IN SEARCH OF AINU VOICES FOR THE FUTURE GENERATIONS

“usa okay utar uaynukor wa, pirka horari, sasuysir pakno situri kuni”

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DEDICATIONS

I dedicate my dissertation work to my family and many friends. I would like to express my deepest gratitude to my parents, Kiyoshi Oscar and Masako Okada, who have been loving and patient. Your unconventional style of thinking has taught me how to love the people and the world, and given me the strength to try to change the world into a better place. My sister Rika and my brother-in-law Masaaki have never left my side and are both very special. I am sure my late brother, Masaru, Ron, and Non, as well as my ancestors are watching over and protecting me constantly.

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The title “usa okay utar uaynukor wa, pirka horari, sasuysir pakno situri kuni” was given by Professor Jirota Kitahara from the Center for Ainu Indigenous Studies of Hokkaido University. In the Ainu language, it means “wishing for the eternal felicitous life for each other with respect for the diversity of people (多様な人々が互を尊重し、幸福な暮らしが永遠につづくように).”
DISCOVERING MY PATH

The year 2008 when the author began the Ph.D. Social Welfare program of the Myron B. Thompson School of Social Work at the University of Hawai'i at Mānoa was historic for the Ainu. The Japanese government, for the first time in history, recognized the Ainu as an indigenous people of Japan, and promised to create a new law to help them recover their status, regain their culture, and rebuild relationships between Ainu and non-Ainu people in Japan.

Before moving back to Honolulu for the Ph.D. program, a trip to Hokkaido gave the author an idea about the dissertation topic. Hokkaido, a northern region of Japan where many Ainu reside which is called ainu mosir, was a ‘hot’ place to visit since Japan just hosted the G8 summit in Lake Toya. My interests in this indigenous group grew when the author visited the Ainu Museum in Shiraoi, a small Ainu village because there were so much to learn about their culture, history, or present.

The author contacted and visited Haruzo Urakawa, a well-known Ainu ekashi (kupuna, respected elder) in Kimitsu, Chiba Prefecture, just east of Tokyo. Haruzo built a place called Kamuy Mintara, which means playground for gods in Ainu language, in order to provide a space for children to gather, mingle, and learn about the Ainu and other diverse cultures in Japanese society. We sat down for over five hours together. He spoke about his personal story of moving to Tokyo from Hokkaido, about Ainu culture and history, and about his vision for the future.

With educational background in public policy, education, and planning and working experience in elder abuse prevention program at a nonprofit organization in California, the author was considering research on cultural topics related to elder abuse issues for the dissertation. The first step was to talk to many people to seek inspiration and motivation. One of them was a Hawaiian kupuna (respected elder). Coincidentally, she asked me about the Ainu’s elder issues. It turned out that she had met Ainu people at several international meetings. Although the author could not answer her question about the elder issues affecting the Ainu, my research whether any studies had been conducted on this topic began. Unfortunately, there were little facts. Though there are some studies on the Ainu’s history, arts, music, and language, there is not much information available on current social issues such as education, health, elder and
family issues, or strategies for new policies and the cultural renaissance. The author was motivated to learn more about the Ainu for the dissertation topic.

Early on the author wanted to study about Japan and social change. After finishing my undergraduate degree in New Jersey, the author moved back to Los Angeles and began working for a Japanese company spending every day working hard without ever really being challenged; then the events of 911 happened. Since my college was close to New York City, many of classmates and friends lived and worked there. That morning, the author kept calling friends to find out whether they were safe. However, the people in my office, the majority of which were from Japan, acted like nothing was really happening; they were going to have a sales meeting as the whole nation was devolving into chaos. It was an unbelievable feeling to witness that some people were concerned most with money at this time. In November of 2001, the author visited New York City, only to discover that one of college friends was still missing at the World Trade Center. Many that were fortunate enough to survive were still struggling mentally. A few months later, the author quit the job and determined to do something more meaningful.

Eventually, studying public policy at the University of Southern California in Los Angeles was the next step to learn new ways of solving social problems. My perspectives broadened, and new interests in many subjects were developed. My mentor, Dr. Thomas D’Agnes’ advise was memorable: “The more you learn, the more flexible you need to become.” The master’s program afforded me many opportunities to think outside the box. After completing my degree, the author moved back to Honolulu and participated in the East-West Center’s Asia Pacific Leadership Program where there were many opportunities to meet with many people from Asia and Pacific Islands and learn their cultures. The lessons about regional issues, management of sustainability, and leadership in development for the future were highlights in the program. The most rewarding experience was to learn about Hawaiian culture, which in turn gave me a reason to rediscover my own roots.

These education opportunities taught me to think about future generations as Hawaiians and many other indigenous people frequently talk about the next seven generations. Witnessing many people in Hawaii respect and value their own tradition and culture made me look more closely at current events in Japan. The author was very excited to
unlearn my own culture at this high level of academia through the eyes of Japan-born who have lived outside Japan for a long time, only to relearn and raise questions so that contributions back to my homeland can be made.
ABSTRACT

The Japanese government recognized the Ainu as an indigenous people of Japan in 2008. Over a hundred years of discriminatory assimilation policies have impacted erosion of the Ainu’s cultural values and traditional ways of living. Very few studies on the Ainu’s awareness and perspectives on their status, current situations cause lack of the knowledge in Japanese society about Ainu’s challenges.

The overarching research questions are: 1) In light of the government recognition in 2008, how do the Ainu perceive their standing as a people (culturally, politically, and individually)?; 2) What are the opportunities and challenges for the promotion of the rights of the Ainu as an indigenous people?; and 3) What are the hopes for future generations? Utilizing qualitative methodology, fifteen Ainu people were interviewed to grasp the topic focus of Ainu individuals.

Significant findings which emerged from the study are: Japanese government policies document more than one hundred years of disruption of Ainu ways of living, values, and cultural traditions the impact of which we are just beginning to understand. Second, as a result of this determined destabilization, Ainu represented in this study do not have a unified position. Third, Ainu values and ways emphasize living in harmony with nature and other beings, and therefore, have not developed a warrior tradition. This has left them open to Japan’s past nation-building ambitions. Fourth, study participants realize there are numerous issues that need to be resolved in order to advance their aspirations for cultural restoration. Analysis of policies and participant interviews, suggest that honoring, teaching and applying the Ainu values and worldview to contemporary living may be inextricably tied to the Japan’s future relevance and survival in a changing world. This transformation may be accomplished, for example, by strengthening the country’s governance through inclusion of diverse worldviews, and recognizing the importance of indigenous peoples’ practices in sustaining well-being.

