the local population illustrates the islandness elements. As previously observed, differences in size influence how relationships between islanders and non-islanders are constructed. The smallness of the island encourages openness "by welcoming newcomers or enhancing its relationship with neighbouring islands." The smaller islands present a greater openness. When combining smallness and amplification on an island setting, the perceived changes in island life, developmental structures, projects, or the number of visitors, are experienced differently by islands of different sizes (Évora 2022, 104). As such, the high number of visitors to Naoshima, with a population of 3171, is experienced differently than Megijima, with 125 people.

4.4 The Future of Art Tourism in Setonaikai

When questioned whether the tourism industry alone could sustain the islands, from the 21 total interviews, 12 islanders answered negatively and countered how the industry is not sustainable for their specific island. In contrast, only five islanders responded positively to the question.

On Teshima island's Ieura area, Inoue-san stated that the "tourism industry is difficult to sustain because most people in the tourism industry are young and the *ojiichan* and *obaachan* are the pillars of the island. I think that the tourism industry will be activated, but it is difficult to sustain the island only with the tourism industry" (interviewed by author, 2022). During the interview with Inoue-san, she revealed that the Karato area would have a guesthouse to inaugurate in a couple of more weeks when her preparations were finalized. She invited us to return to Teshima and stay at her guesthouse as a marketing strategy to attract more customers.

At the same, in Ieura, Midori-san showed that the tourism industry's acceptance on one island could vary from one district to another depending on the degree of interaction and dependency on the activities spread on the island:

> I don't think I am excited about the tourism industry. I want to get along with islanders peacefully, but Ieura is different from the other districts. People in Ieura think visitors do not need to come, but in Karato, they are enthusiastic about the tourism industry. I don't feel like we are living and eating only in the tourism industry (Midori-san interview, 2022).

While on Naoshima island, Yamada-san was vehement that something must change:

> Tourism has been weak for the last five years. We need businesses oriented not only for visitors but also non-visitors. If tourism recovers, both the tourism and manufacturing industries will become stronger. I think Mitsubishi Materials will keep growing. Some people started businesses by themselves, like guesthouses or restaurants, and succeeded. Now, outside companies are moving into Naoshima. For example, an Okayama guesthouse company is coming to Naoshima (Yamada-san interview, 2022).

On Megijima island, Fujii-san stated that while many people visited the island in summer for the beaches and the island's atmosphere, in winter, "it's too cold, like hell" for people to visit or attempt to stay. Both respondents on Ogijima, Matsumoto-san and Kaneko-san, agreed that the tourism industry on the islands now cannot sustain the island life and that local authorities and the local association should be at the front to tackle the challenges experienced by islanders on Ogijima. All the respondents from Naoshima and Ogijima agreed on the matter.

However, the five who saw the tourism industry as a future possibility for the region were islanders from Megijima and Inujima. It has been established that Inujima, the smallest island with the smallest population, sees its future closely linked to the tourism industry's success. Akai-san and Uchida-san share the same conviction that the island is destined to become uninhabited without tourism. Akai-san believes that the new migrants only moved to the island because of the art tourism facilities: "the art museum…The art museum was built…This is the reason why people move to this island" (Akai-san

interview, 2022). While on Teshima, only one Voice rose to state that tourism would be the only option left: "because the number of people in the fishing industry decreased. Their children moved out of the island…So only tourism industry is left" (Nohara-san interview, 2022).

Perhaps it is important to highlight that the respondents on Megijima who showed confidence in the art tourism future were business owners with services that catered directly to visitors. Kato-san and Sato-san were self-employed, while Yamaha-san was employed in the service industry. However, not all those engaged in the service industry share the same positive attitude towards the art tourism industry.

Even though Kojima-san is self-employed and owns guesthouses in Naoshima, she still shares the conviction, first shared with me in 2019. That although the industry brought changes and infrastructures to the island and facilitated encounters between older islanders and younger visitors, the industry has reached its peak. The island needs to look inward and diversify its products:

> Not tourism…not the art but nature things…Graduate from the art to something local. Maybe fishing tours would be okay...Something related to nature…or visiting Mitsubishi Materials. We need to find something inside the islands. Something that has existed here for a long time. Amusement Park? Nature Park? Athletics things? Fishing? There is a beautiful sunset that you can see from the islands… (Kojima-san interview, 2022).

The same sentiment is shared by Yamada-san, who not only agreed that the island should look in other directions but suggested creating products which are not only tailored for tourism:

I think Naoshima needs a different kind of industry because Naoshima is known as a brand only. I don't know if it will succeed, but for example, make craft beer or something like Naoshima's product and make things that tourists and people worldwide can buy. Make things to be consumed in various places, even in a small village, because business on this island will not increase. I think we should increase the industries on a large scale to make it easier to migrate to Naoshima. For example, an art school could be established (Yamada-san interview, 2022).

Diversifying the island's economic activities will decrease the dependency on tourism activities that are not sustainable throughout the year. It will also ensure that the new residents to the island and the returnees brought by the Entry process can establish themselves for a more extended period. Furthermore, increasing the number of industries available on Naoshima, Teshima, Inujima, Megijima, and Ogijima islands could benefit islanders, new migrants, and tourists with a more extensive range of products.

Chapter 5: "The Sea We Cross; From Boats We Wave": Connectivity and Collectivity Among the Islands and Islanders

Considering the previous islands' characterization and evolution, this chapter describes a series of significant changes the art tourism industry brought to the islands' livelihoods, such as infrastructure gains, new transportation routes, and migration. Additionally, the chapter analyses the current Connectivity between Naoshima, Teshima, Inujima, Megijima and Ogijima islands explored during the study and the implications of art tourism for the Setonaikai and the relationship between the five islands involved in this study. Through islanders' narratives collected in the five islands, I explore the Collectivity present and accounted for between the islands and the islanders. Lastly, the chapter presents the reality lived and experienced by the islanders on their islands and the challenges that must be overcome for the benefit of each island and the network of islands in general.

5.1 Inter-Island Connectivity

Art tourism in the region brought to light a new network of sea transportation that aids the connection between Naoshima, Teshima, and Inujima islands, with the islands being connected by boat services three times a day. Figure 11 presents the connection between the islands and the mainland ports connected to them.

Figure 11: Connection between Naoshima, Teshima, Inujima, Megijima, and Ogijima
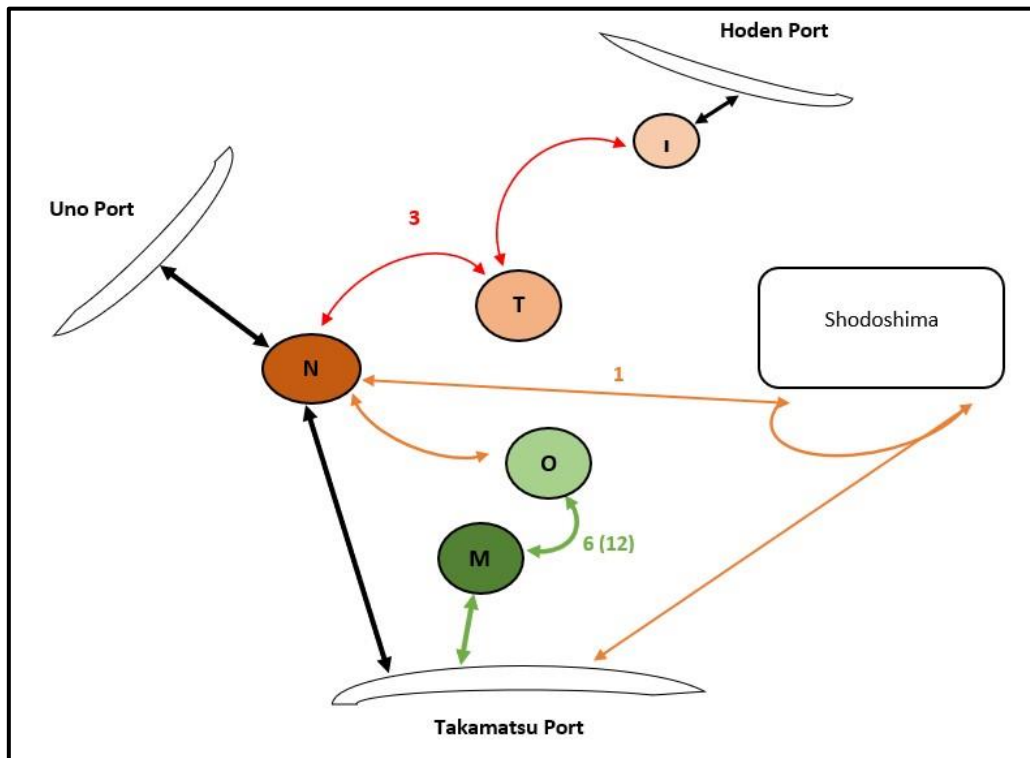
Source: Created by author (2022)

N – Naoshima Island; **T –** Teshima island; **I** – Inujima island; **M** – Megijima; **O** – Ogijima

The connection between Naoshima, Teshima, and Inujima islands is made three times a day by a high-speed boat (Table 2) leaving Miyanoura Port in Naoshima island and headed to Inujima Port after making a brief stop at Ieura Port in Teshima. The inter-island connectivity between the Naoshima, Teshima, and Inujima islands did not exist before the Benesse Art Site Naoshima activities began. As was stated previously by the islanders, "there was no regular transportation between Naoshima and Teshima until Setouchi Triennale" (Kurosaki-san interview, 2022). The boat rides between the islands started with the art tourism industry and operate depending on the opening hours of the Teshima Art Museum and the Inujima Seirensho Art Museum.

Table 2: Naoshima, Teshima, and Inujima High-Speed Boat Timetable

Miyanoura Departure	Teshima Arrival		Teshima Departure	Inujima Arrival
9:20	9:42		9:50	10:15
12:10	12:32		12:40	13:05
14:50	15:12		15:17	15:42
Inujima Departure	**Teshima Arrival**		**Teshima Departure**	**Miyanoura Arrival**
10:25	10:50		10:55	11:17
13:10	13:35		13:40	14:02
15:47	16:12		16:17	16:39

Source: Adapted from Town Naoshima Tourism Association (2022, 14)

As observed in Figure 11, to reach Megijima and Ogijima islands from Naoshima, one must first travel either by ferry or high-speed boat to Takamatsu Port and then proceed to catch the ferry that leaves Takamatsu Port for the two islands. The Meon[21] ferry connects Takamatsu Port to Megijima and Ogijima islands six times a day throughout the year. However, during the summer peak, from August 1 to August 20, the frequency of trips by ferry from Takamatsu Port doubles.

Apart from the course mentioned above, a new route of transportation is now available between Naoshima – Ogijima. Naoshima Line operates the route only on Saturdays, Sundays, and holidays, May 5th and 6th, August 12th, and 15th (excluding November 3rd). The ship connection departs from Takamatsu Port to Shodoshima island

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[21] The ferry's name comes from the kanji for Megijima 女木島 and Ogijima 男木島 islands.

(Table 3), then to Naoshima, and lastly, arrives at Ogijima island. The trip is done only once a day and is the only route connecting Naoshima directly to Ogijima island.

Table 3: Takamatsu to Ogijima (via Shodoshima and Naoshima) Timetable

Takamatsu Departure	Sakate (Shodoshima) Departure	Tonoshohigashi (Shodoshima) Departure	Honmura (Naoshima) Departure	Ogijima Arrival
7:00	7:40	8:20	9:00	9:20
Ogijima Arrival	Honmura (Naoshima) Departure	Tonoshohigashi (Shodoshima) Departure	Sakate (Shodoshima) Departure	Takamatsu Departure
15:35	15:55	16:35	17:40	18:20

Source: Adapted from "Setouchi Triennale 2022: Megijima, Ogijima, Oshima, Takamatsu Port" (2022)

The connection came as good news to Suzuki-san, who had manifested interest in a route between Naoshima and more islands: "I want to improve the transportation between the islands, but I don't have the right to change it. For example, I want to introduce direct transportation between Megijima and Naoshima" (interviewed by author, 2022). With the new connection between Naoshima and Ogijima, one might hope that the relationship with Megijima will be strengthened since the three islands share a surprising connection through a visual novel and game called Summer Pockets (Picture 3).

According to Suzuki, the game transformed the islands into pilgrimage sites for players of the game:

Ten people lived here for two years. They were game players [of Summer Pocket]. Naoshima, Ogijima, and Megijima are a sanctuary for Summer Pocket players.

The players come on pilgrimage. (…) The game brings Naoshima, Ogijima, and Megijima together. The game is not only popular with Japanese but also with Chinese and Koreans. Players of the game came many times to visit, and art visitors came two or three times. Some gamers bought houses in Naoshima and Ogijima (Suzuki-san interview, 2022).

Picture 3: Poster of the Summer Pockets Game Displayed in a Shop

Source: Picture taken by the author on Naoshima island (2022)

Apart from the connection mentioned above, the researcher encountered two other routes connecting Naoshima that were not present during the previous study in 2019. The Takamatsu–Naoshima–Teshima route and another one that connects Naoshima to Shodoshima island. Even with these routes, the transportation between the five islands being studied needs to be accessed. According to Yamaha-san, "if the connection between

the islanders increases, the number of ships will increase, and money will flow between them" (interviewed by author, 2022).

The distance and price of the maritime connection between the islands hinder the free movement of islanders in the island network. When asked what could be done to improve the current interaction between the different islands, Akai-san pondered on her response and said, "I have never thought about it…The transportation fee is very expensive so…" (interviewed by author, 2022). The same was stated by islanders and visitors in the previous study when referring to the price of a one-way ticket from Naoshima (Miyanoura Port) to Inujima, ¥1880, while the ticket from Naoshima (Miyanoura Port) to Teshima (Ieura Port) costs ¥630. From Teshima to Inujima, the one-way ticket costs ¥1250. The higher price for travelling to Inujima harms the island's competitiveness in attracting visitors.

Naoshima, Teshima and Inujima's connection is tailored to the museums on the islands. During peak season, finding a place on the high-speed boat is challenging because of the sheer number of visitors attempting to cross between the islands. Since islanders also use the boat connection, such conditions make it more difficult for islanders to visit the other islands in the region freely. Megijima and Ogijima have the closest relationship to each other partially because both islands are 20 minutes away from one another. The one-way ticket boat trip costs ¥240, making it more probable that islanders between Megijima and Ogijima would interact with one another.

To achieve a sustainable and rich relationship between the five islands, it is necessary to expand transportation options for the region, considering the cost brought to the islanders. The cost of transportation between the islands should not only be tailored

for the tourism industry but should take into consideration the purchasing power of the island communities. According to Butler (1997), island societies are more at risk regarding changes in transportation due to the limited accessibility depending on their distance to other islands and the mainland. Islands are at risk not only for their dependency on transport innovation but for the changes that better access can bring to small island societies. As such, islanders "need to exert strong control over the type, scale and pace of tourism-related development which they are willing to accept" (1997, 54).

The lack of transportation, in some cases, and the price of a ticket, in others, hinders the relationship between islanders but also the islander's capacity to work or study outside the islands. As pointed by Kaneko-san on Ogijima island:

> In order for someone to work at Takamatsu and live in Ogijima, we need to increase the number of night ships. The current last ship departs from Takamatsu at 18:10. High school students who have club activities can't go home by 18:10. So, many people who have children move out to Takamatsu. The postal image of Ogijima is the sunset but we don't have a ship later at night, so we can't see the sunset (interviewed by author, 2022).

