

TESHIMA - FROM ISLAND ART TO THE ART ISLAND

Art on/for a previously declining Japanese Inland Sea Island

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ABSTRACT: In order to understand the art island as a new type of socially engaged community revitalisation practice it is necessary to move beyond considering art simply as an aesthetic object. This article is informed by relational aesthetics, creative geography theories and with regard to three evaluation axes concerning artwork, community and new businesses and it considers the entirety of Teshima as an integrated relational art site. Outcomes were evaluated related to the provision of top-down elite art, relational social interactive art and bottom-up community efforts provided by emerging creative businesses on the island. Research for this article revealed that elite arts effectively attract tourists but do not touching upon the deeper root of Teshima culture in locals' way of life. By contrast, relational and interactive arts and business practices have played a significant role in community revitalisation. The case study undertaken identifies the success of the large-scale relational art site as a practice. Operating under an artistic 'halo', residents' art businesses appear as powerful agencies that help Teshima to embark upon a path of self-sufficiency and revitalisation as an island supported by art.

KEYWORDS: Teshima, relational art site, social interaction, declining island, relational (is)landscape, community revitalisation

Teshima in Transition – from Affluent Island, to Garbage Island, to Art Island

Teshima (literally meaning 'affluent island') is located between Kagawa and Okayama Prefecture in the Seto Inland Sea in the Setouchi region of Japan (Figure 1) and its rich fishing and rice plantation culture can be traced back to ancient times (NPO Teshima Tourism Association, 2018). After the Second World War Teshima was transformed by welfare initiatives that saw the establishment of age- and child-care facilities (the latter resulting in an influx of abandoned mixed race children resulting from liaisons between American soldiers and Japanese women – Kagawa Child Care Support Centre, 2016) and by the introduction of dairy farms. In 1978, a company began dumping toxic substances imported from overseas in the southwestern corner of the island. This caused Teshima to become home to one of the biggest illegal dumpings of industrial waste in Japan (Takatsuki, 2002). Locals protested until 2000 and eventually managed to secure the commencement of clearing of 60 hectares of industrial waste. (Figure 2) and also sought to combat perceptions of Teshima being Japan's 'garbage island'.



Figure 1 – Map of Teshima (by the author, derived from data from Geospatial Information Authority of Japan [2016], using QGIS Development Team software, 2020).

Like many other rural areas in Japan, and nearby Setouchi in particular, Teshima also suffered from a series of social issues such as depopulation, aging, the stagnation of social and economic activity and cultural decline (Qu, 2019). National Census data indicates that from 1965 to 2015 the overall population of Teshima dropped nearly 65%, from 2815 to 867 (Japanese Statistics Bureau, 2017). In the 21st Century, the elderly comprise half the island's population, up from 42% in 2010 to 50.3% in 2015 (ibid). As a consequence of these factors, the lack of job opportunities has caused the mass migration of the working population, the shutdown of public facilities, such as the hospital and school, and an accompanying abandonment of houses, whose sites have been reclaimed by nature (Figure 3) – factors that have led to further depopulation. As a result of such factors Teshima has experienced a tortuous history from affluent island to welfare island, then to garbage island, and is now marked by its shrinking population.

According to the Japanese government's definition, rural revitalisation (*chiiki saisei*), involves "creating employment opportunities, strengthening the economic base, and improving the living environment" (Cabinet Office for Promotion of Regional Revitalisation, 2005: online). Art has been seen as one productive means of reaching this goal. The convergence of the idea of the Art Island with the Triennale festival can be tracked back to the Kagawa prefectural government plan of 2004, which was combined with the concept of Art Network advanced by the Fukutake Foundation in 2005, and was subsequently backed up with the view of art tourism promoted by Kagawa Prefecture Tourism Exchange Bureau in 2006 (Setouchi Triennale Executive Committee, 2010). After 2010, inspired by the success of arts development on Naoshima, its neighbouring island, island art and rural art festival tourism also radiated to Teshima. Art now plays an innovative role in creating a diversified tourism space on Teshima (Qu, 2019) and is supported by two powerful external players. One is the Fukutake Foundation, the private art corporation created by millionaire Soichiro

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Fukutake (also present on Naoshima through the Benesse Art Site). The foundation has created several big-budget avant-garde art museums and facilities as major attractions effectively ‘parachuted’ into diverse locales without attempts to reflect and inter-relate with pre-existent cultures. Another key player is the father of the site-specific art festival in Japan, Fram Kitagawa, the general director of Tokyo’s Art Front Gallery. A partnership with Kagawa prefectural government including those two key players resulted in the launch of the Setouchi Triennale, an art tourism venture aimed to promote community revitalisation following a model previously considered as successful in Japan (Qu, 2019).