Based on these findings, recommendations offered include: Reforms in national policy and education, the growth of leadership within the Ainu society, and access to guidance from other indigenous groups, and relevant consultants.
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CHAPTER I: INTRODUCTION

This study seeks to gather points of view that are rooted in the environment of the Ainu as indigenous people. Little is known regarding what the Ainu think about their status and situation, their oppression, or the existing Ainu-related policies and law; how they would like to implement cultural recovery; or whether there are geographical and generational divisions in awareness and perspectives on the aforementioned challenges to their way of life.

By examining their own words and thus learning directly about their values, perspectives, and experiences, we can develop a better understanding of past and current Ainu-related policy. Our understanding of the implementation and consequences of these policies, as well as the prospects for new laws regarding multiculturalism in Japan, will be enriched by such an approach. Examining these voices will also help recapture and rebuild the Ainu, help establish a reality-based foundation for grappling with the Ainu’s and Japan’s multiethnic and multicultural issues, and help prioritize what should be further studied and discussed.

Lack of evidence has been an issue in learning about the Ainu’s origin, history, culture, and social issues. There are not many thorough studies available on the Ainu, and the transmission of their history and knowledge depended on an oral culture that was prohibited by the Japanese government for about a hundred years. Some facts included in this paper are common knowledge among the Ainu people and communities. Some theories and ideas have disparities and gaps; however, it is hard to outright discount such facts when the available information is extremely limited. These discontinuities should instead be reason for further discussion.

This chapter begins with the background of Ainu and overview of the historical context that frames the study, including an introduction to Japan and the Ainu, as well as a historical summary of past and current policies with regard to the Ainu. Following this is the problem statement, the statement of purpose, and the accompanying research questions. Also included in this chapter is a discussion about the research approach and assumptions. The chapter concludes with a discussion of the proposed rationale and significance of this research study, as well as definitions of some of the key terminology used.
1.1. Background of Ainu and Overview of the Historical Context

1.1.1. Japan, Multiculturalism, and Japan’s Indigenous People

Photo 2: Ainu Family (Early 20th Century) (Public Domain)

Japan is a nation located in East Asia, east of the Korean Peninsula and between the North Pacific Ocean and the Sea of Japan. Since it is an island nation, Japan shares no land borderlines with any neighboring nations. Japan has four main islands (Hokkaido, Honshu, or the main island, Shikoku, and Kyushu), along with the Ryukyu Islands and approximately 7,000 smaller islands throughout the nation. In terms of land mass, it is slightly smaller than the size of California. With a population of approximately 130 million people, Japan is roughly half the size of America in terms of population (CIA, July 2012). Most of the land in Japan (approximately 70%) is mountainous.

Among the population of 130 million people, 98.5% is Japanese. The remaining population is as follows: 0.5% is Korean, 0.5% is Chinese, and the remaining population consists of descendants of Brazilians, Filipinos, Peruvians, and Americans living in Japan as foreign registered residents (CIA, July 2012). Okinawans and Ainu are Japanese citizens, and so the census data includes them in the broader category of “Japanese.”
The Ainu are an indigenous people who settled as early as 10,000 years ago in Hokkaido and north of the Tohoku region (northern region of Honshu). Unlike Okinawans who once united as a nation (the Ryukyu Kingdom) in the past, the Ainu have never formed a nation. However, historical documents indicate that Ainu communities had trade relationships with other indigenous groups, Russia, China and Japan since as early as the twelfth century (Ogasawara, 2006). Once the Meiji government (the beginning of Japan’s modern government) was established in 1869, the government included Ezo (later changed to Hokkaido) as part of Japan in order to counter the threat of Russia’s territory expansion in East Asia. The Japanese government implemented various laws and policies to force the Ainu to become Japanese citizens and exploited their homeland and resources for Japan’s development and economic benefit; these laws and policies of assimilation continued for nearly a century.

Beginning in the 1980s, various efforts to raise awareness about the world’s indigenous peoples were initiated by the United Nations and international indigenous people’s rights and advocacy organizations. In
June 2008, the Japanese government officially recognized the Ainu as an indigenous people of Japan for the first time in its history. Japan now has a decreasing population. It is also slowly becoming a multiethnic and multicultural nation as the number of foreign registered residents increases (Japanese Ministry of Justice, 2008). Transnational marriages are also increasing in Japan, with 4.3% of all marriages in 2010 falling into this category, compared to 0.9% in 1980 (Japanese Ministry of Health, Labor, and Welfare, 2010). The corresponding laws, policies, and educational reforms to help raise awareness among the general public about the importance of multiethnic and multicultural community building are crucial. In light of the Japanese government’s recognition of the Ainu as an indigenous people in 2008, discussion, planning, and implementation of Ainu-related laws, policies, and systemic reforms in Japan have raised more awareness than ever before about the Ainu.

1.1.2. Background of the Ainu

Map 2: Map of Original Habitat Distribution of the Ainu

The word “ainu” (as compared to the word “kamuy,” which means “gods”) means people” and “human.” Historians assert that by the thirteenth century (Uemura, 2008), the Ainu had developed their culture and settlements in the northern island of Hokkaido, the northern part of Honshu (Japan’s main island), the southern part of Sakhalin (called Karafuto in Ainu and Japanese) and the Kuril Islands (Chishima in Japanese). Their settlements—called “ainu mosir,” which means “great
calm lands where Ainu reside"—were typically located near the ocean, and accordingly the chief methods of earning a livelihood were hunting and fishing. Their language and beliefs were distinguishable from those of the Japanese. However, because the Ainu language did not employ any method of writing, much about the history and origin of these people remains unknown (Ainu Minzoku Hakubutsukan, 1993).