The frustration was felt in Megijima, with Kato-san also referring to the last ship departing for the island, "The last ship departs Takamatsu to here at 18:10…when they are working outside the island the time is…" (interviewed by author, 2022).

5.2 Connection Without Extensive Communication

The islands' Collectivity relationship does not seem evident, with some narratives contradicting the islands' interactions. When asked what connected the islands in this study, islanders had an idea of a strong inter-island connection through fisheries, "some people fish, so they move back and forth between the islands" (Midori-san interview, 2022) and "fishing industries bring people together because we go to the other islands for fishing" (Fujii-san interview, 2022). The Setonaikai, "recently people think that art brings people together, but I think Setonaikai brings people together. There is something in common as small islands in the Setonaikai" (Yamada-san interview, 2022). Art tourism and the Setouchi Triennale, "events like this art festival bring people together" (Kurosaki-san interview, 2022) and "art brings people together between all the islands and Shodoshima. The game [summer pocket] brings Naoshima, Ogijima, and Megijima together" (Suzuki-san interview, 2022).

Yoshida-san agreed with the importance of the art festival in connecting the islands and stated:

> Setouchi Triennale is being held this year, so it is completely different depending on if it is held or not. Some people go to Inujima and Teshima usually…but we don't have the opportunity to go to Inujima or Teshima without this Setouchi Triennale. Islanders…it seems like we do our best together because of this art festival (interviewed by author, 2022).

Apart from the external and occupational reasons presented by the interviewees, kinship and familial ties were also offered by Kato-san:

> We interact with Ogijima deeply because it is very close…for example, some
> brides come from Ogijima but not Megijima. We have a connection through
> relatives. Some Megijima islanders come to see the cherry blossom. We don't
> interact with other islanders except for Ogijima, although some islanders may
> know other islanders (interviewed by author, 2022).

The same sentiment was shared by Sato-san, also in Megijima, who identified not only familial ties as a conductor but also the visitors passing through the different islands:

> The relationship between Megijima and Ogijima is through relatives. We don't
> interact with the other islands like Naoshima. But some visitors come here and go
> to the other islands. I think I want to go to other islands because the characteristics
> depend on the islands. I have been to Naoshima and Ogijima. Children go to other
> islands for school events (interviewed by author, 2022).

The familial ties between the two islands are made more accessible because the two are the closest islands in the studied group. The ship connection between Megijima and Ogijima lasts around 20 minutes by ferry and is the most frequent on the island network, with six connections a day. One way trip between the islands costs ¥240 for adults and ¥120 for children. The ferry's frequency between Takamatsu Port and Megijima doubles in the summer from August 1st to August 20th.

At the start of this study, the researcher had a clear notion that the element of Collectivity that began sprouting with art tourism in the area needed to be nurtured for the islanders' benefit. From the previous study conducted, islanders had a clear idea that something else needed to be done not from outside "we have to do something from inside of the island because the art festival is the power that comes from outside of the island"

(Évora 2022, 115), but from within the island. Islanders also understood that the prosperity of the network of islands was subordinate to a collective gain.

On the one hand, the narratives show a contradiction between having a strong inter-island collectivity, as remarked by Fujii-san, Kurosaki-san, Yamada-san, or Sato-san. On the other hand, it shows the islanders as not having a Collectivity sense between each other. When asked what connected Naoshima, Teshima, Inujima, Megijima, and Ogijima islands some interviewees clearly stated, "we don't interact with other islanders" (Sakai-san; Uchida-san; Yamaha-san; and Fujii-san interview, 2022); "nothing" (Nohara-san interview, 2022); "no, we don't interact with other islanders" (Ikeda-san interview, 2022). The only apparent exception proved to be between Megijima and Ogijima, with Sato-san and Kato-san (interviewed by author, 2022) confirming the close ties between islanders of the two islands.

In examining the rationale behind the lack of Collectivity between the islands, two statements came to light as being the most telling. Midori-san, an islander resident in Teshima island, stated, "we don't interact with islanders because most people go to bigger cities [not islands]. I never thought that we wanted to increase interaction between these islands because we rely on the bigger cities" (interviewed by author, 2022).

Islanders move between the islands and the bigger ports, connecting them to other areas where they would find more school and work opportunities. The study did identify nine islanders who had to opt for the Exit option, although they returned to their islands of origin. It is worth remembering that those who had left their islands did not move to another island. The islanders move to "bigger cities", and as Midori-san confesses "we were educated thinking that urban areas were very good, and rural areas were

inconvenient. Everyone was longing to live in an urban area" (interviewed by author, 2022).

Kojima-san, an islander residing in Naoshima, when asked about the islands' interaction, quickly answered:

Never [laughs]…there are no chances to get together. Even during the art Triennale…like you and the tourists from other places, try to visit as much as they can. But for us, it is more difficult. It takes almost one day to go to others...If we need then yes, but there is no necessity right now…We need a bridge [laughs] a bridge between the islands, Naoshima, Teshima, Uno… (Kojima-san interview, 2022).

The islander brings to attention that it is easier for visitors to circulate between the islands than it is for islanders themselves. This fact has been highlighted previously and remains a hindrance to the development of Collectivity among the Naoshima, Teshima, Inujima, Megijima, and Ogijima islands. Kojima-san attests that visitors serve as a Collectivity mechanism between the islands but are insufficient for better relationships between islanders from different islands.

Shimizu-san, in Naoshima, corroborates the same feeling and summarizes the current Collectivity issues between the islands involved in the art tourism activities:

There is nothing that brings people together directly, although visitors go to the other islands. Islanders don't interact with other islanders. I don't go to the other islands. I went to another island only once, so only one time is enough. I have never interacted with other islanders so far. So, we don't need to interact with

them in the future. Benesse has interactions between Megijima and Inujima through Setouchi Triennale. Considering all the islands, *we have a lot of connections, but islanders do not interact with each other directly*[22] (interviewed by author, 2022).

Similar to Shimizu-san's opinion in Naoshima, Kaneko-san in Ogijima shared the same belief but correlated the lack of interactions with the Connectivity between the islands:

> We don't interact with other islanders daily. When we have Setouchi Triennale, we have the ship only on Saturdays, Sundays, and holidays. So, if we increase the number of small boats from Ogijima to Naoshima, the number of tourists will increase, and it will be easier to access (interviewed by author, 2022).

The lack of interactions between islanders from the different islands deserves to be further extolled to increase horizontal communications on islands for their collective gain. Even though the islands are in a collective relationship thanks to Benesse Art Site Naoshima and Setouchi Triennale, collective action between islanders remains scarce and seen as of no importance by islanders: "I don't think there is a problem. I don't think we are not getting along with them. Because there is nothing with the other islands, we don't have to support each other" (Watanabe-san interview, 2022).

The interviewees were asked to point out what brought people together in their respective islands to further examine Collectivity between the five islands and find common ground. The question "What do you think brings people together on this island?"

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[22] Emphasis given by the author.

was the most difficult to answer by the respondents, with calls for clarification and attempts to share the question with nearby people. Then, after rephrasing it as if they thought the islanders had specific characteristics and what they did together, the answers seemed to flow effortlessly.

According to Kurosaki-san in Teshima island, the interactions on the islands did not depend only on the art tourism as "there are some events to get people together and do something even in the years that there is no art festival because the festival is held every three years" (interviewed by author, 2022). However, some of these events seem to have been disturbed by the pandemic affecting the country since 2020. Inoue-san confirmed this by stating that "before COVID-19, people who opened shops gathered and held a marché. After COVID-19, this market was held less frequently" (interviewed by author, 2022). While the same situation was felt in Naoshima by Suzuki-san, who stated, "The individual relationship is very weak of late. In the past, we had a neighbourhood association. Now we can't have *hanabi*, *matsuri*, *bon-odori* due to COVID-19. Now the opportunity for meeting each other is decreasing" (interviewed by author, 2022).

According to the answers, community and family ties seem to unite islanders on the five islands. Akai-san, an islander in Inujima, emphasized that "native islanders are like my family, so when something happens, we cooperate with each other like a family. The community is very close" (interviewed by author, 2022). Uchida-san recalled the size of the island as a compression factor in their relations in Inujima: "because the population is very small, we interact with each other like in a neighbourhood. Everyone knows the name and the face of each other" (interviewed by author, 2022). In Teshima, Kurosaki-san said that "interacting with the neighbourhood brings people together. Compared to

other rural areas, Teshima's economic activity is made up only of industries on this island. Everyone on the island interacts with each other like neighbours" (interviewed by author, 2022).

While in Naoshima, this relationship is also evidenced by community activities as described by Shimizu-san:

> We have community gatherings through playing sports, for example, badminton, table tennis… The elderly gathers to play table tennis once or twice a week. People around 70-80 years old do grand golf. So, they are very healthy, I think. Volleyball as well…People gather in the public hall and town hall and play a lot of sports (interviewed by author, 2022).

Sakai-san adds, "I interact with islanders through *bon-odori*" (interviewed by author, 2022) in Inujima. According to respondents in Megijima, "the Oni cave, sightseeing and the beach" (Kato-san interview, 2022) as well as "island [the shima itself] brings people together" (Sato-san interview, 2022).

The Collectivity sense inside the islands, among their islanders, is undeniably present in their communities at different levels. However, some respondents showed some apprehension about the relationship between islanders and new migrants, with Matsumoto-san stating that "if new migrants don't consider elderly islanders, we can't bring people together" (interviewed by author, 2022). Yoshida-san explained that "in Naoshima information comes from people [laughs] although there are many SNS and Instagram…I got new information from *obaachans* [laughs]. New migrants need to get information to get used to living here. So, it is very important for us to interact with people" (interviewed by author, 2022).

Curiously, Kojima-san's reaction to the question revealed the generational gap between the islanders that could be difficult to close because of the number of older people present on the five islands.

> The local people are kind of shy and…they don't have any knowledge… especially older people, like SNS or computers (…) That is why they cannot understand the younger people's feelings and the way they think…what should we do? We have a Japanese proverb that says, "obey the child when old". Do you know what it means? So, it means obey young people when they get older, like 70 or 80 years, or like 60s, when they get old, they should obey the children…or the young people. But older people, when they get old, they still want to be the centre [laughs]. They should know they are old. That they are too old to do that, but it happens to everybody [laughs]… So older people should obey the young people and listen to them, and they will know about the new things and what is going on. But they are so stubborn [laughs] anywhere…we need fresh air… (Kojima interview, 2022).

The difference in age and expectations between those who live on the islands and those who plan to establish themselves as islanders can bring some disagreements in how to proceed with the island life. In Ogijima, Kaneko-san, due to the nature of his activities in controlling the cat population and creating a safe place for them to live, experienced some discomfort with some of the islanders:

> Before I migrated here, I had been visiting here for six years. It was easy to keep a distance from them, but two years ago, I started activities…like saving the cats. (…) The number of cats was on the increase six years ago. There was plenty of

damage from the cats. For example, they ruined the fields and scratched the nets. There were only two people who took care of the cats. On the other hand, cats breed rapidly, so the number of cats increased. The cats didn't have any food, so they ruined fields and scratched nets (Kaneko-san interview, 2022).

Ogijima used to be known as 'the island of cats' in the past due to the number of cats roaming the narrow streets in the village. Although the number of cats decreased significantly due to castration and control (from 165 to 70) in collaboration with NPOs and animal welfare groups from Takamatsu, according to Kaneko-san, some islanders still do not agree with some of the activities on the island.

There is no damage from cats anymore. Cat damage is not zero. Some islanders don't like cats and deny these activities. I do these cat activities, so some islanders don't think very well of me. Animal protection groups have a partnership with Ogijima, and this group pays for the surgery whilst Ogijima must protect the cats. Even though we have a promise with this group, people who had material damage by the cats are not interested in this promise. Some people are hostile. I started these cat activities 2 years ago…I think one of Ogijima's biggest challenges is to castrate the cats, so the number of cats will definitely decrease. Also, the number of tourists will decrease. I hope this island becomes a sustainable cat island. Kagawa prefecture has a high number of cat culling. If we can replenish the cats protected by Takamatsu city, this island will become a sustainable cat island (Kaneko-san interview, 2022).

While on the island conducting the interviews, I encountered some of the cats but not in significant numbers and crossed paths with two part-time volunteers at Kaneko-

san's establishment arriving to work at the café. The two volunteers had started to frequent the island specifically to be involved in cat protection and castration activities. Even with the number of cats dwindling, there is still interest from visitors to the island who come to interact with the feline population.

Seeing as the contrasting perception of strong collectivity to zero collectivity between the islanders was baffling and in contrast to the researcher's initial idea. It became imperative to understand through the islanders' own voices the situation on their islands. Exploring the differences and similarities found on Naoshima, Teshima, Inujima, Megijima, and Ogijima islands could demonstrate as being useful for the nurturing of a collective front for the region.

5.3 The Islands, According to Islanders' Voices

Suzuki-san still remembers when the art installations began in Naoshima and the reaction from islanders to having non-islanders roaming the streets:

> In the past, the native islanders did not like visitors. When Benesse and the artworks were established twenty-five years ago, many older people did not like the visitors because there were young people that did bad things. For example, they invaded islanders' houses. Now, security has improved (Suzuki-san interview, 2022).

Security and protecting private properties from lost tourists or visitors too eager to see a Japanese rural house up close are issues that can be observed in Ogijima and Megijima islands. These two islands have narrow streets, slopes and streets that resemble

stone labyrinths. Separating one's private garden can become complicated since the islands experience a high influx of visitors.

While walking on Megijima island, it was possible to see a clear demarcation between the artworks and the residences. The fact was pointed out to me by one of the interviewees and went as follows:

> This area [points] is for visitors, but the other area is only for islanders, so people in this area got used to interacting with visitors. However, the other people or older people did not get used to interacting with visitors. They don't want visitors to enter the residential areas…In the beginning, even if someone got on the ship, they [islanders] said, "strangers are coming" [laughs and pauses]. People who don't leave their houses very often don't get used to interacting with visitors (Yamaha-san interview, 2022).

Ogijima island had the same need to protect islanders' houses from wandering visitors and had signs, as shown in Picture 4, connected to Setouchi Triennale indicating all the areas that were out of limits and the lack of bathrooms inside the village.

Picture 4: Signs Along the Street on Ogijima Island

Source: Picture taken by the author on Ogijima island (2022)

The first sign states, "There are no restrooms in the village." While the second one at the back states, "Be careful not to interfere with the passage of islanders. Keep the conversation low-key. This is where the islanders live". Signs similar to these two were present on all five islands.

At the time of the interviews, the Setouchi Triennale had just started its 2022 spring section, but the number of visitors was not yet overwhelming for the islanders, and they

could be controlled. However, having the sign reminding visitors to be mindful of disturbing the islanders puts into perspective that overbearing a small island with thousands of tourists a year (during the art festival) can disturb the normality of the island life, playing against locals' friendliness and tolerance.

5.3.1 Challenges Experienced on the Islands

This research requested the islanders to identify the islands' biggest challenges. The extensive list is represented in Figure 12. The challenges represented in Figure 12 were coded by the number of references, meaning that the bigger the representation in the figure, the more the problem was discussed by the respondents during the interviews.