Figure 2 - The illegal dumping site on Teshima, still undergoing cleaning work during author’s visit. (Author’s photo, 2017)



Figure 3 - Abandoned resident’s house on Teshima. (Author’s photo, 2017)

Along with the island of Naoshima, the Setouchi Triennale has also shaped the art island image of Teshima (Qu, 2019: 33), which is reflected in Teshima having the second highest art visitor flow of the twelve art islands in the Setouchi region (Setouchi Triennale Executive Committee, 2010, 2020). From 2010 to 2019, Teshima received on average 20 artworks and 150 thousand visitors to each festival (Setouchi Triennale Executive Committee, 2020). Socially-engaged “artistic intervention” (Qu, 2019: 23) through the art Triennale attracted young urban tourists to visit the islands (Hara, 2012). Previous research has shown the effective manner in which art has the power to create opportunities for community revitalisation through tourism interaction and urban-rural socio-cultural exchange in Setouchi’s Triennale islands (Hara, 2012; Qu, 2019; Tagore-Erwin, 2018) as well as throughout islands more widely in Japan (Crawshaw and Gkartzios, 2016). Art creates opportunities for revitalisation of areas with diminishing socio-economic activity. One direct benefit has been to improve the phenomenon of the “depopulation of the psyche” (Klien, 2010: 540) resulting from social decline. Although it is hard for elderly people to make changes within their community, this orientation pins the future of the island more on young generations (Hara, 2012). Gaining new residents with businesses on Teshima is an indirect but significant outcome of art practice (Qu, 2019). Art has shown itself to be a successful answer to many of the issues on Teshima through structural change resulting from new art tourism, not only reflected by an increase in visitors but also by an increase of urban-rural in-migrants and new small-scale businesses, which play a central role for enhancing community revitalisation (Qu, 2019).

The entire island and region as a singular relational art site for community revitalisation

Island art practices aimed at local revitalisation are a new, socially-engaged and site-specific phenomenon in Japan (Crawshaw and Gkartzios, 2016; Tagore-Erwin, 2018) created through facilities envisaged to provide community-engaged artistic interventions and festival tourism, which unite to form and facilitate cultural interaction (Qu, 2019). This new type of art practice can be explained with regard to relational art and aesthetics (Crawshaw and Gkartzios, 2016; Favell, 2016; Qu, 2019). It emphasises that when art is embodied as a social medium it becomes a bond of interpersonal relationship through a process of continuous interaction that goes beyond commodity exchange (Bourriaud, 1998). Relational art is closer to Gilles Deleuze’s notion of the “immanent event” (Qu, 2017: 79), which emphasises the meaningful and immaterial part of the event that strays beyond the visible power. There is further support from creative geographies theory (Hawkins, 2015), which offers a wider geographical perspective on social practice art, shifting focus from the ‘work’ of art to the ‘art site’. This approach provides deeper thinking on the work art does in the world through reviewing art’s agency and its production of effects (Hawkins, 2015). There are two aspects to art interventions, comprising equilibrium shifts between global/urban/non-rural artworks with aesthetic values to a site-specific and a socially engaged style that puts more weight on regional socio-cultural contexts (Qu, 2019). The former represents the exogenous top-down model of art development and implantation within local territory, which tends to be valued by elitism and global tastes (Tagore-Erwin, 2018). By comparison, the latter combines relations between top-down planning and bottom-up civil participation efforts (Klien, 2010), which will be considered as a neo-endogenous type of art within this article. In the case of Setouchi’s art festival and on Teshima, it is often mixed in various manners, ranging from elite art to community engaged art combined into one festival product.

Therefore, the first step is to explore the different attributes of these diverse artwork types and the different community outcomes that result.