1.1.2.1. Ainu Language

"Irankarapte" is the Ainu word most commonly used as a greeting. It literally means "let me touch your heart gently." Greetings are one of the most commonly used aspects of a language, and as such they often shed light on the people that use them. The word Irankarapte shows that Ainu people have a strong sense of respect for human connections. The Ainu language does not employ any method of writing. Many of the traditions, customs, and bodies of knowledge were passed down through oral stories (Ogasawa, 2004).

As of now, it is unknown whether the Ainu language has a genealogical relationship with any other language family (Uemura, 2008). It is easily distinguishable even from the Japanese language. There are a few different dialects in Hokkaido; in fact, there is no set standard dialect anywhere among the Ainu (Uemura, 2008). UNESCO (2009) indicates that the Ainu language in Hokkaido is considered critically endangered, while the Kuril and Sakhalin dialects are both considered extinct already. According to Professor Alexander Vovin (2008) of the University of Hawai'i at Mānoa, there were about 15 Ainu native speakers in 1996; now there are less than 10 Ainu native speakers in Hokkaido.

Since the 1980s when the late community leader and politician Shigeru Kayano led a movement to revitalize the Ainu language, learning opportunities have increased; there were 14 Ainu language schools in Hokkaido (J. Kitahara, personal communication, 2013) as of 2007, and many Ainu and Wajin (the term used to describe the dominant ethnic group of Japan) students are now learning the language. Some Ainu language textbooks were published as teaching resources. A radio station broadcasting in the Ainu language was also established in 1998. Every year, the Ainu speech contest (itak an ro) is coordinated by the Foundation for Research and Promotion of Ainu Culture. This has led to an increasing number of second-language learners studying the Ainu language (Uemura, 2008).
1.1.2.2. Ainu Worldview

The Ainu are traditionally animists, believing that everything in nature has kamuy (god or spirit) inside. Professor Jirote Kitahara (January 2013) from the Center for Ainu Indigenous Studies of Hokkaido University described the Ainu worldview during his presentation at the East-West Center’s Ainu Art Exhibit opening gala. Overall, this worldview is comprised of the following two worlds: in the upper world, there are kamuy. In the lower world, there are Ainu (humans). Although Ainu cannot see kamuy, kamuy can visit the lower world and enter the soul or body of animals, fish, trees, plants, and other resources the Ainu need. Ainu eat or use a part of the body of kamuy as needed. After doing so, they take good care of the rest of the body and send the soul/spirit off to the kamuy world by offering a prayer (kamuynomi) and entertaining them with music and dance. If kamuy are pleased, they will return to the Ainu world so that the Ainu can maintain a rich life. The Ainu try to behave well in everyday life in order to be called Ainu – “ainu nenoan ainu (human-like human)” (Ogasawara, 2004). Koji Yuki (personal communication, 2012), the Ainu Art Project’s main vocalist and sculptor, observes that the “Ainu never formed a nation because Ainu never thought Ainu (humans) could own the nature, or should control the nature.” With respect for nature and spirits, the cycle of life is maintained as a whole.

1.1.2.2. Kanko (Tourism) Ainu

“Tourism and Ainu, woodcarving and Ainu, Hokkaido and Ainu...” Wajin tourists have that kind of image about Ainu, so they wouldn’t know if we were facing any issues at all. They just come to visit the “secularizing” Ainu souvenir stores and see “entertaining” Ainu traditional performances. They think the Ainu wouldn’t have anything to say and the Ainu are just a pity. It’s outrageous. I really hope the Ainu establish their own infrastructure, quit the attraction-like tourism, and make efforts to pass on our traditions and culture in a legitimate manner” (Ogasawara, 2004).

These are the thoughts of the Ainu writer Samio Hatosawa who, in 1970, appealed to his fellow Ainu to use their culture for the Ainu and future generations, not for short-term benefits. The term “Kanko (tourism) Ainu” was controversial among the Ainu. Shigeru Kayano (Ogasawara, 2004) said, “I was hesitant to work at the tourist site as
an Ainu because the meaning of Ainu, culture, and philosophy that I learned were so much different. However, I could make more money.” Kayano continues, “Wajin tourists were so ignorant. I kept talking to them and telling them who we were and what was going on with us, but I felt frustrated that Wajin only saw inauthentic Ainu houses, items, and ceremonies, and then they thought they knew all about the Ainu. I was so sure they misinformed their family and friends about us as a result of seeing the tourist’s version of the Ainu people” (Ogasawara, 2004). Before the establishment of the Ainu Cultural Promotion Law (1997) and the Japanese government’s official recognition of the Ainu as Japan’s indigenous people (2008), the Ainu struggled with both their identity and their livelihood.

According to the Ainu Association of Hokkaido (2006), the majority of their members (out of 24,000 people) live in the Sapporo area (2,744 people), the Nibutani-Hidaka region (south; 7,530 people), the Shiraoi-Iburi region (south-west; 6,622 people), and the Lake Akan-Kushiro region (northeast; 2,143 people) in Hokkaido. There are also Ainu living throughout Japan, mostly in the greater Tokyo area, in order to seek better business opportunities (Ogasawara, 2004).

There is significant diversity with respect to what and how the Ainu are nowadays. Some Ainu have more pride in what they do than others. Some Ainu live without identifying themselves as Ainu at school or the workplace. However, now the Ainu have choices; unlike previous generations, they can choose to learn traditions and customs from ekashi (respected elders) and other Ainu. They can be artists, woodcarvers, weavers, traditional ceremony dancers, singers, musicians, museum workers, oral literature performers, nature guides, businessmen, students, and politicians. They can also teach or study their own history, language, and oral literature, or form an association to make efforts to regain their rights and bring their voices into the political arena and mainstream society.

There are many opportunities for the Ainu to learn their own traditions, customs, and culture if they so choose. In Sapporo, Hokkaido’s biggest city, the Sapporo Pirka Kotan (Ainu Cultural Center) is a place where the Ainu can come to learn about traditional rituals, arts and crafts, weaving, cooking, and language. The Hokkaido prefectural government and the city of Sapporo established a system here for the Ainu to earn money for learning these traditional aspects of their own culture. There is also an Ainu museum that anyone can
visit. In Shiraoi, there is an Ainu Museum where tourists can find cise (Ainu traditional houses). This museum is open to public and attracts many tourists, particularly from Japan, China, Taiwan, Korea, and Australia. There is an educational program for young Ainu to work at the museum and learn the Ainu’s traditional customs. The largest Ainu kotan (village) in Hokkaido is located near Lake Akan. There are also souvenir stores for tourists and a theatre that recently opened in 2012 that features Ainu traditional dance, puppet plays, and ceremonies. There are also many Ainu people living in the town of Nibutani. People in Nibutani still have opportunities to learn about the Ainu traditions, customs, and cultures from ekashi, neighbors, and family members.