Figure 12: Naoshima, Teshima, Inujima, Megijima, and Ogijima Islands' Challenges
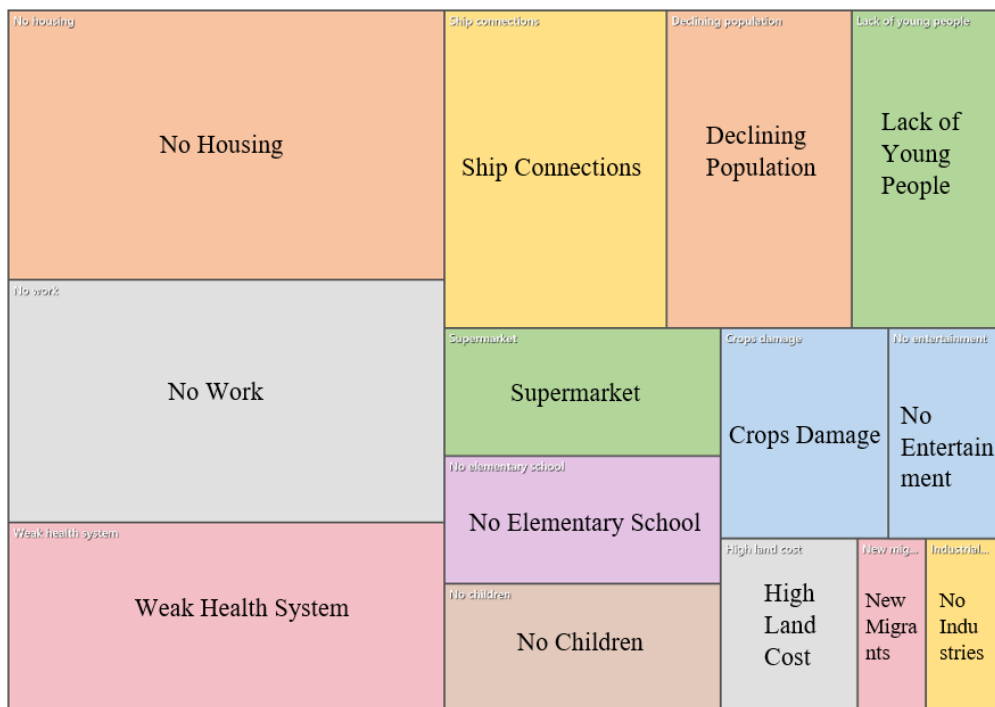
Source: Compiled by the author based on NVivo 12 hierarchy chart with nodes compared by the number of references, Own study (2022)

a) Housing

New migrants are relocating to these small islands in Setonaikai at a slow pace since there is a significant barrier to a smooth relocation: "increasing the population is very difficult because there are no places to dwell in. Although many people want to live in Naoshima, there is no place for them to live. There are vacant houses, but the islanders do not want to sell the land" (Watanabe-san interview, 2022). Indeed, the housing deficiency was noted by all the new migrants interviewed for this study, with Yamada-san detailing the situation in Naoshima:

> I think Naoshima needs more houses for people to live in because many people want to live here. There are not enough houses for single people to live in. Other than houses for single people, there are many houses for families so it's hard to make houses for single people. Few people do housing businesses like apartments. Occupation is very limited so I think that many people could work remotely with COVID-19, but there is a housing problem… (interviewed by author, 2022).

While the lack of housing hindered a sustainable work experience on the island, some businesses find temporary solutions for their employees, as shared by Yoshida-san, "there are many people who want to live here. A person came to work at this hotel, and they live in one of the hotel rooms that was for tourists for lack of housing. There are no places for singles to live. Some people share rooms or share houses (Yoshida-san interview, 2022).

The same situation was identified in Inujima: "there is no place to live here. There are a lot of vacant houses, houses with no roofs…If they want to build a new house, it takes a lot of effort, so this is very difficult for them" (Uchida-san interview, 2022); in

Teshima "there is no house to live here because these houses are very old" (Ikeda-san interview, 2022); and Megijima:

> The number of new migrants is increasing a little bit but…Everyone doesn't let go of their house because it is close, and even if their grandmother passes away, they don't clean up the bill or the Buddhist altar...so there is no place to live in, not only for single people but also for families (Yamaha-san interview, 2022).

b) Work

Interviewees had complaints regarding the work occupation shortages on the islands, with Uchida-san stating that in Inujima, "the current work occupation is to work at the museum or to start your own business" (interviewed by author, 2022). On Ogijima, Kaneko-san shared similar views: "there are no places to work... Although so many people want to live in Ogijima, there is no work occupation. Some new migrants started IT businesses, cafes, and restaurants…so the work occupation is very limited" (interviewed by author, 2022).

The lack of occupation on the islands serves as a push factor for islanders to leave their islands in search of better opportunities as stated by Yamaha-san in Megijima, "they [islanders] don't feel like doing something in this island and so it is natural for them to move out. They don't have a job here if they come back" (interviewed by author, 2022); and Yamada-san in Naoshima, "there are less industries in the island. I don't know if there are few people because there are few industries or if there are few industries because

there are few people. In any case, if people start to live here, the industries will increase" (interviewed by author, 2022).

Islanders who do not have options or opportunities in their islands do not come back to their own islands even when the will is present as stated by Kurosaki-san in Teshima, "the reason why I came back is that there is work that I want to do here. If there is no occupation that they want to do in the island, people who want to come back cannot come" (interviewed by author, 2022). Kurosaki-san was himself an islander whoo had returned to Teshima island just one year ago and had taken to learning agricultural practices from his father.

c) Health System

Apart from the housing shortage and limited work occupation suffered by the islands, the inadequate medical system in Naoshima, Teshima, and Inujima islands, is a concern for all. In Inujima, Uchida-san complained about how inconvenient it was not having a medical system on the island. In Naoshima, Shimizu-san stated "The biggest challenge is the medical system. There is only one clinic so in the case of an emergency it is very inconvenient. It is safer for the elderly to move out" (interviewed by author, 2022).

In Teshima, the lack of a doctor was pointed out by Inoue-san, who remarked that "this has been like this for a very long time" (interviewed by author, 2022). The lack of reliable transportation hindered an already difficult situation according to Nohara-san, "the biggest challenge is the medical system because transportation is inconvenient, so if we get sick…" (interviewed by author, 2022).

The wait due to the distance to a hospital was also brought up by Yoshida-san in Naoshima while recounting an episode with a friend: "when my friend went to the emergency, she had to put up with it [pain] until the next morning. There is only one clinic, it is not a hospital" (interviewed by author, 2022).

d) Maritime transport

The Connectivity between the five islands and between the islands and the ports surrounding them was also indicated as a challenge. In Inujima, Akai-san (interview, 2022) remarked how expensive the fare was, while Sakai-san commented, "The number of ships to Inujima is only eight a day" (interviewed by author, 2022).

While conducting the interviews on Inujima island, I observed that the price and frequency of the connections to Inujima make it difficult for visitors to visit the island more freely. The number of trips was limited, and it would be extremely difficult to find a ticket during the high tourist season. Additionally, the high price of the ticket could be a deterrent for some to explore the island.

In Megijima, Naoshima and Ogijima islands, respondents agreed that improving the ship connections between the ports would benefit the islands and the islanders and they were expectant for such improvement.

e) Demographics

Even though the islands have registered several new migrants, almost all the respondents agree that the island population will decrease in the future due to the islanders'

advanced age. As remarked by Yamaha-san in Megijima, "the population will decrease sharply. I heard that some people passed away this year. They are almost all around 70 to 90 years old" (interviewed by author, 2022).

The declining population of the islands is seen as one of the challenges that need to be addressed. Kurosaki-san paints a bleak future for Teshima while commenting on the population changes that he has experienced:

> The population will definitely decrease. The island loses around 50 people every year. When I was an elementary school student, the population was 1200 people. The current population is 700. When I was born, the population was around 1400-1500 people. The decrease is because more people pass away than there are new migrants (Kurosaki-san interview, 2022).

Inoue-san also notes that there is no synchronicity between the number of newcomers and those that the island loses: "although a few people stay here as new migrants, they don't stay here forever. The shifting of people moving in and others moving out is very intense, so the number of new migrants will not change" (Inoue-san interview, 2022).

The islander population is at risk due to the high age of the islanders, but in addition, for the lack of young people living on the islands. As remarked by Fujii-san in Megijima, "over the following years, the population will be 60% less because there are no young people and children" (interviewed by author, 2022). While in Inujima island, Sakai-san lamented that "there are no young people and there are no people who get married…I want young people to come. We are not useful because…I am very old, for example, we

clean the shrine and graves" (interviewed by author, 2022). The same sentiment was shared by Ikeda-san in Teshima island.

In Naoshima, Suzuki-san revealed one other consequence of the changing demographics on the islands that had not yet caught my attention[23]: "the combini closes at 7 p.m. and the supermarket at 7:30 p.m.. They must close the shops earlier because it is difficult to manage [no workers who can work the night shifts]" (Suzuki-san interview, 2022). The lack of a younger population will hinder the sustainable function of businesses on the islands and, in fact, has started to do so.

f) Children and elementary schools

Another fact to be taken into account is the lack of children on all the islands of this study and the role that this plays in the islands' demographics. In Naoshima, Watanabe-san stated firmly, "there are no children here" (interviewed by author, 2022), lamenting the lack of peers for his nephew of no more than four years old whom I had seen strolling in the street accompanied by Watanabe-san and a small dog.

In Teshima, Inoue-san stated that "the biggest challenge is that there are no children on the island" (interviewed by author, 2022). For an island of 764 inhabitants, the

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[23] It was noted during my first visit to Naoshima island in 2019 that it was indeed very welcoming and interesting that the same cashier that I had encountered in the only convenience store in the island was later the same waitress who took my order in a restaurant. At the time I understood it as a consequence of a small island community of little more than 3000 inhabitants but failed to associate it with the consequences for the lack of a working force.

elementary school on the island had six students graduating[24] (March 2022) and looking forward to their future education.

In Megijima and Inujima islands, the lack of children came with the absence of an elementary school on the islands: "the challenges are that there is no elementary school" (Uchida-san interview, 2022). Uchida-san remarked how difficult this was especially because he had a young child and was thinking of the child's future.

In Naoshima, as remarked by Yoshida-san, even though "there is an elementary school and a junior high school over there [points], but the number of students is decreasing now. There is no high school in this island, so they must go outside" (interviewed by author, 2022). If one were to sit by Miyanoura Port early in the morning for the first ferries leaving the island for Uno Port or Takamatsu Port, one would observe a number of students clad in their uniforms with the morning energy of a teenager engaged in a ritual that seems to be shared by different generations of islanders. One of my interviewees in her 50s commuted to high school in Okayama, and students today do the same. A cycle shared by many small islands.

g) Supermarket

The lack of options when it came to buying groceries, was addressed in Inujima by Sakai-san, "there is no shopping centre and restaurants, so we must go outside to buy groceries" (interviewed by author, 2022), as well as in Naoshima island, "there is only

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[24] Koho Tonosho [Tonosho Newsletter] No. 795, April 2022, page 24.

one supermarket, but it is a little expensive because of the ship cost…" (Shimizu-san interview, 2022).

A lack of options when it came to grocery shopping was evident from the first visit to Naoshima, Teshima, and Inujima islands in 2019 and Megijima and Ogijima islands in 2021. Naoshima has one supermarket in the Miyanoura district and another one in the Honmura district. Both belong to the same chain, "Mitsubishi Materials Naoshima Co-Op" and are well-frequented by the islanders (Town Naoshima Tourism Association 2019, 4–7). However, the early closing time of the supermarket makes it inconvenient for locals and visitors alike. The Miyanoura district branch closes at 7:30 p.m. while the Honmura district branch closes at 5 p.m., with both closing at 3 p.m. on Sundays.

The rest of the islands, along with Naoshima, have small stores that serve the communities and are mainly located in people's own residences. Residents can be seen daily in the ferries or passenger boats that connect the islands with Uno Port and Takamatsu Port, transporting goods back to the islands often while returning from work or school.

h) Crops damage

The interviewees in Ogijima and Megijima also identified a new problem in remote islands in Japan: wild boars' propagation. When asked to identify the biggest challenges faced by Megijima island, Sato-san promptly stated, "the problem is beast [wild animals] damage. The places and things that can be made are very limited due to the crops being

damaged by wild boars. They come swimming from Ogijima"[25] (interviewed by author, 2022). Islanders from Ogijima island corroborated this by revealing that the island has a considerable number of wild boars (Matsumoto-san interview, 2022), and according to Kaneko-san, their disruption affects the islanders that still do farming on the island:

> The number of wild boars has been increasing for ten years. Because they ruin the fields, some people quit farming. For elderly people, to do agriculture is more like something to live for than to get profit. So, they have to give up agriculture. They can't enjoy their life (interviewed by author, 2022).

The severity of the issue in Teshima[26] was also remarked in the Tonosho Town brochure Issue 4, No. 795[27] by the section on promotion of agriculture in Teshima island and stated:

> Recently, the problem of animals like nutria and wild boars is a torment to farmers. In Teshima, where I engage in Tanada, we have electric fences to deal with animals, but the damage caused by wild boars still torments farmers. Because of that, we put wire mesh fences to decrease the problem of wild boars this year.[28]

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[25] The proliferation of wild boars in remote islands has been coved by newspapers since 2018 with one of the titles being "Wild boar population growing on remote islands as they master swimming" (Mainichi Shimbum, 2022).
https://mainichi.jp/english/articles/20220506/p2a/00m/0na/008000c
[26] The Teshima Kominkan Dayori [Bulletin of Teshima Community Centre] had a section informing on the cumulative number of wild boars caught during the 2021 hunting season.
[27] Koho Tonosho [Tonosho Newsletter] No. 795, April 2022, page 19.
[28] Text translated from the original Japanese language.

i) Entertainment

The lack of entertainment options was brought up in interviews only in Naoshima by one islander who saw it as a hindrance for the younger population on the island since according to Kojima-san (interviewed by author, 2022), the island is "boring" for the younger generation; as well as, by a former new migrant that only lived permanently on the island for three months before moving to Uno, Tamano City and now commutes to work in Naoshima every day. Yoshida-san remarked that "the biggest challenge is that there is no entertainment like a movie theatre, shopping centre, restaurants…There are many visitors so we can't rest. My feeling is of always being nervous…" (interviewed by author, 2022).

Even though Yoshida-san had to commute every day to Naoshima, as she put it "I think it is easier to come now because it takes only 20 minutes… There is no movie theatre. There is only one convenience store, which closes at 9 p.m. The reason why I came here is not because I like Naoshima. I just came because of work" (interviewed by author, 2022).

j) Land

Naoshima island appears to have experienced an increase in land cost, perhaps since the popularity of the island with the art tourism, and as such has been felt by islanders: "the land cost is very expensive too. Okayama land is cheaper than here, so almost all of them build a house there before they retire. Some native islanders also build houses in Okayama. Anyway…Naoshima is inconvenient" (Suzuki-san interview, 2022).

k) Disconnection between New Migrants and Locals

In Ogijima, where the number of elderlies is significant, islanders might have problems connecting with younger new migrants who chose to relocate to the island, as expressed by Matsumoto-san, "the biggest challenge is new migrants...They use laptops and internet, but they don't know about this island…" (interviewed by author, 2022). A generational gap between the older islanders and the newcomers might not be as different from the gap between different generations of islanders. However, the interest in knowing the island's history, traditions, and societal cues can determine how the relationships progress over time.