The above-mentioned issues can be identified through previous literature. There are different interpretations of the word ‘interaction’ with regard to differences in how artworks and visitors interact and how art practice interacts with local/regional society. This social approach to interaction differs from perspectives on how artwork interacts with its surrounding environment (Suwa, 2020) or the nature of human-machine interactivity in digital art (Qu, 2017). Relational art and event philosophy break the limitation of the materialised art world relationship through a social relation (Qu, 2019) that differs from traditional thinking, such as Suwa’s (2020) consideration of art on Teshima as “work” and “objects”. Creative geographies theory posits disengaged artistic perspectives as unsuitable evaluation points for art as an aesthetic object and, instead, emphasises social relations as key (Hawkins, 2015: 244). Further, research has already established that Teshima people have their own ways of defining what the boundary is between outsider’s art and their own that does not conflict with Suwa’s approach to the “territoriality of the art space” (2020: 8) on the island or that caused by art intervention or cultural colonisation (Qu, 2019). However, the notion that Teshima’s artworks undergo deterritorialisation into local ways of life (Suwa, 2020) needs deeper understanding with regard to local community perceptions.

One problem with research that has mainly focused on the artistic aspects of island art, often through the perspective of artistic outcomes conceived without consideration of their social impact, is that it often lacks community level data to support its claims. Such findings are often productive for building new art theories but less useful with reference to social practice outcomes (see, for example, Bishop, 2012; Favell, 2016; Suwa, 2020). Such works also tend to prioritise aesthetic value rather than social artistry, which, in this case, involves community engagement (see, for example, Bishop, 2012; Suwa, 2020). However, art on rural islands, as a new phenomenon that covers both art and society, more often connects with other issues such as cultural transformation, tourism, immigration, community place-making and their current social challenges (Qu, 2019). Teshima’s locals themselves have views on Japanese outside art as an entertaining consumerist phenomenon aimed to attract urban youth who do not really understand art (ibid)). However, art historians still focus on the manner in which such art can bring sensory experiences and the creation of new social forms for tourist experiences. Evidence counter to this has already been found on Teshima. As I have previously asserted:

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

Understandings of landscape in rural tourism and interpretations of the local landscape can be different depending on tourists’ perceptions as outsiders and locals’ perceptions as insiders (Daugstad, 2008). Tourists escape from noisy urban environments and experience a distinct pastoral landscape through art in rural locations (Daugstad, 2008). Therefore, further research should not only zoom from art to art in society but should also establish that a mutual understanding of art from objective perspectives is necessary to avoid either cultural colonisation, from an art tourist’s perspective, or the type of island culture-centric interpretation that may be produced by a declining society.

I have suggested elsewhere (Qu, 2019) that research concerning socially-engaged types of rural art festivals should not only limit their focus to art on islands but also consider the social impact of and outcomes of the whole festival on the island community as a relational outcome for the island. Therefore, a wider relational way of thinking that considers the changing nature of island communities, nature, landscape, artworks, festival tourism, and social interaction among the art-tourist-community within one extended relational creative geographical framework is necessary. To further the topic of art island revitalisation, the views of island long-term residents as well as newcomers (some of whom can be considered as lifestyle or creative class in-migrant entrepreneurs – Zollet and Qu, 2019) are vital barometers for the manner in which declining islands may have a sustainable future. Revitalisation is the final goal of those relational and socially engaged arts practices. This research argues that the wider spectacle of socially-engaged relational art is a relevant object of fieldwork, not only in support of Suwa’s argument concerning how “personhood and artistic objects interact as they are embedded in local livelihood” (2020: xx) but also as part of a focus on Art on, for and as an art island entity. Therefore, this article considers the types of art that exist on Teshima and how these arts facilitate social interactions. A key question involves what kind of changes have been made through the art site at a community level.

Methodological Framework

Regarding the whole island as one big relational arts’ social practice (Qu, 2019) approached from a creative geographical perspective (Hawkins, 2015), this research adapts three evaluation axes suggested by Hara (2012) for evaluating art revitalisation in Setouchi’s Triennale islands. It includes 1) artworks, 2) community development, and 3) tourism businesses. Interviews were conducted in early 2017 and participated observation was undertaken in 2016-2019, which included visiting Teshima three times per year as well as working as a volunteer in the Setouchi Triennale’s Shima Kitchen on Teshima and helping artists to make art on other islands. Semi-structured interviews with 23 community respondents were conducted to try to cover diverse industrial operations, types of resident, geographical distribution by the area of settlements as well as artworks. The interviews provided opinions from members of Teshima island council, tourism association, police station, post office, fish cooperative, big- and small-scale farms, aged care facilities, fishing boats, retirees, small businesses (including tourism businesses like guest houses, restaurants, and art facilities as well as local businesses like food and grocery stores, and petrol stations). People interviewed included a variety of long-term elder residents, return migrants, newcomers (including urban-rural in-migrants and temporary workers in art museums), and commuters. The research samples evenly covered all settlements on Teshima: in Ieura, Karato-hama, Karato-ika, Suzumi, and Kou areas. All interviews were conducted in Japanese, lasted an average of forty-five minutes and were recorded.