1.1.2.6. Tokyo Ainu

According to the Ainu Association of Hokkaido (2008), there are approximately 2,700 Ainu living in and around the Tokyo area. Many Ainu migrated to the Kanto area (greater Tokyo region) and other areas of Japan to pursue economic opportunities and/or escape from racial discrimination in Hokkaido. Watson (2010) indicates that it is difficult to quantify the exact number of Ainu living outside Hokkaido, observing that, “Notwithstanding continuing debate over the definition of Ainu, unique circumstances from social marginalization to institutionalized discrimination have made being or identifying with Ainu a complicated proposition” (Watson, 2010). Watson (2010) also emphasizes that the migration of indigenous people to and from the cities of the world includes important, underreported issues facing indigenous societies.

In Tokyo, there are several Ainu associations that plan cultural events and cultivate relationships among the Ainu living in the Tokyo area. In 1997, funded by the government as part of its commitment to the Ainu Cultural Promotion Law, the Ainu Cultural Exchange Center was established in Tokyo in order to provide a space for Tokyo Ainu to gather and for the public to learn about the Ainu people and culture. However, the Japanese government did not establish this center as a means to provide services (e.g., welfare benefits, etc.) to Ainu living outside Hokkaido (to be exact, non-members of the Ainu Association of Hokkaido).

1.1.2.7. Socioeconomic Status of the Ainu

Policies of assimilation and/or discrimination, implemented without negotiation or consideration, have made it difficult for the Ainu to maintain their traditional methods of living, dignity, identity,
belief, lands, language, culture and education. In 2000, United Nations’ Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination (CERD) urged the Japanese government to conduct a survey of the current living conditions of the Ainu in order to upgrade the protection of human rights for the Ainu people (Uemura, 2008), however, the Japanese government hadn’t conducted the survey including the Ainu outside Hokkaido.

Hokkaido Ainu Association and Hokkaido Prefecture Government have conducted surveys of the living conditions of the Ainu in Hokkaido every seven years since 1972. The Center for Ainu Indigenous Studies (2011) conducted the survey for the Ainu outside Hokkaido in 2011 for the first time.

Even though the survey with available data was targeted for the Ainu living in Hokkaido only, the struggles of the Ainu people in Hokkaido are evident in the significant differences in socioeconomic status in Japan (Uemura, 2008), as highlighted (Ainu Association of Hokkaido, 2006, Hokkaido Prefecture Government, 2006) below:

- 56.3% of Ainu in Hokkaido are employed in either primary (e.g. agriculture, agribusiness, fishing, forestry and mining) or secondary (e.g. manufacturing and factories) industries with lower wages in Hokkaido (24.2% of non-Ainu in Hokkaido are in the same categories);

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Industry Classification</th>
<th>Ainu</th>
<th>Non-Ainu</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Primary</td>
<td>34.6%</td>
<td>6.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Secondary</td>
<td>32.4%</td>
<td>22.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manufacturing and factories</td>
<td>32%</td>
<td>69.9%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Chart 1: Industrial Classification Comparison in Hokkaido*
• Only 17.3% of Ainu in Hokkaido have college degrees, compared to 38.5% for non-Ainu in Hokkaido (53.7% nationally);

![Chart 2: College Enrollment Comparison in Hokkaido](chart2)

• More Ainu families receive welfare support from the government (38.3%) compared to non-Ainu families in Hokkaido (24.6%) (11.1% nationally).

![Chart 3: Welfare Recipient Rate Comparison in Hokkaido (Per 1000)](chart3)
1.1.3. Overview of the Historical Context

1.1.3.1. Early History of Ainu Mosir

According to the Hokkaido Prefectural Government’s booklet, “Understanding Ainu, Hokkaido’s indigenous people (1996),” there are several ideas about how long the Ainu have likely lived in Hokkaido. Some say it has been approximately 10,000 years since the Ainu first settled in Hokkaido. Others say it has been 5,000 years, while more conservative estimates place Ainu settlement in Hokkaido as recently as 700 years ago. The method of passing down both knowledge and history among the Ainu depended on an oral culture, and because this culture was prohibited for many years, many details with regard to their original settlement are unknown. Although this current archeological or anthropological study does not yet have any proof, it is said that people (unknown if these people are the Ainu) began living in the Hokkaido area approximately 20,000 years ago.

At that time, the continent of Asia and all the other islands of Japan were connected during the ice age period. Wooly mammoth hunters moved down south from northern part of the continent to look for animals to hunt. Throughout Hokkaido, there are many historical remains of the Old Stone Age (8000-20,000 years ago) called chashi which exhibit a significant influence from the Okhotk culture (Udagawa, 2000). When the climate eventually changed and global temperatures increased, Hokkaido became an island between 13,000-14,000 years ago (Ogasawara, 2004). Clay pots from around 12,000 years ago were found throughout the Japanese islands; in Hokkaido, however, clay pots were not from 7,000-8,000 years ago. Although there are various theories about where the Ainu came from and how long they have existed as an ethnic group, there are still no concrete archeological or anthropological findings that conclusively answer these questions (Ogasawara, 2004, Hokkaido Prefectural Government 2006).

1.1.3.2. DNA research on the Origin of the Ainu

According to Professor Naruya Saito (2004), who studies the history and origin of people in Japan through deoxyribonucleic acid (DNA) study at the National Institute of Genetics, there were six historical migration routes people used to make their way to Japan. The first four of these routes are as follows: 1) through the Korean peninsula; 2) through Sakhalin; 3) through Kamchatka; and 4) through Taiwan and the Ryukyu islands. These four routes had a shallower depth of the sea, and since these areas were all connected over 10,000 years
ago, it was likely easier back then for people to migrate to Japan. Even though seafaring technology would have been needed to cross the ocean (and therefore these crossings might have occurred later), Professor Naruya suggests there are two more possible routes: 5) through the East China Sea from the Shanghai area; and 6) through the Sea of Japan from the southeast side of Siberia (Vladivostok area). Some Polynesians believe that they sailed from the Malay Archipelago; however, the influence from the Malay Archipelago may be minor compared to the influence from the continent (Saito, 2004).