Apart from the list of challenges indicated by the islanders, they had possible solutions in mind on how to improve their situation going from new work practices being brought to their islands, "I hope that people who work online will come here to live… like a workcation. Even if the number of restaurants increase, the customers are less…" (Uchida-san interview, 2022). Not only in Inujima is the practice of working remotely being considered, but also in Naoshima and Ogijima islands. While in Megijima, Fujii-san (interviewed by author, 2022) confessed that he would appreciate new companies moving to the island so islanders have more options. As stated by Sato-san:

> If a new university or library is built in Takamatsu, some students will come here, and the number of young people will increase…but I don't know how it can be done…In fact, a teacher once tried to create a place that students could use here and be in contact with nature, but this plan was cancelled. If there are places like this, then the number of young people will increase, and we can do more… (interviewed by author, 2022).

New and more work opportunities would not only benefit the islanders currently residing on the islands, but it would stimulate the migration of new residents to the islands, contributing to their demographic expansion and benefiting the island's future regeneration and revitalization. In Teshima, Inoue-san observed the need for collective work by islanders "we need to cooperate with each other, for example, see a doctor online and promote migration to increase the number of children on the island" (interviewed by author, 2022).

Exploring the island's differences and similarities could be fundamental in nurturing the Collectivity between the network of islands and their communities, after all, the challenges listed by the interviewees are shared by all the five islands examined in this research. The islands suffer with:

- A population decline brought about by a high number of the elderly population;

- A lack of younger islanders with no children on the islands and a young working force relocating to other cities in search of work opportunities not found on their islands;

- A deficient health care system, an absence of housing alternatives that hinders relocation to the islands when new locals are needed for the regeneration and sustainability of the communities;

- A maritime transportation in need of improvement across the island network with regular connection and accessible prices;

- A lack of infrastructure to serve some of the smaller communities, not only on daily necessities but also in entertainment, is necessary for the healthy psychological well-being of islanders.

Naoshima, Teshima, Inujima, Megijima, and Ogijima islands belong to a collective relationship and daily interactions between islanders living in the islands and those returning to their local communities after years away; new migrants striving to integrate into their new communities and form strong ties to their new homes; and visitors passing by these ports enticed by what the islands can offer and what they could experience. The relationship process presents itself in these islands, with Entry promoting a more intense collective relationship and Connectivity opportunities dependent on human interactions. The following chapter will explore human interactions between those who live on the islands and visitors passing through.

Chapter 6: "I Welcome You and I Welcome Others": *Morabeza* in the Setonaikai?

6.1 *Morabeza*'s Context in Cabo Verde

For a long time, welcoming others has been an island characteristic shared by islanders, specifically by Cabo Verdean islanders. For many years, the small archipelago of ten islands off the African continent's West coast has seen ships dock, and throngs of new people descend on the island's shores. The archipelago of Cabo Verde, formed by different islands connected by the people and culture, is similarly affected by the waves of people passing by Naoshima, Teshima, Inujima, Megijima, and Ogijima islands connected by the art tourism industry present in the Setonaikai region. The two island groups have a fluid movement of people, with islanders leaving their islands for a different life across the sea, those who cross the sea for a different life on the islands, or the fishermen who live off what the sea can give them.

The population on island societies, particularly Setonaikai, constantly fluctuates depending on a series of reasons such as limited socio-economic opportunities, search for further education elsewhere, inadequate medical services, and agricultural and fisheries work opportunities. The changes in island residents influence the island life and its socio-economic development. To counter the negative effects of too much Exit, attracting residents willing to relocate and establish themselves on small islands becomes essential. This study looks at whether the Entry process to the islands, Connectivity between the islands, and Collectivity between the islands and islanders can be facilitated by the Cabo Verdean island hospitality – *Morabeza*.

In order to understand the similarities between the island hospitality observed in Setonaikai and the Cabo Verdean *Morabeza*, it is necessary to navigate the birth of *Morabeza* and how it was shaped in Cabo Verde. The small archipelago of ten islands off the Western coast of the African continent is formed of ten islands, of which nine are inhabited, divided into two groups: Northern Windward (*Barlavento*): Boa Vista, Sal, Santo Antão, São Vicente, São Nicolau, and Santa Luzia; Southern Leeward (*Sotavento*): Brava, Fogo, Maio, Santiago. The Republic of Cabo Verde is located 640 km from the African coast and counts a resident population of 483,628 people, according to Instituto Nacional de Estatística de Cabo Verde (2021). The country's characteristics were shaped by the history, geography, and economics of the time of the islands' settlement (Amaral 2004).

After Cabo Verde's discovery in 1460, the islands saw a slow peak of interest in having people relocated to them mainly because of the distance and climate conditions of the regions. When the Portuguese Crown started seeing the islands as a strategic point in their economic trade with the West African Coast in 1462, they started looking to establish a fixed colony there. Hence in 1462, Santiago Island was given to António de Noli through a donor royal decree. He moved to the island with some family members and locals from the Algarve and Alentejo region to explore the island's economic prospects with the African coast. Because two Portuguese navigators claimed the country's discovery, the Crown then gave both the Captain-Donee status of the island and divided it into two Captaincies. The south (current Ribeira Grande) was given to António de Noli, and the north (current Praia City and the Capital of the country) was given to Diogo Afonso (Martins 2009, 18). The choice of Santiago Island obeyed some reasons: it was the first island discovered; it offered a reasonable size to establish the two

captaincies; it provided shelter and port for the ships and boats; the island was moderately fertile, and therefore, the island could be used for agricultural purposes.

Over the years, establishing a colony on the islands would not be as simple as previously thought. The islands were located far from the African coast and Portugal (the isolation was a deterrence). In the beginning, agricultural activities were seen as crucial for the inhabitants' survival but were proven complicated to pursue. The climate was sweltering and dry (a problem for introducing plants to the islands and the Portuguese settlers who were not used to its severity).

To attract more settlers to the African islands and use enslaved people as workers on the islands, the Crown issued a Royal Charter in 1466. The Charter gave D. Fernando privileges over the islands and ensured that the inhabitants had perpetual power over the slave trade in all the regions of Coastal Guinea. According to the Crown, the Captain-Donee had economic and social privileges on the territory, established and collected taxes from the islands' inhabitants, and granted them land to explore. The Captain-Donee also had jurisdiction powers only passed by the Court's Court in some executions or dismemberments. Later, in 1472, the Crown passed another charter, limiting some of the Captain's and inhabitant's privileges. The new Charter was an attempt to re-establish some order and end the misuse of power that had been denounced (Martins 2009).

The island's first population comprised Portuguese settlers from the 15th and 16th centuries and black Africans from Guinea and Sierra Leone (mainly Wolof, Felupes, Papels, and Balanta people). With the development of the Atlantic slave trade and the archipelago's increased influence during that time, other Europeans began to congregate

on the islands as merchants. Soon, the archipelago had Spanish (Canarians and Castellans), Italians, Frenchmen, Dutch and English (Barros 1939).

The Crown designated specific positions for those in power on the islands. Almoxarifes worked with the scriveners. "Corregedores", or magistrates, oversaw public security. "Feitor", or foremen, oversaw controlling the commerce in and with the islands. Scriveners oversaw the accounting at the Ward Office and registered every transaction made in the colony. Royal officials comprised judicial authorities, tax authorities, and clerks. With time, being unable to maintain the correct and loyal people in the designated positions and with the rising disagreement between the different classes and professionals created to administrate the islands changed. The modifications were always made with the Crown's interest first and foremost. Next were the commercial rights of those who had left for the islands to explore the economic trade between goods and enslaved people from the West Coast to Europe and the Americas and the merchant route that used the island's port as a '*pit stop*' between the continents. Those who established themselves on the islands, although working in small numbers in the agriculture development of the islands for commercial purposes, were mainly merchants trying to enrich themselves and then return to Europe. Finally, the long-settling resistance led to a non-development of the islands and a preference for relations with external sections within the continents (Martins 2009).

Cabo Verde adhered to the same pattern of settlement followed by Portugal in the archipelago of Azores and Madeira (Madeira 2016b, 95). However, this was not possible, according to Baleno (2001), due to the financial struggles faced at the time by the Portuguese Crown, the distance between Cabo Verde and Portugal, the islands' dry and

arid climate and the lack of natural resources. According to Mariano (1991), since the beginning of the archipelago's settlement, the islands' population "were left on their own" to deal with the numerous problems experienced on the archipelago. The country's physical isolation from other territories (long distance from the Crown and the African coast); the impossibility of attracting new settlers; the harsh climate conditions, and the neglect of the islands by the Crown made "harmony" among the settlers, enslaved people, and mestizos essential for surviving. The realities of the islands did not allow for many privileges or cultural superiority (Peixeira 2003).

Miscegenation took place on a large scale in Cabo Verde, favored and driven by various circumstances: the lack of white women, the Portuguese "*garanhão*"[29] tendencies, and sexual relations between black men and white women. On the other hand, the orography of the islands, allied to the mobility of the first Cabo Verdean traders, required this intense osmosis of the blood and also of sensibilities (Mariano 1991, 72). After the late 16th century, the mestizo started to claim administrative positions on the islands and began to contribute to the culture and unique identity of the islands. The latest islands to be settled, for example, São Vicente in 1795 and Sal in 1893, had mestizos born in Cabo Verde participate in their settlement process (Madeira 2016b, 98).

Thus, miscegenation took place in three interconnected stages. First, the widespread concubinage present on the islands gave birth to local mestizos born on the islands from Portuguese settlers and black women. This practice was present among high-ranking royal officials, men with less social status, and even the clergy assigned to the islands.

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[29] Portuguese word of controversial origin relating to a man who has sexual relationships with many women or who are constantly desiring women.

Soon, there were mestizos born from other mestizo individuals. Second, mestizos increasingly spread to different socio-economic areas in islands with their rise in number. Lastly, the "appropriation of forms of intellectual power and prestige" by mestizos and blacks of European elements at the same time that the African elements were assimilated by the white men present and accounted for on the islands (Peixeira 2003, 64–66).

The emergence of a local cultural elite group connected to literature thus started the first steps toward local culture and resistance to colonial rule. The literary movement on the islands consisted mainly of three phases or generations, with the distinct focus that accompanied the search for a local identity, denied by the colonization process up to that point. After the publication of the National Press in the mid-1800s, in addition to the publication of Government administrative affairs, literary texts began to circulate and influence the elite groups on the islands (Madeira 2016b, 100).

The first of such movements originated during the end of the 19th century with the creation of the *Nativistas* or nativists, and the beginning of the discussions on the national identity of the Cabo Verdean people. Even though this generation put forward the identity formation and cultural characteristics of the island population, they believed that the Cabo Verdean people should make the metropole recognize them as Portuguese and allow them the same rights and duties (Madeira 2015; 2016b; Brito-Semedo 2006).

The second literary generation sprung in 1936 with the establishment of the *Revista Claridade*[30] on São Vicente island. The literary movement operated between 1936 to 1958. It sought to break from the "traditional literary canons of the metropolis" and build its

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[30] For an analysis on Cabo Verdean Literary development see Alao (1999). For more on Claridade and its founders, please see Lobban Jr. and Saucier (2007).

regional model with themes connected to the socio-economic situation of the islands and the social problems arising from the colonial administration (Madeira 2016b; Pina 2011; 2010). The *Claridosos* or *Geração Claridade* (how the generation came to be known) worked incessantly to demonstrate the Cabo Verdean cultural singularity but sought the islands to be recognized as a part of the Portuguese territory similar to the Algarve or Minho (Madeira 2015).

Lastly, the third literary movement, the *Nacionalistas* or nationalists, operated between 1958 and 1975 when the country gained independence. This generation sought the national affirmation of the people from the islands based on the "mestizo culture" and turned towards a more significant connection to the African continent with what they called the "re-Africanization of the soul" (Madeira 2016b; 2015).

Considering the historical and geographical context of the islands, along with the circumstances and culture of the country, *Morabeza*[31] is presented as a "cultural category" essential for the Cabo Verdean while simultaneously being challenging to translate into another language (Pina 2010). The difficulty in translating it accurately comes from the fact that it can be studied as a "cultural and ideological creation" or as a "thinking and action category" (2010, 2). Additionally, Fernandes (2006) justifies this difficulty by exploring how inefficient it is to attempt to translate the word to an English equivalent since, to the author, *Morabeza* "is the idea of hospitality without expectation of return,

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[31] The word in defined by the Portuguese dictionary as: **mo·ra·be·za |ê| or |é|** (morabe + -eza)
[Cabo Verde] Qualidade de quem é amável, delicado, gentil. = AFABILIDADE, AMABILIDADE, GENTILEZA
[Cabo Verde] Quality of being kind, delicate, gentle. = FRENDLINESS, KINDNESS, NICENESS
Priberam Dictionary Online, s.v. "*Morabeza*", accessed March 10, 2023. https://dicionario.priberam.org/morabeza

without the worry of one's resources. It is also the spirit of bonhomie, of universal friendliness. This is an attitude that one takes, the way one conducts oneself – implicitly" (Fernandes 2006, 83).

One of the driving forces for characterizing the Cabo Verdean people and culture was the second literary movement of the 1930s. According to Pina (2010), *Geração Claridade* understood that the Cabo Verdean singularity came significantly from "its *sui generis* way of social coexistence" marked by the ability to mitigate "through family and intimate relationships, the rigidity, and differences that one may encounter in everyday life." From this generation, the most prominent authors to describe and categorize *Morabeza* were Baltazar Lopes da Silva and Gabriel Mariano.

Baltazar Lopes characterized *Morabeza* as a "*spiritual tendency*[32]" and a "*tendency towards fraternization and to take the arm when giving the finger*[33]...explanation of the contact between the enlightened and the illiterate; of the simple barefoot and the individual of first society" (Pina 2010, 3). Indeed, the Cabo Verdean tend to take an arm when given a finger and close any barriers between people, exchanging it for fraternization and friendliness. The word is defined by Mariano (1991) as: "the capacity of sentimental adherence to the problems and situations of others and of affective connection with one's fellow man (...) 'something' that leads to a familiar conviviality with people and even things: that solicits an irrepressible urge for dialogue" (in Madeira 2016).

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[32] Italics in original text.
[33] Italics in original text.

Gabriel Mariano (1958; 1991) argues that the miscegenation that occurred on the islands that originated in the Cabo Verdean native, or the *island son,* was fundamental to the development of the local culture absorbing and replacing the Portuguese manner. One of the examples given by the author is the Cabo Verdean Creole language[34], the informal names used instead of the European name, and literary texts written in the Portuguese language and Creole describing the island life. According to the author, the mestizo integrated blacks and whites geographically and culturally, eliminating ideas of racial purity in society and making unions possible regardless of colour, social position, or physical environment. Thus, the first steps were taken towards social behaviour based on Cabo Verdean familiarity; *Morabeza*; a hospitable character of loving, integral and unreserved hospitality; liberal naivete and a weak notion of money (Mariano 1991, 75–77).