Interviews were transcribed then translated in English before content analysis was undertaken. By following Grounded Theory (Strauss and Corbin, 1994) for exploratory research, interview coding methods of open coding, axial coding and selective coding (Creswell, 2017) (Table 1) were conducted for this research. All interview content and photography used in this article had permission from all respondents.

Axial codes	Selective codes
Understanding with artworks Like/dislike those art What is “art” for local Art recommended by locals Whether art really reflects Teshima culture	Art on Teshima
Changes in community brought by art Art and festival tourism impact on residents’ life Manner of art visitors Interaction with visitors Visitors’ interest on Teshima	Art for Teshima
Changes on long-term residents The arrival of new lifestyle in-migrants Emerging new small business (both long-term and in-migrant) Geographical distributions of in-migrants and new businesses	Art as Teshima

Table 1: Interview Coding Index

Findings

Elite art on Teshima

Art museums funded by the Fukutake Foundation, such as the Teshima Museum of Art (Figure 4), and site-specific artworks from the Setouchi Triennale such as Noe Aoki’s ‘Particle in the Air’ (Figure 5) exemplify elite art in terms of their quality and attractiveness for both domestic and international art lovers. The introductory statement accompanying ‘Particle in the Air’ identifies it as trying to “restore this former community centre to its previous liveliness” (Kitagawa and Setouchi Triennale Executive Committee, 2016: 36). However, the author has also seen a similar artwork by the same artist in an urban city within Japan. The Teshima work appears to have been copied, with the creator reusing his concept in an attempt to restore the community centre. However, during author’s three-year field observation, no locals showed their presence around this artwork, nor did they treat it as a community centre.



Figure 4 - Teshima Museum of Art (right) with revitalised rice terraces (left), provided by The Fukutake Foundation. (Author’s photo, 2017)



Figure 5 - Setouchi Triennale artwork 'Particle in the Air' by Noe Aoki. (Author's photo, 2017)

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

Elderly people and kids in school never go to see those artworks, even if they were made by super famous artists. Because they do not understand it. Imagine just putting something strange on the side of the road, people [tourists] will say 'look, art! art!' This situation cannot be called culture for our community. (Young in-migrant 1)

Some artworks were highly entertaining, but my personal preference is that people need to think about the deeper meaning of the artwork, I wish there were more such [meaningful] types of artworks. (Young in-migrant with an art business 2)

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

People come to places where normally people live, not theme parks! For example, sometimes I was stressed when a lot of photos were quickly taken [without permission in front of my house], so I feel uncomfortable. This is an issue. (Young in-migrant with art business 3)

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

Relational art and landscape

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

You can see the rice terraces in the landscape at the side [of Teshima Museum of Art]... Depending on the four seasons, all the landscapes will change. What are those landscapes presenting? That is also art for me. So, separately, I would like to see the natural as art, not the art they created. (Long-term resident 1)

Another relational artwork are the island birthday parties (*Shima no Tanjobi*) held in the Shima Kitchen, created by artist Abe Ryo (Figure 6). Shima Kitchen is an attempt to create a community cafeteria that employs local elders, with young urban volunteers' support, to cook creative cuisine using local ingredients. The manager is a young island out-migrant who returned to Teshima because of the opportunities offered by the art festival. The kitchen allows locals and visitors to interact with each other on a daily basis and once a month a party is held to celebrate any resident who has their birthday in the month concerned.

This village has a lot of elderly people. When they see so many young people coming to visit, they feel like their grandchildren came back. (Long-term resident 1)

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

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



Figure 6 - Author and all staff in Shima Kitchen (the photos at the rear record all previous island birthday parties. (Author's photo, 2017.)