While there are several theories (Higuchi, 1971 and Suzuki, 1983) regarding the origin of the Japanese people, most experts, including Siebold, Koganei, Morse, and Bälz recognize that the Ainu were one of the initial settlers in Japan (Saito, 2004). Kazuro Haniwara’s dual structure model of the Japanese archipelago populations is widely believed nowadays to describe the origin of the Japanese people. When people of various origins began migrating to Japan from China, Korea, and Southeast Asia, they (and their cultures) were gradually absorbed by the earlier settlers. Today’s Japanese (Wajin) are thought to be the result of this blending; however, the prevailing view is that the Ainu in the north and Okinawans in the south rarely miscegenated with the newcomers (Saito, 2004).

Haniwara and Bälz both admitted that the Ainu and Okinawans were morphologically identical. Saito and Omoto (1997) calculated 25 genetic distances and concluded that the Ainu and Okinawans are in the same genetic group. Saito (2004) also indicates that interpretations of these correlations can vary because the historical development of these two ethnic groups over time is very difficult to trace; one cannot ignore the possibility of miscegenation with ethnic groups who arrived in Japan through Sakhalin, through Kamchatka, and/or, through the Sea of Japan from the southeast side of Siberia (Vladivostok area).

1.1.3.3. Historical Appearance of Ainu

The first historical or documented appearance of the Ainu occurred in the twelfth century in the Yuan Dynasty of China in a record of the people living in the region of Sakhalin (Namikawa, 2004). The Nivkh, another indigenous group of northern Sakhalin that was already subject to Yuan Dynasty rule, engaged in frequent combat against the Ainu, whom they called “Kugi” (骨嵬). From 1308 to the sixteenth century, the Ainu were also subject to the rule of the Yuan Dynasty, and consequently trade between groups of the Pan-Japan Sea
remained active. During this period the Ainu indirectly traded (through the Yuan Dynasty) with the Ryukyu, Kamakura, and Muromachi governments of Japan.

It was in the fourteenth century that the first known indication of the Ainu in a Japanese document appeared. *Suwa Daimyōjin Ekotoba* (1356) describes the Ainu as the image of *Oni* (devil), drawn as a means of discrimination against “foreign” people. Around this time, the *Wajin* (the term used to describe the dominant ethnic group of Japan) started living in the region of Matsumae and Hakodate (the southern part of “Ezo” or “Ezo-chi,” or what was eventually called Hokkaido). In or around the early fifteenth century, the Wajin’s trade with the Ainu became more abusive (Namikawa, 2004) under the control of the Ando family. This abuse led to the Koshamain Revolt (*Koshamain no ran*) in 1457 in which the Ainu retaliated against the Wajin’s unfair business practices and exploitation of Ainu resources.

Trade between the Ainu and the Wajin in Ezo-chi became somewhat more stable under the rule of the Matsumae-han (clan), and it was strengthened to ensure stable supplies from Wajin amid the prolonged conflict between the Quin Dynasty of China and Russia during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Given its interactions with other groups, especially in terms of trade, Ainu society gradually changed over time. It divided into groups, and as a result there were multiple leaders from different regions. Despite the fact that the Ainu never united to form a nation, the Japanese government still considered the Ainu to be a foreign group (Namikawa, 2004; Walker, 2006). The Wajin’s trade practices remained unfair, and there was a series of revolts in 1669 (Shakushain’s Revolt) and 1789 (the Menashi-Kunashir Rebellion). After these incidents, the government implemented a stricter policy by which to control the Ainu in Ezo. The government established *Ezo-chi bugyo* (governing magistracy) and made efforts to assimilate and “Japanize” the Ainu, thus putting forth the claim, “Where the Ainu (Japanese) live” is Japan.

1.1.3.4. Ainu Heroes – Two Change-Making Revolts

Outraged by the wrongful acts of the Wajin, two known Ainu heroes, Koshamain (1457) and Shakushain (1669), fought for the Ainu. The reason for their revolts was to stop the Wajin’s incursion into *ainu mosir*, a campaign of control, exploitation, and deprivation of the Ainu’s resources. This campaign had been ongoing since *Oshu-Seibatsu* (1189), the Kamakura government’s military campaign against the Fujiwara of
northern Japan (Ogasawara, 2004). Many lords of residences (called tate) under the Ando family’s control started settling in the southern part of Ezo (later to become Hokkaido). The exact details regarding what triggered the revolt led by Koshamain are unknown, but it is easy to imagine the Ainu had many grievances with the Wajin invaders and unfair traders. In 1457, Koshamain attacked the lords’ residences, and ten out of twelve tate-residences surrendered. Even though Koshamain was killed by Nobuhiro Takeda in 1458, the Ainu were roused by his example and continued attacking the Wajin lords for the next eighty years. By the time this revolt ended, the Wajin’s Ando Hiyama controlled the area. In 1551, Hiyama signed a treaty with the Ainu. Instead of providing tax money to the Ainu representatives in this region, the west side of Matsumae peninsula (southern part of Ezo) was established as the Wajin’s settled area (Ogasawara, 2006). This led to the Matsumae-han (clan)’s further settlement and development in Ezo toward the beginning of the seventeenth century.

During the Edo period (1603–1868), the Wajin’s trade with the Ainu became more systematic, and Matsumae-han monopolized commerce with the Ainu. The Ainu exchanged salmon, vegetables, hawks, eagles, cranes, animal furs (bears, deer, sea otters, seals, and martens), and kelp for rice, needles, threads, tobacco, woven goods, cottons, swords, jewelries, lacquer, sake, etc. (Ogasawara, 2006). Around this time, gold was discovered in Ezo, and many Wajin entered and destroyed the Ainu living spaces (ioru) to mine gold. The Ainu’s ioru where they hunted and fished were invaded and their livelihoods were thus threatened by the Wajin.