Cabo Verdean hospitality stands for an "authentically Cabo Verdean quality" (Rego 2015, 92) and describes the capacity for locals to welcome others with warmth and respect. One cannot separate the island condition, islanders' experience or islandness from the openness towards reception on all and any at the island. Gabriel Mariano (1991) observed that the Cabo Verdean presents a necessity to coexist with others, marked by their openness to "the sailing ship that arrives and the letter from afar" (1991, 77).

A relationship of interdependence and community connected the islanders to all those who stopped by their ports and ensured their survival (Madeira 2016a). Islands

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[34] *Crioulo* or Cabo Verdean creole language was developed from the necessity for communication between European traders and the African people who initiated catechesis in the islands, as well as by the ensuing blacks and mulattos learning of Portuguese rudimentary words who joined the different African languages spoken by them. Approximately 90 years after the settlement of the archipelago, crioulo was spoken by foremen and slaves and among slaves of different ethnicities, becoming the language of commerce and social relations (Peixeira 2003).

provide a distinct identity to those who live there. However, islanders perceive the sea and the edge of the islands differently. While Péron (2004) argues that for islanders, the sea portrays the feeling of being cut off from the rest of the world and being at the mercy of natural elements that they cannot control, like the wind, the sea and storms. Others argue that, while some see the sea and the island edge as a barrier, islanders may think differently: "isolation is not a defining characteristic of island life; to the contrary, it could be argued that islanders are generally more aware of, and in touch with, the world wide web of human intercourse than others may be" (Clark, 2004, p.288, cited in Hay, 2006, p. 22).

In societies where its members tend to "spread over geographically large spaces", the importance of being hospitable is prominent since, according to Selwyn (2012), "it is clearly necessary in such landscapes to have systems of converting strangers into friends and potential enemies to allies" (2012, 172). Islanders live their lives through close contact with nature, the human spirit and islandness. Three aspects correlated with each other in the islandness concept. Islandness is defined by Royle and Brinklow (2018) as "the essence of island living, the attributes that make an island what it fundamentally is, and which it has by necessity, without which it loses its identity" (2018, 11).

 Islandness is, then, the simple essence of the island, a reality that accompanies the islander daily, opening possibilities for new encounters and relations. Islandness is intertwined with *Morabeza* as island hospitality between all those who deal with the island and the island life. This is confirmed by observing *Morabeza*'s elements displayed in Figure 13 and their relationship with the different actors in the island life.

Figure 13: Morabeza Elements

Morabeza

- Necessity to coexist with others
- Universal friendliness
- Need to close any barriers between people
- Curiosity
- Open heart
- Spirit to help others
- Convert strangers into friends
- Welcome everyone with warmth and respect
- Weak notion of money
- Being hospitable without expecting noting in return
- Simplicity

Source: Created by author (2022)

While analysing *Morabeza,* one must remember the initial discussion on hospitality as a concept. As described in Chapter 1, hospitality[35] is imbued in social life and is present in all cultures accompanying and evolving with changes in society, where hosts offer their guests "a combination of space, food, warmth and respect, and an opportunity to initiate and consolidate a relationship" (Selwyn 2012, 172). The *Morabeza* concept then, although presenting similarities to hospitality, differentiates the two on the human

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[35] The word is also defined by the Cambridge online dictionary as: hospitality noun / /ˌhɒs.pɪˈtæl.ə.ti / ˌhɑː.spɪˈtæl.ə.t̬i/

1.The act of being friendly and welcoming to guests and visitors: The local people showed me great hospitality; 2. Food, drink, entertainment, etc. that an organization provides for guests and business partners: The company guests are entertained in the corporate hospitality area.

Cambridge Dictionary Online, s.v. "*Hospitality*", accessed March 10, 2023. https://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/english/hospitality

interactions between host and guest, how the host-guest views and constructs their relationship and expectations, and, above else, the actors involved in island hospitality.

Island hospitality is not only extended to tourists or visitors as a commercialized service offered to customers, like in the case of the Japanese *omotenashi*. With islanders' weak notion of money and being hospitable without expecting nothing in return, the relationship being forged is not one of commercial gain but rooted in spontaneous curiosity for human relationships. Islanders seek to coexist with those who pass through their islands, converting strangers into friends. They also extend the island hospitality to all individuals duelling on the island space to erase barriers between individuals. *Morabeza* is then distinguished from the hospitality concept by erasing the distance between individuals to protect the social relationships accompanying the island life. Island societies do not interact with others through a passive relationship but instead strive to include everyone in the island's daily reality and collective relationships.

6.2 Setonaikai and Cabo Verde: Places of Encounter

The Setonaikai and Cabo Verde, though separated by land and water extensions, have the parallel of being places of encounter and exchange over the centuries. The Cabo Verdean archipelago's colonized history brought people to the islands that centuries later gave birth to new people who took their first steps in creating and affirming their culture through literature. The Setonaikai region has been a place of passage, refuge, opportunities, and encounters for centuries. Their history, geography, and economic development have shaped the islands and their islanders, and they are now remoulding themselves through art. Art that showcases instances of island life and the region's

characteristics, blends nature and island and presents the islands in the area along with their history and plights. Literature and art in both networks are then the brush that showcases islandness. In the Atlantic, the relationship between islandness and *Morabeza* is well established; in the Setonaikai, the process could be nurtured.

In Naoshima, Teshima, Inujima, Megijima, and Ogijima islands, islanders' relationships with each other and non-islanders are affected by the island's size. Smallness enhances an island's practice of openness by welcoming newcomers or improving its ties with neighbouring islands. The smaller the island, the greater its openness, manifested by welcoming newcomers and extending relations to neighbouring islands. Islanders are intrinsically connected and aware of human interactions, even more so than non-islanders. Differences in size also affect how islands perceive and are affected by alterations in their daily life and environment, with smaller ones feeling more acutely developmental changes than larger islands. Smallness and amplification by compression are essential characteristics of islandness. Boundedness enhances feelings of identity and belonging, allowing islanders to enjoy greater attachment to the islands encircled by water. Collectivity is accomplished through shared history, community relations, culture, disasters, geography, and other complex variables that give meaning to their islandness (Évora 2022).

In these circumstances, a strong sense and practice of hospitality, or *Morabeza* in Cabo Verde, is being continuously forged as a hallmark of islandness, a set of norms of islanders who live collectively in an encircled space. Island hospitality is then important to islanders not only as a way of life but as a way of countering the fact that their population can spread across the sea, leaving their spaces to be filled by those who remain

on the island. The smallness and boundedness of islands partners with islanders' openness to others in converting strangers into friends. Therefore, as previously stated, one cannot separate the island condition, islanders' experiences or islandness from the openness to others.

Picture 5: View of Ogijima Island's Port from the Ferry

Source: Picture taken by author while departing Ogijima island (2022)

The journey to arrive at the five islands examined in this study is highly dependent on maritime transportation since the only way to travel between the islands in the region is through high-speed boats or by ferry. As observed in Picture 5, part of the island community in Ogijima can be openly seen from the ferry. It is also visible how compact

the community is with the buildings close to one another. The same reality was observed on the other islands.

Docking at the port on Naoshima island, the first impression that one gets is of quietness and a sense of time slowly passing. Later, when speaking with one of the islanders, they expressed intrigue with me comparing the island and my own, for they were surprised that I could identify *shima jikan* or "island time" and that we had it in Cabo Verde. The similarities between the Setonaikai islands and the ones in the Atlantic grew as I explored the islands and spoke to islanders. The friendliness directed towards visitors always came accompanied by a bubbling curiosity about: *Where the visitor was coming from? Why visit their island? For how long would we stay? How did we discover their island?;* accompanied by countless detailed suggestions of what to do, where to go and what to eat.

Apart from the artworks and museums, islanders quickly suggested restaurants, shops, places to stay and bike rentals to best experience the island. The recommended establishments were mainly owned by other islanders. Sometimes, islanders would even accompany the visitor personally and show them around. I experienced these behaviours not only with restaurants, shops, and other places to visit but also when conducting the interviews for this study. Some informants were quick to help and suggest others to be interviewed, especially under COVID-19 circumstances. Unfortunately, with the pandemic, locating informants willing to participate in the study became more challenging for fear of encountering the virus.

Upon arriving in Teshima looking for respondents to participate in the interviews for this study, it became apparent that locating islanders willing to be interviewed would

take more time than initially expected. While attempting to interview a person who seemed to be from the area, a series of events unfolded, leaving me, my interpreter, and the good-natured islander to walk around the Karato area in an attempt to locate *obaachan*, whom he assured us would be more than willing to answer any questions regarding the island. Three houses later and a series of pleasantries exchanged along the way and inquiries on why the interest in Teshima, we locate Ikeda-san on a narrow street going about her daily life. After accepting to be interviewed, we positioned ourselves by the side of the road. We conducted an almost one-hour-long conversation regarding Teshima and its inhabitants, with Ikeda-san gifting us energy drinks, brochures, and pamphlets about Teshima.

The interaction with Ikeda-san and her granddaughter and great-grandson, who joined the interview, exemplified the hospitable atmosphere and friendliness that islanders show towards visitors and their fellow islanders. Similarly, on Naoshima island, after Watanabe-san exchanged greetings with my interpreter and me, not only did he volunteer to be interviewed but accompanied us along the streets in search of a comfortable location for the interview, along with more islanders willing to take part in the research.

In the smaller islands like Megijima and Ogijima, the islanders were extraordinarily welcome and friendly upon my visit in 2021. The decline in the number of visitors since the beginning of the pandemic greatly disturbed the small businesses on the islands and drove home the necessity of expanding economic activities for some of the islanders I encountered. Upon my visit to Onigashima Cave in Megijima, I was the only visitor for the excursion into the cave. I noted how different the island felt from Naoshima island,

with the streets practically empty. While walking on the roads in Ogijima, the first detail observed is the advanced age of the islanders that were seen along the streets. However, despite the reduced number of residents, the islanders maintained a friendly and open disposition while passing by.

Taking the above discussion into consideration, the study questioned how hospitality presents itself in the relationship between islanders and non-islanders involved in the island life in Naoshima, Teshima, Inujima, Megijima and Ogijima islands.

6.3 Hospitality in the Setonaikai

Upon conducting and transcribing the interviews, islanders' narratives were coded into nodes that were considered instances of island hospitality between the inhabitants, island hospitality between islanders and new migrants, and island hospitality between islanders and visitors passing by their islands. These groupings depended on words, actions, and attempts to connect and help others described by the interviewees. These instances of *Morabeza* were analysed using NVivo 12 to produce an analysis clustered by coding similarities using the Pearson correlation coefficient metric to visualize codes and cases together if they coded many of the same files.

Once the transcripts were coded into their specific nodes, it was possible to see who had answered each question and the number of references for each node created. The coding and naming of each theme were carefully considered after reviewing each interview and taking into consideration all the narratives shared by the interviewees. The cluster analysis is presented in Figure 14.

Figure 14: Cluster Analysis of Morabeza in all its Levels
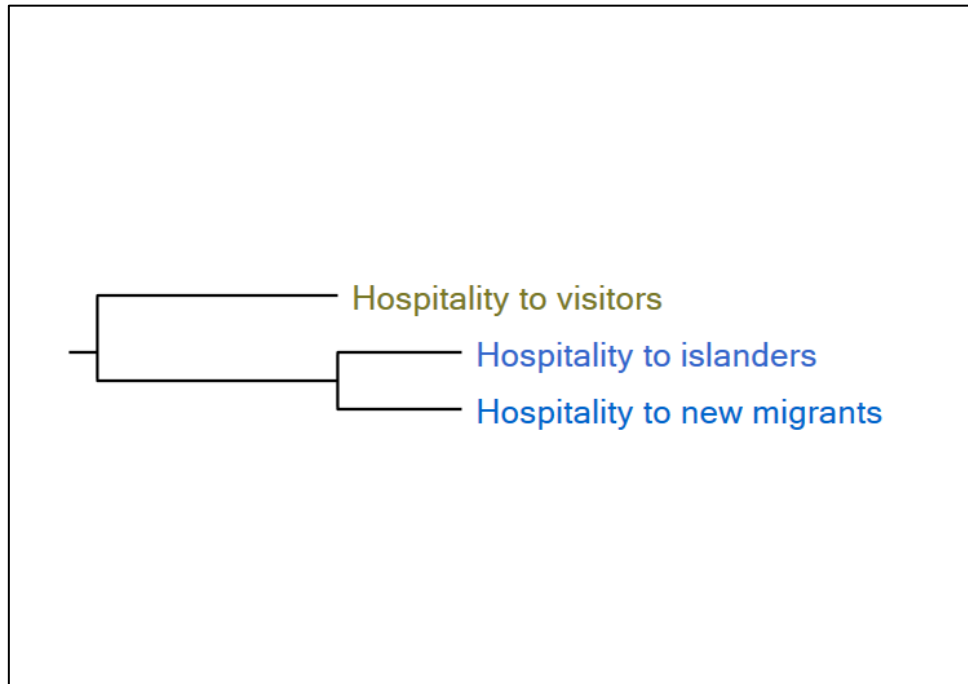
Source: Compiled by the author based on NVivo 12 cluster analysis, Own study (2022)

Figure 14 serves as a visual representation of the narratives obtained during the interviews, with 20 references coded as representing instances of island hospitality between islanders and visitors, seven between islanders, and 21 between islanders and new migrants to the islands. The unit of clustering is an answer, often ranging from one sentence to one or two paragraphs of transcription, to a question asked to interviewees. The coding is manually done and allows for a clear picture of the narratives, displaying a description of all instances considered by this research as island hospitality.

Island hospitality between islanders and between islanders and new migrants was coded as having the closest proximity. Islanders on the same island treated each other with kindness and friendliness, as noted in the previous discussion on Collectivity in Chapter 5, making the two elements closely related. All five islands revealed instances of

island hospitality between islanders, new migrants, and islanders and visitors. However, in Ogijima and Megijima islands, the interviewees did not directly mention instances of island hospitality between islanders.

6.3.1 Morabeza between Islanders

According to islanders in Naoshima, "everyone greets each other and brings food" (Yamada-san interview, 2022). Shimizu-san added that "islanders are always smiling and honest. The kanji in 'Naoshima' comes from 'honest'. They are very kind and generous. When they are suffering from something, islanders help each other. They do not hesitate to help each other and exchange some food. I think this is Naoshima island culture" (interviewed by author, 2022).

While on Teshima island, Ikeda-san tried to distinguish the island's nature from the urban areas even with the island's limitations: "there is no goodness if we stay here although we get along with each other. We exchange some food between us. In urban areas, they don't exchange food. Islanders exchange food with each other" (Ikeda-san interview, 2022).

Since my first contact with the islands and the people being studied, the islander's kindness, curiosity, and interest have been noted. The eagerness to give directions, share information and give advice has been shared with me since 2019. Some of the interviews for this study were only possible due to the interviewees personally contacting other islanders. After revealing the difficulty of locating islanders willing to be interviewed on some islands, interviewees in Teshima, Megijima, Naoshima, and Ogijima islands took it

upon themselves to secure willing participants. The repeated interactions between islanders, my interpreter, and me helped create a more casual relationship. However, the willingness to befriend and help in any way possible was present since the first interaction with islanders from all five islands.