Bottom-up art business

Everyone has a different opinion on how art can bring revitalisation to the community. It might bring vitality from people from outside but it's a bit different if the people who actually live in the area are looking for it. (Young in-migrant with art business 1)

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

The art festival created new opportunities; we hope the island can be self-sustainable. (Long-term resident with business)

My research suggests that the real change makers for Teshima's future are community businesses with an artistic orientation or business-oriented art operations. One group comprises old businesses run by long-term residents adapting to art tourism by adding a new dimension, often creating an artistic environment to match the art island's fashionable attraction for tourists. Working examples include a gas station with bicycle rental, a fishery with a sailing homestay, an anchor factory with an art sculpture, and the Art Museum at Kuarto (Figure 7). The latter is a collaborative art project between Tokohu University and Haryu Wood architecture studio reusing an old nori (seaweed) processing factory which has been turned into a community art museum utilising edible entry tickets made of seaweed.



Figure 7 - Interior of Karato Art Museum. (Author's photo, 2016)

Another group of creative or art-oriented businesses are run by lifestyle in-migrants. My interviews indicate that Teshima has received around 50 to 60 people with an average age of 30 since 2017. There are many good examples of new businesses with close linkage to local themes on Teshima, such as the Lemon Hotel (Figure 8), a private art hotel with links to Teshima's lemon planting culture. The hotel is housed in an old, previously disused building that has been renovated and redecorated in yellow hues. Alongside the hotel, an associated art gallery features artworks related to lemons and Teshima. The catering services of this facility also serve food mainly made by local residents from local ingredients as well as homemade lemon-based drinks. Therefore, art, the hotel and lemon culture interacted in a new form of symbiosis that not only brings secondary income but also expands cultural value in innovative ways for the community. The guest house Mamma is a privately-owned facility that combines accommodation, art, and a cafeteria in an abandoned orphanage facility. This mixed facility provides a discount for local residents using their cafeteria services as well as a public bath. During research observation, the author noticed locals of various occupational types and ages enjoying this facility alongside tourists. When interviewed, the manager emphasised that a new relationship has been made between locals and international visitors. The building's history as an orphanage is also highlighted at check-in, giving a sense of its prior usage.

There are more than ten other cases of innovative uses of island spaces, like the coastal Umi no restaurant ('restaurant of the sea'), with its distinct avant-garde architectural design, and the Usaginigen (a renovated old warehouse used for new media performance art and community theatre). These are swiftly becoming new 'ambassadors' for art on the island as they try to root their bottom-up efforts in local *shima* (sense of place and of place as cultural landscape). Some long-term residents have stated there are two factors that have caused the popularity of new art businesses. One is the comparison with the newly constructed businesses which use completely non-regional and incompatible buildings within the community. The locals favour businesses that renovate abandoned buildings. The creativity of new businesses saves these structures from further degradation as well as providing a new liveliness within the community. Another important factor is that a newcomer's business must also be local-friendly instead of solely aimed at tourist revenue. Therefore, the local-

friendly strategy plays a significant role in community revitalisation in the ground level. Those business also mentioned that first time art visitors usually come for mainly art. Repeat visitors would shift their interest from art into other aspects of island life and culture, including staying longer in local business, experiencing island culture, and communing with nature by visiting mountain and coastal locations.



Figure 8 - Small art business, the Lemon Hotel. (Author's photo, 2017)

Further challenges involve both business time and geographical distribution. The Ieura and Karato-ika areas show the best outcome of receiving new businesses compared with other settlements on Teshima. A more serious issue, however, is the fact that the exogenous art and festival development created an intermittent business hours system where almost all small businesses are “open according to the opening hours of the art museum” (Teshima tourism association) and to the festival operation times. Many of these innovative businesses have no external support and are not listed within the art festival official tourism map, thus their own network and mutual support must become spontaneous and effective.

Art on/for/as Island – Attraction, Interaction and Revitalisation

Art on the island as exogenous creative attraction

Teshima maintains a broad range of arts operations that range between global and regional style, as well as top-down elite masterpieces and bottom-up local grassroots forms. While the majority of artworks on the island derive from elite art practices, more varied forms also contribute to Teshima's central role as a shining example of regional arts tourism. Like other rural tourism landscapes identified by Daugstad (2008), many local artsapes are neither touched nor utilised by locals. Art organisers, artists, travel agencies, tourists, main stream media and Suwa's (2020) discussion uphold that these arts respect or connect with island culture through outsider interpretation. However, this study found residents are largely in disagreement with such perceptions. They believed that art that is not connected with their culture, roots or way of life is more akin to a type of consumerist tourism, no matter how

deeply these arts can be argued to connect with the historical, natural and cultural elements of Teshima. Drawing on this, I have argued elsewhere that if art is designed with the sole purpose of attracting tourists – rather than being rooted within community – it will only end up as a “borrowed art exhibit on borrowed land” (Qu, 2019: 23) and with borrowed visitors as a new consumerist fad. On one hand, islands that do not employ art as an attraction will never become renowned as art islands. Yet, on the other, if this art cannot maintain its own appeal as a tourist attraction and maintain relevance, it risks turning Teshima into another garbage island, this time scattered with the ruins of art. Fortunately, Teshima also has many other types of arts to sustain, cultivate and cement its transition from island art to art island.