The Ainu were usually known as a peaceful people (Ogasawara, 2004) that resolved disputes through conversation and negotiation (charanke). However, in the mid-seventeenth century there were disputes between Ainu groups from the southeast (Shizunai region) and the southwest (Monbetsu region) regarding the use of their ioru over the years. The groups from the southwest generally had more support from Matsumae-han since they lived closer to each other. The groups from the southeast were more hostile to Matsumae-han. Even though the groups had signed a treaty initiated by the Matsumae-han in 1663 to stop the dispute, the Shakushain group from the southeast still resisted and kept fighting; their target gradually became the Wajin of Matsumae-han. Eventually, the purpose of disputes between the southeast and southwest Ainu groups had diminished, and groups of Ainu from the east and north
all came together to join the fight against the Wajin and Matsumae-han in 1669. However, the Ainu were defeated by Matsumae-han, and as a result, the Japanese central government paid more attention to the north and enforced stricter policies and laws against the Ainu (Ogasawara, 2004).

1.1.3.5. The Ainu’s Relationship with Shamo (Sly Neighbors)/Sisam (Understanding Neighbors)

History is often written by the winners of military conflict. Many of the historic documents about the Ainu feature descriptions of the “undeveloped” people in Ezo written by the “civilized” Wajin (Ogasawara, 2004). Many Wajin explorers during the mid to late Edo period (around the eighteenth century), such as Kanzan Matsuyama (1710), described the Ainu as ferocious animals because of the way they looked and the differences in their culture.

In the Ainu language, there are several words to describe the Wajin. Shamo is used to refer to Wajin in general, but it also means “someone sly.” To the Ainu, the majority of the Wajin were Shamo. The Ainu often talked about Shamo counting (Shamo kanjo). At trading sites, the Wajin often tricked the Ainu with counting numbers. For example, the Wajin would ask for ten salmon from the Ainu. Then the Wajin would start counting as follows: “beginning,” one, two, three, four, five, “middle,” six, seven, eight, nine, ten, and “end.” In this way, the Wajin could get 13 salmon from the Ainu for the price of 10 (Ogasawara, 2004). The Wajin thought the Ainu could not read or count. For the Ainu, the history of trade was one of exploitation and deprivation perpetrated by the Wajin.

However, sisam in the Ainu language has a more positive meaning; it literally means “near myself.” Sisam is often used to describe good neighbors who have a better understanding of the Ainu. Though it is likely the majority would not earn this term, some Wajin were considered sisam by the Ainu. The late Edo period explorer Takeshiro Matsuura is known as sisam in the Ainu community (Ogasawara, 2004). Between 1844 and 1870, he visited and explored Ezo as a development commission officer on a government assignment. He studied the people, culture, and language, observing and taking notes with great devotion. In 1872, Matsuura suggested to the Meiji government to change the name Ezo to Hokkaido (Sano, 2002).

Even though he was a government officer, when he witnessed the poor quality of life in the Ainu communities and learned about the
brutal exploitation and deprivation they had suffered at the hands of the Wajin, he criticized the government’s strategies and policies responsible for oppressing the Ainu (Ogasawara, 2004). His journals and publications are still a source of useful data and information for learning about Hokkaido and the Ainu. He made countless contributions to the studies of anthology, geography, geology, riverine systems, local products, botany, and zoology in Hokkaido.

1.2. Major Policies that Impacted the Ainu

The Meiji Ishin (Meiji restoration) in 1868 ended the Tokugawa Shogunate era and restored imperial rule (Taisei Hokan). The restoration accelerated industrialization and modernization in Japan with an influx of Western influences, which in turn led to dramatic changes in the country’s social and political structures. The Meiji government promoted the kominka (subjects of the emperor) policy within the context of these changes in the political structure and education system. The Ainu were targeted for assimilation (kominka policy) into the dominant Japanese culture. Since Hokkaido had many natural resources, the Japanese government took possession of Hokkaido as a domestic colony for its own benefit as state capital (Ogasawara, 2004). Ainu-related policies and laws were enforced under the new modernized Meiji government for such purposes. What follows is a summary of these discriminatory laws and policies of assimilation directed toward the Ainu.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Policy</th>
<th>Brief Descriptions</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1855</td>
<td>Treaty of Shimoda</td>
<td>Japan and Russia established a borderline between the Kuril islands of Urupu and Etorofu. Sakhalin was a shared land.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1868</td>
<td>Meiji Ishin (Restoration)</td>
<td>Japan’s governing system changed, ending the Tokugawa Shogunate era and restoring imperial rule (Taisei Hokan)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1869 –</td>
<td>Hokkaido Development Commission</td>
<td>Hokkaido became part of Japan. The Japanese government sent commissioners to study the land and create a development plan for Hokkaido.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1869 –</td>
<td>Series of Land Laws for Development</td>
<td>With the Immigrant Support Rules (1869), the Property Law (1872), and the Hokkaido Undeveloped Land Allocation Law (1897) the Japanese government promoted agriculture and emigration from the mainland. All of these policies were unfavorable to the Ainu.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1871</td>
<td>Census Registration Act</td>
<td>The Ainu were forced to use Japanese last names. In the census, Ainu were registered as heimin (commoner); however, they were also noted as kyuu-dojin (former aborigine).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1875</td>
<td>Treaty of St. Petersburg</td>
<td>Russia took Sakhalin, and Japan claimed the Kuril Islands.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1899 –</td>
<td>Hokkaido Former Aborigine Protection Act</td>
<td>The purpose of this act is to protect people in Hokkaido by allocating land and promoting farming and controlled production; however, the Ainu felt this act discriminated against them. Another purpose of this act was to provide a Japanese imperialist education to the Ainu. This act deprived the Ainu of their traditions, culture, land, language, and identity.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1905</td>
<td>After Russo-Japanese War/Treaty of Portsmouth</td>
<td>Japan partially regained the sovereignty of Sakhalin but had to give up northern Sakhalin.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1945</td>
<td>After World War II/Conference of San Francisco</td>
<td>The final document of the Conference did not clarify what would happen to southern Sakhalin and the Kuril Islands; both remain undefined now and are referred to as the “northern territories issue” between Russia and Japan.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Table 1: Summary of Japan’s Ainu-related Policies**
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Policy</th>
<th>Brief Descriptions</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1993</td>
<td>Nibutani Dam Case</td>
<td>Ainu activists sued the government for building a dam on the Ainu’s sacred river. This case became a trigger for the recent Ainu movement.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1997</td>
<td>The Law for the Promotion of Ainu Culture and the Dissemination and Advocacy of Knowledge in Respect of Ainu Traditions (Ainu Cultural Promotion Law)</td>
<td>The Hokkaido Former Aborigine Protection Act was thus taken out of effect, and the Japanese government’s role shifted from “protecting” the Ainu to promoting Ainu culture; however, this law does not address land issues, education, or indigenous rights.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2007</td>
<td>United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples</td>
<td>The General Assembly of the United Nations adopted the UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples to raise awareness about the issues facing the world’s indigenous peoples. Japan supported this declaration.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2008</td>
<td>Official Recognition of Ainu People as Indigenous Peoples</td>
<td>The Japanese government, for the first time in its history, officially recognized the Ainu as an indigenous people of Japan, and promised to create a new law and policies to support the Ainu.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
1.2.1. Victimization of the Ainu in Political Struggles between Japan and Russia