This kindness and cooperation between islanders extended to their businesses as well, with Yoshida-san describing:

> Everyone is very kind, and this island has discounts for locals. For example, when I said I lived here, they offered discounts…Because there are no young people, islanders talk to them [new migrants] and ask, "where are you from" and "where do you work". Even if we don't talk to islanders, islanders will talk to me…Islanders are used to people coming from the outside…For example, they said, "a new restaurant will open, so let's go", and "let's cooperate". They are very cooperative, kind…and generous (Yoshida-san interview, 2022).

However, the closeness between islanders can be considered somewhat invasive by some, as revealed by Nohara-san:

> This is good and bad; everyone wants to know about each other more than necessary. Everyone has "antennas" directed at everyone. When we are suffering from something, they can help, but they interfere more than necessary. The more rural, the more they "have a finger in each other's pie". It is said that getting information is faster than SNS (interviewed by author, 2022).

As argued by Baldacchino and Veenendaal (2018), island communities are usually portrayed as friendly and in harmony at all times by a large number of literature. However,

small island societies can and have been found as having conflicts due to four elements that play a significant role in their daily life: "*monopoly*, *intimacy*, *totality* and *emigration* (or collectively, the 'MITE' syndrome)" (2018, 340).

The episode described by Nohara-san falls onto the second element. Small islands are known for their close community ties and friendliness. However, the level of intimacy achieved in a small community can also include "pervasive personal connections" (Baldacchino and Veenendaal 2018, 342) that can sometimes overwhelm individuals.

As an islander myself, it was easy to understand the close personal connections that come with being part of a small island community and how it can be considered invasive by those who do not grow up in such an environment. In the case of Nohara-san, who moved to Teshima after getting married, even though she has been living on the island for the past 35 years, it is possible to see that some discomfort is still present.

6.3.2 Morabeza between Islanders and New Migrants

Morabeza between islanders and new migrants showed an attempt at proximity and integration, although "local people are not outgoing, so it takes time" (Kojima-san interview, 2022). In Naoshima, new migrants, such as Yamada-san, stated that:

> Everyone greets each other and brings food. When it rains, they take me to places in their car. I started a café two years after I moved to Naoshima. Islanders came to the café until visitors began coming. They were the ones who recommended I start a café. They cheered me up (interviewed by author, 2022).

Yoshida-san recounted a similar experience in Naoshima: "people rarely leave this

island because they are very kind…for example, when new migrants start a business like a café or a restaurant, islanders come as customers" (interviewed by author, 2022).

Sato-san recounted that when she arrived on Megijima island, "everyone knew about me. They said, 'this kind of person will come here…Although I didn't know the islanders, they already knew about me…so I was very surprised about this community" (interviewed by author, 2022). For Uchida-san in Inujima, because their relocation was in stages, their relationship with the islanders was easier to develop: "because I worked at the art museum, local people knew me. It was easier for them to accept me than to suddenly come [to the island]" (interviewed by author, 2022).

However, for Sasaki-san in Teshima island, the close community of islanders and the smallness of the island could bring their traps: "they treat me kindly but if I came alone…not with someone from here…I think I would be a little bit confused. This island is…people are so close. I feel like if I had come alone, I would feel even more alone here. It is a very small community" (interviewed by author, 2022). Sasaki-san was introduced to the island by an islander, had been staying at their house and working at their family business, and was introduced to the community as being part of the family.

As shown by Shimizu-san, islanders showed their openness to new people relocating to their island: "I welcome new migrants very well. I wonder why they come here as new migrants…Some people who did business in Tokyo started new businesses on this island. They come here because there are attractions on this island" (interviewed by author, 2022), and Suzuki-san "the relationship between new migrants and natives is good. They do share farming. They help each other in farming" (interviewed by author, 2022).

Some islanders like Midori-san showed appreciation for the new migrants and the change in dynamics they brought to Teshima island: "I think it is okay for new migrants to move here. Their lifestyle is different from ours, but it's okay. We interact with them like they are our children or grandchildren. No one complains about them. I am glad that young people came here because they are very bright and lively" (interviewed by author, 2022); Ikeda-san added, "elderly people come to stay here. Some young people bring their children. The number of teachers increased" (interviewed by author, 2022).

Although it was possible to see their openness on the islands, it is also possible to identify the expectations and differences that come with the new population. For example, in Ogijima, Matsumoto-san complained that "most new migrants do not know about this island" and revealed that he had not talked to new migrants as lately.

In Naoshima, Kojima-san recalled that:

Local people…we greet everybody, but the new coming people, especially from the big city, look at us weirdly…because…talking to strangers…they kind of ignore it. We care for each other like neighbours: are you okay? What did you do last night or yesterday? But for newcomers, it is kind of irritating in the beginning. Maybe it depends on their characters. We need to talk to not have a barrier (interviewed by author, 2022).

In Teshima, Inoue-san declares that:

We are looking forward to new migrants coming, but we wonder what kind of people will come…for example, there have been many things that have changed since they came here, and what we have been doing for a long time changed…but

sometimes I don't get along with new migrants and other times we get along (interviewed by author, 2022).

There seems to be some level of distrust and weariness with some islanders since not every new resident seems to understand the island community:

Many people are 0 or 100…for example, some people don't try to get used to our island life. If a new migrant comes here thinking that it is city life, I wonder why they chose to come here. Recently, I had not been seeing some new migrants, and then I realized that they had moved out of Teshima. But some people with children, like young children, do very well here (Midori-san interview, 2022).

For the long-term development of the islands, one hopes that these apprehensions can decrease with time, as declared by Watanabe-san "I want people to make an effort so that new migrants get used to this island. In Naoshima, life and relationship between people are unique, so I want to connect them" (interviewed by author, 2022). New migrants are, after all, islanders themselves or are in the process of becoming islanders by integrating into the community and creating deeper ties to the islands and islanders.

6.3.3 Morabeza towards Visitors/Tourists

Islanders' relationship with visitors presented different levels of involvement depending on the island, islanders' occupations, and even age. According to the interview with Suzuki-san, the first interactions with visitors when the Benesse Art Site Naoshima started were not always positive:

I welcome visitors to Naoshima because I am a businessperson. I would like them to explore other islands because the islands of Setonaikai are declining, so I want them to get more excitement [from people]. (…) Businesspeople welcome visitors; however, native islanders don't welcome visitors. In the past, the native islanders did not like the visitors. When Benesse and the artworks were established twenty-five years ago, many older people did not like the visitors because some young people did bad things. For example, they invaded islanders' houses. Now, security has improved (Suzuki-san interview, 2022).

In Inujima island, Uchida-san shared that he, too, interacted with visitors "because I work here, I have many opportunities to talk to visitors, for example, I ask them "'where are you from', but I don't know about native islanders…how they talk to visitors…some islanders introduce them to my café" (interviewed by author, 2022). All the islanders and new migrants involved in the service industry or who somehow had an occupation which put them into contact with the tourists passing through their islands showed a positive reaction to visitors.

The welcoming heart and spirit to help others demonstrated by the islanders were shared during one interview by Yamada-san, who recounted an episode which had occurred some time ago:

Visitors interact with islanders like *obaachan* and *ojiichan*. They visit here many times, then decide to move to Naoshima. There was someone who was wondering where to live. When they came to Naoshima, restaurants were closed, but they were hungry. Then, some children came to them, and they talked. The children went home and brought them some food. After that, they decided to live in

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Naoshima. Compared to other islands, there are many chances for islanders and visitors to talk (Yamada-san interview, 2022).

Picture 6: Tangerine (Mikan) Stand on Teshima Island

Stands like the ones in Picture 6 could be seen around Teshima island and served as an interesting encounter between visitors and between visitors and islanders since most of the stands were near residences.

On Teshima island, Midori-san explained how islanders watched over the tourists passing along the island, but it came with some complaints:

There are many older people in Teshima…we interact with visitors like they are our children and grandchildren. However, foreign values are different from ours.

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For example, they eat fruits from our properties without asking and enter our houses to take pictures without permission. Most visitors are very quiet and greet us when passing by, so we watch over them (interviewed by author, 2022).

Watanabe-san presented a similar explanation on Naoshima island:

It depends on each person, but I think this [interview] is one way of interacting with visitors. Each encounter is important to me. I help people who are suffering from something. For example, if there is something I want visitors to teach me, that will be something for me to study. Before the Setouchi festival started, this was a quiet town. Now it has become noisy, and some people don't follow the rules. It can't be helped that some people don't like visitors (Watanabe-san interview, 2022).

While on Megijima island, Kato-san and Sato-san recounted that islanders working the fields did sometimes interact with visitors on the island: "when we do agriculture, we talk to them sometimes. Some people who don't do work in agriculture don't interact with visitors" (Sato-san interview, 2022).

The relationship between visitors and islanders in Teshima seems to fluctuate, as observed by Nohara-san: "when Setouchi Triennale started, we welcomed visitors, but the welcoming mood is declining a little bit. The relationship between locals and visitors will get better or remain the same" (interviewed by author, 2022). Nohara-san did not know precisely how the future interactions would be, partly because the COVID-19 situation prevented a closer interaction between islanders and visitors. However, if the *Morabeza* displayed by islanders in the five islands can be foretold, in that case, the

islands will go back to their livelihood, friendly and curious atmosphere that they are known for.

6.4 *Morabeza*'s Role in Facilitating Entry, Connectivity and Collectivity

The narratives collected from the islanders in Naoshima, Teshima, Inujima, Megijima, and Ogijima islands told a story that is not yet complete and that blends multiple layers of islandness. After conducting and transcribing the interviews, islanders' narratives were coded into nodes (themes) on the NVivo 12 software, considering the questions, themes, and information the interviewees provided. The coding is manually done and allows for a clear picture of the narratives, displaying a description of all themes present in the study and their relationship with one another. Once the transcripts were coded into their specific nodes, it was possible to see who had answered each question and the number of references for each node created.

The coding and naming of each theme were carefully considered after reviewing each interview and taking into consideration all narratives shared by interviewees. For example, 51 references alluded to Entry, ten references indicated new migrants, 48 references illustrated challenges experienced by the islands, 29 references illustrated Exit, 16 references illustrated strong inter-island collectivity, 20 references illustrated the population dynamics on the islands, and 15 references alluded to no collectivity between the islands. After coding the narratives, I used the NVivo 12 software to visualize the patterns in the nodes that shared higher word similarity. Figure 15 presents the different themes observed during this study and sheds light on their relationship.

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Figure 15: Study's Themes Clustered by Word Similarity
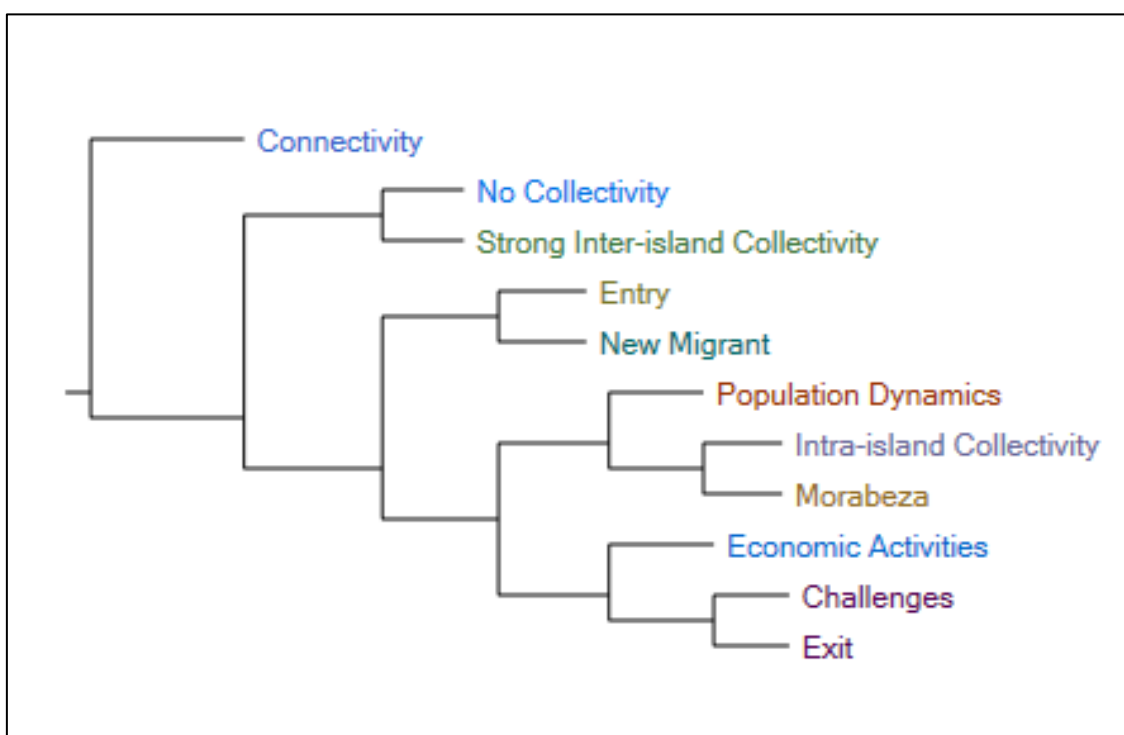
Source: Compiled by the author based on NVivo 12 cluster analysis, Own study (2022)

The diagram in Figure 15 embodies the visual representation of the narratives collected in the five islands and their relation by word similarity. The less word similarity between the nodes, the further the nodes are from each other. As such, the Exit option is closely related to the challenges that islanders face on their islands. Exit depletes the islands of people and infrastructure necessary for the sustainable development of the islands. The five islands being studied suffer the same problem of ageing and depopulation. The issues are complicated even more by the numerous challenges that force islanders to leave their islands, be it lack of work occupation, a weak health care system, search for higher education or lack of entertainment. Exit and challenges are followed by the island's economic activities, available to islanders, created by new migrants or disappearing from their locale.

Further connected to the islands' economic activities are the population dynamics of the islands' communities, with particular attention to the advanced age of most islanders and concern for the decrease in the number of islanders. The close relationship between islanders and the interaction inside their communities is observed in their intra-island collectivity and *Morabeza*[36]. Therefore, the population dynamics of the islands seem to influence the intra-island collectivity and *Morabeza* practiced by islanders.

Through the process started with the tourism industry in the region, some form of reverse effect seems to have happened in the islands, and Entry came to counter the negative consequences brought by Exit. Entry of a new group of possible islanders mainly occurs through the Entry process presented in Figure 9 and discussed in Chapter 3, where, in time, tourists visiting the islands decide to relocate as new migrants and, through integration and participation in the community, will become permanent islanders.

Entry is mainly possible due to the inter-connectivity the art tourism industry creates. However, not only are the islands connected by the ferries and passenger boats docking in their ports, but the islanders and the islands belong to a web of human interaction (Collectivity) from their history and recent involvement in art tourism. On the one hand, Connectivity (physical) is the furthest away from the other nodes for having the least number of references. On the other hand, it is the instrument that allows for the rich entanglement of people in the islands, for without maritime transportation, there would be no Exit, Entry or Collectivity instances along the island network.

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[36] The *Morabeza* node on Figure 15, represents the clustering of all hospitality instances previously discussed on Figure 14. For the characterization of all themes discussed in this research, the hospitality instances between islanders, new migrants, and visitors were manually clustered into one single theme of island hospitality.