Art for the island – as interactive site and relational (is)landscape

As Hawkins has asserted (2015), at a social level, arts are no longer limited to serving as objects for aesthetic appreciation or beautification. Distinct from concepts of the social interactiveness of art and interaction through artwork, the real value of art is beyond art not as an ontology of work. Art plays its role as a medium to attract an interactive population, with tourism as one component of this relational art play that has a role as an implementation tool. This is effective in reducing the feelings of desolation of depopulation (Klien, 2010) through local-tourist interactions, especially for the island elderly. Arguably the best types of art are relational ones that create an interactive site that not only reflects but lives within and highlights locals' way of life. Shima Kitchen and its island birthday parties are exemplary in providing an example of continuous, non-repeating relational art (Bourriaud, 1998) in the form of everyday event that most people can enjoy. Another type of relational art is the one that impresses locals by carrying a community's collective memories. Thus, the revitalised terrace rice farm adjacent to Teshima Museum of Art is more relational when compared with artworks such as 'Particle in the Air'. The latter primarily generates relational meaning for tourists rather than the local community. With the community's common historical memories, the return of the former agricultural landscape, and the pairing of the natural Danyama mountainscape with Seto Inland seascape, culminate in an artscape that demonstrates vitality and all enhancing togetherness through a mixture of representations of Teshima's (is)landscape. Those relational sites gradually interact, influence and integrate through visitation and use by tourists, residents and newcomers, building into an immanent event of the type delineated by Deleuze (Qu, 2017) that goes beyond the visible power of the object in constituting the core meaning of art in social scale. These are relational arts mixed with both top-down implementation and bottom-up civil participation which are different from the elite art referred to in the previous discussion. The disadvantages of this type involve its high reliance on long-term creative personnel and joint manpower management by the art organisers and community. Therefore, the number of ventures of this type are still rare but they play a key role in creating a relational island.

Conclusion: Art as island, an experimental neo-endogenous path to revitalisation

Along with art, what makes Teshima an 'Art Island' is what happens *outside* of art – considering the whole island as an outcome of social arts practice within a relational community. Teshima has now taken a step forward, progressing its art-tourism community interaction towards a form that approaches and symbolises an incipient postmodern/neo-Utopian art island. Teshima now supports both new and old residents who can begin new businesses or enhance established ones to focus on art and creativity. A substantial number

of residents are involved with businesses that are highly art or creative related. Older residents and younger creative in-migrants exchange traditional knowledge and innovative ideas and, while expanding their personal island network, also expand the island's community network. This adds further innovation capital in a respectful manner for the community. Compared with the top-down exogenous developments pursued by the Foundation and Triennale, these community businesses play a key role in community revitalisation through enhancing local culture and society and bolstering economic retention on island level. Top-down art tourism development shows its limitation, with revitalisation mainly reflected by tourism-related infrastructure, and impacts on small businesses through the geographical distribution and business hours of art facilities. By contrast, a neo-endogenous approach co-exists between community and art development, thus completing the art island. With the local discount approach, the small business model shifts from a tourism-oriented basis to an effective community-tourism hybrid type that enhances local resilience and sustainability by expanding its role as an additional community infrastructure. In businesses run by older residents, their important contribution reflects on culture, bringing Teshima's way of life to a new generation by shifting orientation from short-stay art tourists to longer-term island guests interested in the slower, deeper island life. Locals believe Teshima is effectively a huge natural artwork that favourably compares to the rushed experience of visiting festival artworks and art museums. From their perspective, a more thorough investigation at a slower pace is needed to appreciate and experience the "art island":

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

Art is another aspect brought to Teshima by outsiders, yet if brought together and utilised by locals without excessive intervention, Teshima can plot its own course for revival, its future and cultural revival. The island has adapted its identity before, battling pollution, social upheaval and population decline, and can do so again, and this author hopes it can shrug off previous names, and enforce its name and standing as a truly 'affluent' art island.

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