The Ainu began to experience the negative ramifications of political maneuvering between Japan and Russia in the late-nineteenth century. The Japanese government had sensed that the Russian government would also seek to extend its holdings, chiefly in undeveloped territory (Uemura, 2008). Japan and Russia had negotiated the borderline between their newly claimed territories. Initially, according to the treaty of Shimoda (1855), Japan and Russia set a line between the Kuril Islands of Urupu and Etorofu as the border. Sakhalin would therefore be a shared land. The Ainu thus had to choose their citizenship. Consequently, those who were forced to leave their homeland were not treated well in their new environments (Uemura, 2008).

It was in 1869, just after the Meiji Ishin, that the Japanese government included Ezo as part of Japan. The name was changed to Hokkaido. Later, the Treaty of St. Petersburg (1875) between Japan and Russia was based in part on the proposal that Russia would control Sakhalin and Japan would claim the Kuril Islands. The Ainu in Sakhalin were forced to move to Hokkaido (Uemura, 2008).

[Map 3: Maps of Japan and Russia’s Territories After Treaty of Shimoda (1855), Treaty of St. Petersburg (1875)]

Japan, which was fast becoming a modernized nation after the Meiji Ishin, claimed ainu mosir was no man’s land and forcibly included
it in Japanese territory without any negotiations with the Ainu. Japan then abandoned the Ainu’s home unilaterally in its treaties with Russia (Ogasawara, 2004). In 1905, Japan partially regained the sovereignty of Sakhalin but had to give up northern Sakhalin after the Russo-Japanese war (Zenkoku Karafuto Renmei, 2006). After World War II ended, the Conference of San Francisco settled the territories that Japan occupied during the war, but Russia boycotted because the final document did not clarify what would happen to southern Sakhalin and the Kuril Islands; both remain undefined now and are referred to as the “northern territories issue” between Russia and Japan (Zenkoku Karafuto Renmei, 2006). The Ainu’s homelands were repeatedly subjected to a sort of dismemberment (Uemura, 2008), and as a result the Ainu were often displaced.

Map 4: Maps of Japan and Russia’s Territories After Russo-Japanese War/Treaty of Portsmouth (1905) and After the World War II (1945)

1.2.2. Establishment of the Hokkaido Development Commission (1869–1882)

Japan claimed that undeveloped Hokkaido was part of Japanese territory. In 1869, the central government sent commissioners to study the land and create a plan for the development of Hokkaido (Ogasawara, 2004). The Ainu Association of Hokkaido claims that “geographical study might have been done for the benefit of the government’s knowledge, but they did not learn enough about how we lived and how much we were connected to our land. For the sake of Japan’s own development, our
traditions and culture were ignored" (Sato, 2009). Agricultural
development in Hokkaido was the goal of the national project. However,
Hokkaido's climate and soil were quite different from Honshu, so the
government had a difficult time establishing agriculture as a driving
force of the economy in Hokkaido.

1.2.3. Census Registration Act (1871)

The Ainu were all registered in the census as *heimin* (commoner); however, they were also noted as *kyuu-dojin* (former aborigine). They
were forced to use Japanese last names. Their language, culture, and
traditional ways of living were all prohibited, for example, such
prohibitions included tattoos on women (mature women had a tattoo on
their lips), piercings on men, and so forth. The Japanese government
promoted agriculture. With the agricultural promotion policies, the
Ainu's livelihoods, which depended primarily on hunting and finishing,
became unstable after these activities were prohibited. Even as the
Ainu faced starvation in the 1880s, they could be punished for engaging
in illegal activities if they caught deer in the mountains or salmon in
the rivers, or if they used firewood or bark to make clothes. For the
Ainu, such assimilation policies were essentially a form of ethnic
cleansing (Ogasawara, 2004).

1.2.4. A Series of Land Laws for Development (1869-1890s)

The central government in Tokyo wanted to promote emigration from
the mainland Honshu to Hokkaido in order to establish and therefore,
enacted a series of laws to allocate land for development. The
Immigrant Support Rules (1869) were established in order to provide
travel expenses, housing, food, and farming tools for immigrants. By
the 1870s, however, it was clear that while the policies of the central
government had benefitted the immigrants in their efforts to farm the
new land, the opposite was true with regards to the Ainu. In 1872, the
traditional Ainu lands were taken by the central government under the
Property Law for development; these lands were deemed in a state of "no
use." The immigration promotion campaign was a considerable success.
The favorable treatment ensured by the Immigrant Support Rules
attracted *Wajin* businessmen and corporations to move to Hokkaido from
other areas of Japan, particularly in the 1890s. Nevertheless,
beginning with the Hokkaido Undeveloped Land Allocation Law (1897), all
such allocations excluded the Ainu.
1.2.5. The Hokkaido Former Aborigine Protection Act (General Allotment Act) (1899-1997)

The Hokkaido Former Aborigine Protection Act, passed in 1899 for the purpose of "protecting" people in Hokkaido (including the Ainu), was modeled on the U.S. legislation known as the Dawes Act for Native Americans in Oklahoma. This act ignored the fact that the Ainu livelihood depended on fishing and hunting. Prior to this act, in the late 1870s and early 1880s, their traditional hunting and fishing activities were banned by the government in order to promote farming and controlled production. The act's main purpose was to allocate land to the Ainu as a means of promoting farming. This act also set a quota so that the land given would be taken away if no success could be proved within fifteen years. Most of the Ainu, who were not used to farming, did not succeed in their attempts. Those who failed at farming were sent to factories and mines where they worked as poorly paid laborers (Uemura, 2008, The Ainu Minzoku Hakubutsukan, 1993).