6.4.1 Building a Relationship for the Future

To understand island hospitality is to understand islandness, island life, and how islands as places of encounter shape islanders and non-islanders. It then becomes necessary to preserve this relationship for a sustainable future, for the Island within itself is not a vacuum or isolated space. Islands are part of a constantly changing network that connects to new shores and new people. After all, "Islands were always interconnected. None stood alone for long, especially when hazards struck" (Connell 2018, 262). Therefore, not only could islanders welcome newcomers to their shores, but they could also have to leave their locale and must deal with the uncertainties of experiencing different people, places, habits, and cultures.

The island hospitality observed on Naoshima, Teshima, and Inujima islands between islanders is strong and quite evident throughout the research. Cooperation between all islanders, even with simple acts of exchanging food and frequenting each other's businesses, was evident on all islands. However, because of the smallness of the islands and the limited population, having others constantly aware of everything that happens on the island can be overwhelming for those not accustomed to close human interactions.

Islanders' *Morabeza* towards each other is closely connected to their Collectivity and sense of community, how they help one another, interact with each other, and cooperate in fostering a close and united relationship among themselves. Islanders live in a small community where everyone has either a personal or social connection to their neighbour, co-worker, family, or boss. Small island societies have an overlapping relationship among their inhabitants, where they know each other very well and have to

deal with one another "whether they like each other or not" (Baldacchino and Veenendaal 2018, 342). Islanders learn to deal with one another even if they do not get along well since they interact through personal or professional relationships that are carefully constructed to last for a long time.

The attempt at *Morabeza* between islanders and new migrants observed during the study indicated an attempt at welcoming the new residents openly and an effort to close the barriers between all involved for the cohesive functioning of the island community. The relationship between islanders and between them and new migrants showed the same signs of *Morabeza* corresponding to the Cabo Verdean islands' hospitality.

Morabeza to visitors is present on all five islands but can depend on the age and occupation of islanders and the island being visited. Islanders whose work dealt directly with tourism showed more frequent interactions with visitors and a positive perception of those visiting the islands. From the interviews, it was possible to gather that the elderly islanders have more difficulty adapting to the throngs of people roaming the islands during the high tourist season. As discussed in Chapter 4, when comparing the number of visitors to the islands with the local population, the difference in numbers can prove challenging and even overwhelming for some islanders.

Although islanders were quite welcoming at the beginning of the art tourism ventures, the welcoming mood seems to be declining in some islands mainly because of how crowded the islands became in a short time. In Ogijima island, according to Kaneko-san, "the elderly women, especially, are very friendly. Before COVID-19, the number of tourists was very high during Setouchi Triennale. We don't want them to come as before

[high number]. It will lead to revitalization if a certain number of customers regularly come, except for Setouchi Triennale" (interviewed by author, 2022).

Regulating islanders' expectations and relationships between members, new members, and non-members and nurturing Loyalty to the islands can be achieved in time with a deeper *Morabeza* practice in Naoshima, Teshima, Inujima, Megijima, and Ogijima islands. Through *Morabeza,* the boundaries between the host and the guest can be blurred, facilitating human interactions for the good of the community, not only with those who take part in the island life every day but also with all who interact with islands, islanders and islandness occasionally. Islandness is then entangled with *Morabeza.* Figure 16 illustrates the relationship between the elements used during this research and how they are all nurtured by *Morabeza.*

Figure 16: Relationship between Morabeza, Entry, Connectivity, and Collectivity
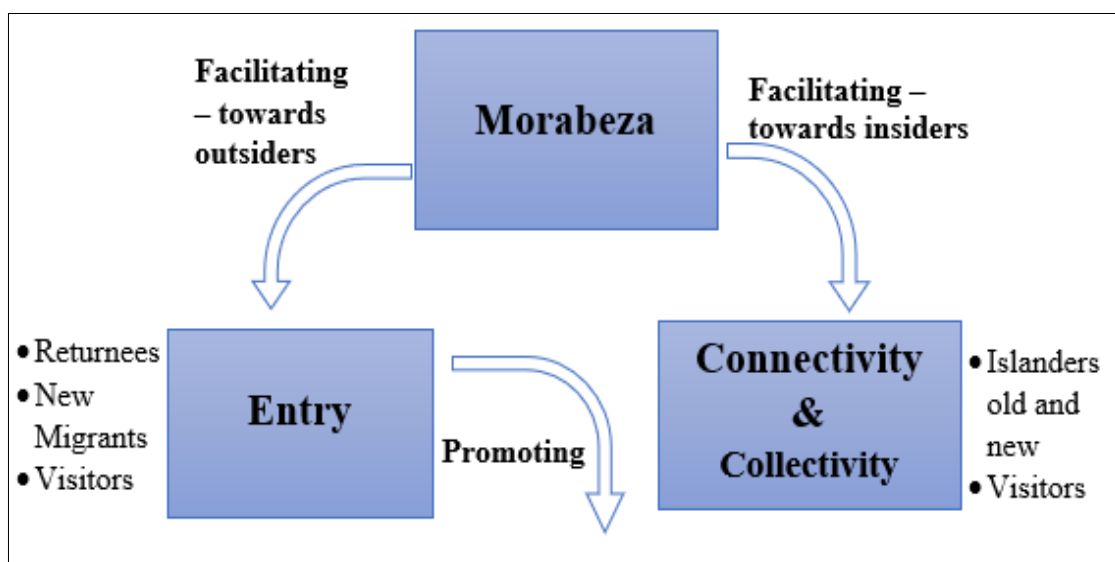
Source: Created by author (2022)

At the present moment, the islands are experiencing an awakening of the island

hospitality with an attempt at *Morabeza* not only connected to visitors but also aimed at new migrants relocating to the islands and islanders. Island hospitality towards outsiders facilitates Entry to the islands, as shown by the close appreciation between islanders and new migrants discussed above. Not only are islanders welcoming new migrants in a friendly, respectful, and open-hearted way, but they are also attempting to erase barriers between islanders and new migrants, mindful of a tight island community:

- Exchange of food;

- Visit shops opened by new migrants and invite others to do the same;

- Advise new migrants about possible entrepreneurial opportunities on the island;

- Partake in shared farming;

- Develop a close familial relationship similar to a grandparents-grandchild relationship.

Although openness to others is accounted for, it is also possible to identify differences in expectations and attitudes between islanders and non-islanders and how integrating into small communities can be influenced by local and individual habits as simple as inquiring about each other's day.

Morabeza hospitality as an instrument to attract and connect guests and hosts in island societies was also highlighted by one of the interviewees in Ogijima, although in a different capacity. Kaneko-san pointedly explained the difference in attracting visitors for a short stay. Although attracting visitors benefits the island economically, it does not bring a sustainable advantage in increasing the population lost yearly. As such, it is necessary to attract visitors who will become new migrants one day by developing a connection to the island before relocating. Kaneko-san explained it as follows:

I hope that the number of new migrants will increase in a natural way. We need to broaden our horizons. We need to increase more *kankeijinko*[37] [connected mind] than new migrants. This will lead to the island's activation. "*Connected mind*" means…for example, some tourists visit only once. However, some visit repeatedly…some repeaters who like Ogijima, do volunteer work for this island to activate the island. So "*connected mind*" means a person involved in the island. They don't stay, but they come here sometimes. Or they stay for a few weeks involved in activities on the island. So, to increase the "*connected mind*", we can stimulate this island because it is difficult to migrate here (Kaneko-san interview, 2022).

Establishing a connection between the visitor and the island life (challenges and all) would not only facilitate new migrants' integration in the future, but it could also facilitate the relationship between island residents by strengthening the community towards mutual help. Remote small island societies suffer from a loss of residents capable of organizing and looking after islanders' issues because of the decline in population and because a significant number of residents are elderly.

In the case of Ogijima island, for example, as observed in Picture 2 on Chapter 3, out of the island's 153 inhabitants, 95 were elderly. The high number of elderlies in Ogijima is a point of concern for Kaneko-san, who sees the need to try and reach out to those who cannot do everyday tasks like cleaning, moving things or simply taking the garbage out of their homes. With cases of elderly having passed away in their homes

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[37] *Kankeijinko* (関係人口) the Japanese expression used by Kaneko-san was translated to English as Connected Mind by this research.

unattended, Ogijima's local leader is attempting to look out for lonely elderlies through IT monitoring devices but has experienced pushback.

As described by Kaneko-san, the key to future island communities' mutual help is not to remove the human element:

> The islanders who can move have to take care of elderly people living alone and not leaving their homes. I think we must talk to each other face-to-face. It shouldn't be digital but analogue. Taking care of elderly people through digital IT is spreading in Japan. For example, sensors can tell if someone is not moving… The current Ogijima leader is trying to incorporate this into the island, but they [the elderly] don't like this because they don't like being monitored. Only digital doesn't improve [this problem]. This island is so compact. Even if we don't take care of the elderly through IT or digital, if we make a human mechanism, we will be able to do this through analogue. Or we can do this by using both digital and analogue (Kaneko-san interview, 2022).

At the same time, to protect an island's environment in a sustainable way that guarantees the island's future, Péron (2004) reminds us that protecting the island does mean not only the coastline but also the island community:

> An island is a whole, and it is not enough to 'protect' just its coastline in order to preserve the quality of the island landscape generally. Attention must also be paid to the relationship between the circumference and the interior and consequently to that existing between the different social groups living or staying on the island (Péron 2004, 338).

The care and *Morabeza* between all those who live the island life are fundamental to the future of small remote islands suffering from depopulation and ageing. The relationship between immobilities and mobilities through *Morabeza* will, in turn, facilitate the Connectivity (physical) and Collectivity (psychological) between islanders and non-islanders and, simultaneously, promote the Entry process into the five islands.

Entry, Connectivity and Collectivity depend on human interactions, partly triggered by the art tourism that has taken shape in the Setonaikai region. As described in Chapter 4 and Chapter 3, the art tourism industry and art festivals were responsible for the Connectivity established between the islands and for the Entry of visitors, new migrants, and the return of islanders with the islands dependent on the publicity to ensure their survival, as is the case of Inujima. While the industry did bring advantages to the region, some disadvantages were also cited in Évora (2022), such as complaints about the excess of garbage, "troublesome" visitors, sanitation problems, and traffic disruption, while Funck and Chang (2018) added the worsening in security and transport.

As argued by Tu (2022) on the ethnographic study related to the Setouchi Triennale art festival and revitalization in Teshima, Ogijima and Inujima, tourism brought some changes to Teshima and Ogijima. However, it did not bring substantial changes to Inujima island. Therefore, the author maintains that while the festival is important in changing the region's image, making it known and bringing in tourism revenue, it is also necessary to look at infrastructure and conditions on the islands to retain future residents.

According to Qu, McCormick, and Funck (2020, 4), these rural art festivals place "emphasis on revitalizing critically depopulated rural communities through tourism and

participatory or socially-engaged art". Setouchi Triennale is identified as a revitalization tool for the islands taking part in the festival.

While some authors recognize art tourism as a vital tool for revitalization in the Setonaikai, this study airs caution in making such statements since the current art tourism in the islands being studied is not a sustainable socio-economic option for island development. As discussed in Chapter 4, islanders have revealed the need for change and diversification of the local economy for the region's advantage and to retain the new migrants that relocated to their islands. Additionally, diversifying the industries available on Naoshima, Teshima, Inujima, Megijima, and Ogijima islands could benefit islanders, new migrants, and tourists with a more extensive range of products.

Chapter 7: Conclusion: From Strangers to Friends

This final chapter reviews and summarizes the major findings of the dissertation. This study followed the islands of Naoshima, Teshima, Inujima, Megijima, and Ogijima and looked at their development. It analysed the role and involvement in island tourism of Benesse Art Site Naoshima (collective name for art activities conducted by Benesse Holdings, Inc., and the Fukutake Foundation) and the Setouchi Triennale Art Festival held in 12 islands every three years. The five islands are located in Japan's Setonaikai or Inland Sea region. In ancient times, the area was a vital transportation route that connected Nara, Kyoto, and Kyushu, in addition to connecting Japan with China and Korea.

Setonaikai became extensively exploited with the expansion of fishery and farming, but after the Meiji Restoration, the government built several factories, thus starting the area's industrial development. However, the developmental path chosen for the islands came with consequences. While the islands benefited from a substantial number of workers attracted to the region's several factories, a series of serious pollution problems emerged with heavy industrialisation. In the subsequent years, the number of industrial sites diminished with the economic decline experienced in the Setonaikai and the closure of many factories. The decrease in work opportunities for workers on these islands, followed by the significant environmental issues in the region, forced islanders to leave their island (Exit) in search of opportunities in the major cities on the mainland.

The region's vitality declined with people moving to more prosperous locations. The Setonaikai islands began to suffer from population loss with low births, an ageing population, and a lack of work and education opportunities that pushed more islanders to

Exit their islands. The loss of inhabitants brought significant consequences to the islands, with the lack of human capital and infrastructures like schools being the most prominent ones.

In an attempt to restart the region's economy and culture, Benesse Art Site Naoshima, a private company, partnered with local governments to mobilize art tourism to attract new migrants to the region and promote community revitalization on the islands. While previous research shows that art tourism in the region had a significant socio-economic impact on the islands, islanders have voiced that the art tourism industry is unsustainable. Such people argued that locals must develop alternative economic opportunities from within the islands.

Thus, through interview narratives collected in Naoshima, Teshima, Inujima, Megijima, and Ogijima islands, this study aimed first to examine how the effect of Exit can be reversed in island networks. Second, to understand the relationship between islanders. Third, to understand the nature of ties between islanders and non-islanders. Fourth, to explore how Morabeza can be utilized to enhance Entry into island networks. Fifth, to explore how Morabeza can improve Connectivity and Collectivity. Lastly, to expand studies on the art tourism network in Setonaikai by giving voice to islanders' narratives.

Using Albert O. Hirschman's Exit, Voice, and Loyalty model to characterize the problems brought by population loss, Chapter 2 described the two possible responses to a quality decline in a firm or organization: 1) Exit the firm or organization or 2) Voice their grievances and wait for the management to correct the cause of the decline in quality. However, Exit and Voice cannot be seen as optimal solutions to problems faced by

islanders. The Exit option depleted the islands' human capital and infrastructure necessary for the sustainable development of the islands and the region. All five islands lost population and continue to do so, leaving many elderly inhabitants and a low number of young islanders. While the Voice option did work in the past in resolving a public health hazard that rampaged Teshima, the same option is insufficient against the decline in livelihood options for the young generation. Besides, raising Voice in small island societies (often with smaller populations) becomes more difficult over time.

The population on island societies, particularly Setonaikai, constantly fluctuates depending on a series of reasons, such as limited socio-economic opportunities or search for higher education elsewhere. Others have exited due to inadequate medical services and fewer agricultural and fisheries opportunities. The changes in island residents influence island life and its socio-economic development. Therefore, attracting residents willing to relocate and establish themselves on small islands is essential to counter the negative effects of too much Exit.

The research revealed that islanders and even new migrants trying to settle on the islands chose the Exit option for different reasons. Some leave because their resident island can no longer support their socio-economic needs, either because of a lack of work opportunities, poor life prospects, family, poor health systems, or housing limitations. Exit depletes islands of their population, economic activities, and future development possibilities due to the loss of future generations. Losing valuable community members such as young skilled and non-skilled workers is one of the biggest problems small islands face.

Following the discussion on Exit from the islands, Chapter 3 discussed island tourism, its socio-economic impact on islands, and the art tourism present on Naoshima, Teshima, Inujima, Megijima, and Ogijima. Islands struggle for economic/income diversity. This has attracted some islands (especially those with decreasing agricultural and fishing activities) towards island tourism. We argued that island tourism is better understood as a process where not only the local community is influenced by the visitors passing through the ports or airports, but the tourist is also influenced by the community that they are exploring.

In order to understand the relationship between all the actors involved in Naoshima, Teshima, Inujima, Megijima, and Ogijima islands, this study classified the participants by considering their relation to their island and the first element of Entry. This element is used as a response to the population loss experienced in the region through migration to bigger cities and the ageing population of those that remain. As such, the participants were divided into three groups: Natives, Returnees, and New Migrants. Analysing the interview narratives made it possible to point to reasons for Entry on the islands. The reasons ranged from looking for economic and work opportunities connected to art tourism in the region, being attracted to the island community, being attracted to the nature and scenery of the islands, taking care of family members, being cat enthusiasts, or being attracted to the Setouchi Triennale.

The close community relationship between islanders and their interaction with visitors can attract new islanders in a process that benefits the islands. Entry as a response to the lack of population and ageing of islanders is increasingly important for the island's future. Entry, as reverse to Exit, offers us several options for relocating or returning to the

islands. Entry counters the ageing and population decline, bringing a younger population and a possibility of new native children that grow to be future farmers, fishermen and entrepreneurs in Naoshima, Teshima, Inujima, Megijima, and Ogijima islands.

Following the characterization of the Entry process to the islands and the reasons for relocation or visit to the islands, Chapter 4 looked at the development of the Benesse Art Site Naoshima in Naoshima, Teshima and Inujima islands. In addition, the chapter explored Naoshima, Teshima, Inujima, Megijima and Ogijima islands' involvement with Setouchi Triennale. The chapter also discussed the islands' historical developmental path and their relationship with the Setouchi Triennale art festival.

Benesse Art Site Naoshima began its activities in 1989 on Naoshima island. Subsequently, the art-related activities spread to Inujima in 2008 and Teshima in 2010. Following Benesse Art Site Naoshima, since 2010, the region began to count with the Setouchi International Art Festival or Setouchi Triennale. Over the years, the art festival has brought a significant number of visitors to the islands. Figure 10 illustrated the considerable difference between the number of visitors to the festival in 2013, 2016, and 2019 compared to the local population of each island involved with the art festival. Naoshima, Megijima, and Ogijima islands saw the number of visitors passing through their islands increase between 2013 and 2019. On the other hand, visitors to Teshima and Inujima decreased between 2016 and 2019, suggesting a decrease in interest in the art festival.

The difference in visitors passing through Naoshima, Teshima, Inujima, Megijima, and Ogijima islands and the local population illustrates the delicate relationship transpiring on the islands. Islands with a smaller population, like Inujima, felt that the

Entry element brought by the art tourism (especially the festival) was a positive outcome for the islands. Some islanders stated that art tourism allowed elderly islanders to interact with visitors, provided job opportunities for the elderly, and allowed the island to be advertised beyond their shores. However, islanders in this study revealed that the tourism industry is not a sustainable option for the islands' development. They argued that it was necessary to diversify the islands' economic activities. While art tourism helped, especially around the time of the festival, islanders advocated for all-year-round economic activities that can retain new migrants and attract those that 'exited' before.

Following the discussion on art tourism sustainability in the region, Chapter 5 discussed the Connectivity and Collectivity elements which undergird our current study. The chapter also presented the changes brought to the islands by the art tourism industry and the challenges that still need to be overcome on the five islands. Art tourism in the region brought to light a new network of sea transportation that aids the connection between Naoshima, Teshima, and Inujima, with the islands being connected by boat services three times a day, as observed in Figure 11. The inter-island connectivity discovered in the past study still maintains normal routes. A new, albeit small route between Naoshima and Ogijima is possible now. To reach Megijima and Ogijima islands from Naoshima, one must first travel either by ferry or high-speed boat to Takamatsu Port and then proceed to catch the ferry that leaves Takamatsu for the two islands.

However, the route was disturbed by the COVID-19 pandemic and, for some time, isolated the islands from non-islanders. The islands went from having little connection to each other – due to the diminishing capacity of local industries, agriculture, and fisheries – to having a new inter-island connection only through the efforts of art tourism. However,

islanders might give little to no importance to such connections depending on who and where you ask. At the start of this study, the researcher had a clear notion that the element of Collectivity that began sprouting with art tourism in the area needed to be nurtured for the islanders' benefit. The Collectivity sense inside the islands, among their islanders, is present in their communities at different levels. However, in contrast, although the islands develop collective relationships thanks to Benesse Art Site Naoshima and Setouchi Triennale, cooperative action between islanders remains scarce. Studying the island's differences and similarities could be essential in fostering Collectivity between the island networks and their communities since the five islands share the same challenges.

After discussing the Connectivity and Collectivity elements of the study, Chapter 6 proceeded to present the island hospitality concept used by this study – *Morabeza.* We discussed its context and development in Cabo Verde and whether *Morabeza* was present in Naoshima, Teshima, Inujima, Megijima, and Ogijima islands. Islands as places of encounter use hospitality as a connecting instrument between islanders and non-islanders to attract and connect hosts and guests.

Morabeza, as island hospitality, differentiates itself by the hospitality concept since islanders do not only extend their hospitality to tourists or visitors as a commercialized service offered to customers but to all those who cross their shore. Islanders strive to erase the distance between individuals to protect the social relationships accompanying the island life. Island societies do not interact with others through a passive relationship but instead strive to include everyone in the island's daily reality and collective relationships. Hospitality in the sense of *Morabeza* is then to be understood as kindness and friendliness not only towards a fellow islander who has experienced the same hardships of the island

life and is part of the island community. But it is to extend this *Morabeza* to all who cross the island border as visitors, new migrants, or returnees.

Upon analysing the depth and breadth of island hospitality collected through the interviews, it was possible to observe that island hospitality between islanders is strong and quite evident throughout the research. Islanders recounted the cooperation between all islanders, even with simple acts of exchanging food and frequenting each other's businesses. However, because of the smallness of the islands and the limited population, having others constantly aware of everything that happens on the island can be overwhelming for those not used to it. *Morabeza* between islanders and new migrants showed an attempt at proximity and integration.

Islanders showed openness to people relocating to their islands and supported new migrants' local businesses. However, even with their welcoming spirit, it was possible to observe some expectations and differences that came with the new population since not every new migrant seemed to understand the island communities. *Morabeza* to visitors is present but can depend on the age and occupation of islanders and which island the visitor is on. Although islanders were quite welcoming at the beginning of the art tourism ventures, the welcoming mood seems to be declining in some islands mainly because of how crowded the islands became in a short time.

Observing the island hospitality in Naoshima, Teshima, Inujima, Megijima, and Ogijima islands, it is possible to argue that islanders' *Morabeza* towards each other is closely connected to their Collectivity and sense of community and how they help and interact with each other. In addition, it is connected to how islanders cooperate in fostering close and united relationships among themselves. Their cooperation extends to

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those actively living on their islands, visitors, and new migrants, showcasing a connection to Entry. The need to convert strangers into friends and erase barriers between people on islands allows *Morabeza* to facilitate the development of Entry, Connectivity and Collectivity relying on island networks. Furthermore, the close community relationships between islanders and their interaction with visitors can attract people to become new islanders in a process that benefits the island's regeneration, countering the effects of Exit.

While the relationship between island hospitality, Entry, Connectivity and Collectivity is observed in this study, it is imperative to note that the islands are experiencing an awakening of the island hospitality. Naoshima, Teshima, Inujima, Megijima, and Ogijima islands are experiencing an attempt at *Morabeza* not only connected to visitors but also aimed at new migrants relocating to the islands and islanders. In time, the Setonaikai region shall have a more profound island hospitality, with *Morabeza* being nurtured among islanders and non-islanders.

Naoshima, Teshima, Inujima, Megijima, and Ogijima islands' future depends on diversifying their economic activities as well as new and more work opportunities benefiting islanders currently on the islands and stimulating the Entry of new residents. However, the islands' future is intrinsically connected to the human relationships being created on the islands, contributing to their demographic expansion and benefiting the island's future regeneration and revitalization process. The islanders' hospitality to tourists, migrants and other islanders creates ties and relationships that strengthen the islands' network and serve as a solution for the systematic loss of human capital that threatens the region.

Thus ends this research's quest for answers about, from, and with results for islands, and we come full circle, for the islander is in a constant rediscovery of their island and others.

A distant shadow. A small shore. A long wait. A warm smile. An open heart. A new friend. Welcoming others to island shores is as ancient as travel.

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Sakai (2022), Interviewed by author in Inujima Island, April 23

Uchida (2022), Interviewed by author in Inujima Island, April 23

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Stakeholder (2019), Interviewed by author in Takamatsu City, November 14

APPENDIX A

An Example of Interview Questions

Note: Questions asked varied according to the categories of interviewees. The study differentiated between new migrants, natives (islanders) and returnees (islanders). The interviews were semi-structured and adapted to the conversations and interviewees' reactions.

A. Entry and Exit

1. Were you born here?

2. Why did you move out?

    i. Where did you move to?

3. If not born here, when did you come to the island?

    i. What attracted you to move here?

4. Why do you think people usually move to this island?

5. Why do you think people leave this island?

    i. If there is a problem that would make people leave the island. Do you think they would try to solve it or just leave the island?

6. How do you see the population of the island over the next five years, growing or shrinking? Why?

7. What do you think are the biggest challenges that your island faces?

    i. How do you think the problems can be fixed?

B. Connectivity and Collectivity

1. What do you think brings people together on this island?

2. After you moved here. Did you feel accepted by local people?

3. What do you think brings people together between Naoshima, Teshima, Inujima, Ogijima and Megijima?

4. How can we improve current interactions between the islands?

C. Hospitality

1. Would you prefer tourists to visit only your island, or would you like them to explore other islands?

2. How do you perceive the relationship between locals and visitors on the island?

3. Do you have chances to talk to visitors visiting this island?

4. What do you think of the new migrants that came to the island?

5. What do you think of the islanders who returned to live on this island?

D. Art Tourism and Economic Activities

1. Can the tourism industry alone sustain this island?

    i. If yes, why?

    ii. If no, what do you think is the alternative?

2. What do you think will be the island's major economic activity in the next 10 years? Why?

Socio-Demographic Information on Interviewees

The researcher conducted a total of 21 interviews in the five locations analysed in this study. The 21 interviews were grouped using different socio-demographic variables to better understand the study's preliminary results and their significance. The following sub-sections will be divided by correlations between the variables sex, age, occupation, and place of residence.

Table 4: Socio-Demographic Summary

		No.	%
Sex	Female	11	52.4
	Male	10	47.6
	Total	21	100.0
Occupation	Retired	5	23.8
	Self-employed	8	38.1
	Employed	6	28.6
	Part-time worker	2	9.5
	Total	21	100.0
Place of Residence	Naoshima	5	23.8
	Teshima	6	28.6
	Megijima	4	19.0
	Ogijima	2	9.5
	Inujima	3	14.3
	Uno	1	4.8
	Total	21	100.0

Source: Compiled by the author, Own data, SPSS output (2022)

As observed in Table 4, 52.4% of the total interviewees were female, corresponding to 11 interviews. Most of the people interviewed were self-employed. Of a total of 21 interviewees, eight were self-employed, six were employed by someone else, five were retired, and two worked as part-time employees. Most of the islanders lived in Teshima island, and one interviewed in Naoshima island resided in Uno.

Table 5: Age Dynamics

		Age	
		Mean	Count
Occupation	Retired	80	5
	Self-employed	55	8
	Employed	38	6
	Part-time worker	45	2
	Total	55	21
Place of Residence	Naoshima	55	5
	Teshima	49	6
	Megijima	53	4
	Ogijima	72	2
	Inujima	66	3
	Uno	27	1
	Total	55	21
Sex	Male	57	10
	Female	53	11
	Total	55	21

Source: Compiled by the author, Own data, SPSS output (2022)

As observed in Table 5, the mean age for those who were retired is 80 years old. The mean age for self-employed people is 55 years old, and for part-timers, it is 45 years old. The average age for part-timers is higher than the average age of those who were employed by someone else. Ogijima island has the highest average age, 72 years old, followed by Inujima island at 66 years old.

Teshima island has the youngest mean age for the group. The total mean age for the interviewees is 49 years old, followed closely by Megijima at 53. Male interviewees had the highest mean age of 57 years old.

Table 6: Interaction between Occupation and Place of Residence

		Occupation									
		Retired		Self-employed		Employed		Part-time worker		Total	
		No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Place of Residence	Naoshima	0	.0	2	25.0	2	33.3	1	50.0	5	23.8
	Teshima	2	40.0	1	12.5	2	33.3	1	50.0	6	28.6
	Megijima	0	.0	3	37.5	1	16.7	0	.0	4	19.0
	Ogijima	1	20.0	1	12.5	0	.0	0	.0	2	9.5
	Inujima	2	40.0	1	12.5	0	.0	0	.0	3	14.3
	Uno	0	.0	0	.0	1	16.7	0	.0	1	4.8
	Total	5	100.0	8	100.0	6	100.0	2	100.0	21	100.0
Sex	Male	2		5		3		0		10	
	Female	3		3		3		2		11	
	Total	5		8		6		2		21	

Source: Compiled by the author, Own data, SPSS output (2022)

Table 6 describes the interaction between interviewees' occupations and places of residence. None of the interviewed islanders in Naoshima and Megijima islands was retired, the two islands having the highest number of self-employed people, two and three, respectively. Teshima and Inujima islands had two retirees and one self-employed on each island. None of the interviewed in Ogijima and Inujima islands fell into the employed category. The two part-time employees were split between Naoshima and Teshima islands.

From the total number of interviews, eight were self-employed, making it the highest occupation rate, followed by six interviewees employed by someone else. The female interviewees were almost evenly split between the occupation categories. Three were retired, three were self-employed, and three were employed by someone else. Most self-employed interviewees were male, and most retirees and part-timers were female.

Table 7: Interaction between Sex, Occupation, and Place of Residence

| | | Sex | | | | | |
| | | Male | | Female | | Total | |
		No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Occupation	Retired	2	20.0	3	27.3	5	23.8
	Self-employed	5	50.0	3	27.3	8	38.1
	Employed	3	30.0	3	27.3	6	28.6
	Part-time worker	0	.0	2	18.2	2	9.5
	Total	10	100.0	11	100.0	21	100.0
Place of Residence	Naoshima	3	30.0	2	18.2	5	23.8
	Teshima	1	10.0	5	45.5	6	28.6
	Megijima	2	20.0	2	18.2	4	19.0
	Ogijima	2	20.0	0	.0	2	9.5
	Inujima	2	20.0	1	9.1	3	14.3
	Uno	0	.0	1	9.1	1	4.8
	Total	10	100.0	11	100.0	21	100.0

Source: Compiled by the author, Own data, SPSS output (2022)

Table 7 describes the interaction between sex, occupation, and place of residence of all 21 interviewees from the five islands. As observed in Table 7, Naoshima island had the highest number of male interviewees and the highest number of self-employed individuals. On the other hand, Teshima island had the highest number of females, while none of the interviewees on Ogijima island were female interviewees.