Another purpose of the act was to promote education. The purpose of this, on the surface, was to improve Ainu children's school enrollment rate, but the actual purpose was to provide a Japanese imperialist education (Ogasawara, 2004). By 1901, 21 schools for Ainu children, separate from those for Japanese children, were established. Japanese children went to school for six years, but Ainu children went for only five years. In addition, Japanese children had to take geography, Japanese history, science, and art, while Ainu children took agriculture and needlecraft (Ogasawara, 2004). Furthermore, the Ainu language was prohibited and teaching was conducted in the Japanese language. Some Ainu children were forced to move to Tokyo to be educated. The curriculum was intended to ensure cooperation with the central government. This training enforced assimilation. In the name of protection, the 1899 act deprived the Ainu of their traditions, culture, land, language, and identity (Fumoto, 2002; The Ainu Association of Hokkaido, 2008). This act was enforced for nearly a century.

1.2.6. Arrogant Ainu Studies Researchers

Dr. George Montandon of the International Red Cross wrote an article in the December 16, 1919 edition of the Hokkaido Times. While on vacation, he visited Hokkaido. During this time he conducted anthropological research on the Ainu, measuring the height and skeletons of 100 men and women. He also collected their handiworks. He
concluded (1919) in his article that “We should preserve and protect the Ainu descendants who are disappearing people.” Ogasawara (2004) stresses that western individualism and white supremacy ideology was imported into modernized Japan, and that academia was deeply influenced by these trends. The Ainu were considered an inferior people, and researchers who studied them often did so with a complete lack of respect (Ogasawara, 2004).

Dr. Sakuzaemon Kodama (1895–1970) of Hokkaido University’s medical school is a famous example of this tendency. Dr. Kodama was on the anatomical study committee concerned with Ainu medical research. Together with Professor Haruo Yamasaki, between 1934 and 1956 they collected sculls, bones, and relics without asking for permits; they just dug up the gravesites in Ainu communities throughout Hokkaido (Ogasawara, 2004). They also often tricked the Ainu by offering medical checkups in order to collect physical and characteristic data without any consensus. In his book (1990), Shigeru Kayano notes that every time scholars came to Nibutani, they took folk handicrafts, ransacked tombs to take bones and relics, and drew people’s blood. Kayano (1990) says, “I don’t know how much blood they took, but I remember my mother came home with fatigue. To see whether people were hairy, they lifted the hemline, looked at the arms and back, put numbers on the neck, and took people’s photos.” If such behavior were to happen today, the perpetrators would be charged with fraud, trespassing, and grave robbery – all criminal acts against the law and the medical practitioners act.

In 1984, Hokkaido University created a charnel house. Now, every year, icharupa (memorial service) is held with the participation of the Ainu and Hokkaido University. However, other universities, such as Tokyo University and Kyoko University, are still in possession of stolen Ainu skeletons, bones, and relics. Due to the lack of notes taken by the researchers and insufficient information from the Ainu communities, many of these skeletons, bones, and relics are not identifiable. The process of returning these artifacts has been very slow. The National Institute of Genetics and various universities often conduct briefing sessions to explain this ongoing process to Ainu people and communities; it is not uncommon during these sessions to witness heated discussion and the anger of the Ainu people.
1.2.7. The Nibutani Dam Case - A Trigger to the Ainu Renaissance Movement (1993)

Nibutani is a small town in the Hidaka region of Hokkaido. It is along the Saru River about 100 kilometers (approximately sixty-two miles) east of Sapporo. The population is only about 500 people, and 80% of them are Ainu (Ogasawara, 2004). In 1993, this town suddenly sparked increased awareness of the Ainu’s existence thanks to a landmark legal case involving the Nibutani Dam injunction.

The government asserted that the project was essential in order to conduct flood control while providing energy and water to a growing population. The government began to buy up land that had been provided for the people in Hokkaido under the “protective” laws (such as the Hokkaido Former Aborigine Protection Act and a series of land laws for development). The Saru River is a sacred place for the Ainu because salmon come there for the spawning season. Salmon are considered by the Ainu to be important gods. Although two of the landowners, Shigeru Kayano and Tadashi Kaizawa, refused to sell their land, the government implemented the Land Expropriation Act and took their lands. Although construction work began, Kayano and Kaizawa sued the government.

Kayano became a politician around this time, and he continued his efforts to expose how the government had implemented many unfair policies and laws against the Ainu. He also taught the traditional Ainu lifestyle both to the Ainu community and the broader Japanese public. The dam was completed in 1996, but the Ministry of Works allowed the Ainu to use the lake for the following traditional events: Chipusanke, a ceremony for launching new canoes, and Asircep nomi, a celebration of salmon hunting.

Additionally, the regional court in Sapporo commented at the national level, for the first time, that the Ainu should be recognized as an indigenous people of Japan. These events were historical for the Ainu, since it appeared that their voices would at last be heard in the decision making process in Japan (Ogasawara, 2004). Kayano’s leadership in the Japanese Diet significantly impacted the development of more Ainu-friendly policies and helped shift mainstream attitudes in the awareness of multiculturalism.

1.2.8. The Law for the Promotion of Ainu Culture and the Dissemination and Advocacy of Knowledge in Respect of Ainu Traditions (1997 –)

The Law for the Promotion of Ainu Culture and the Dissemination and Advocacy of Knowledge in Respect of Ainu Traditions (Ainu Cultural
Promotion Law) was passed in 1997 as the result of efforts by a team formed two years earlier (APPENDIX A). The team was comprised of Ainu representatives, the Ainu Association of Hokkaido, the Hokkaido government, and the Agency for Cultural Affairs and Ministry of Land, Infrastructure, Transport and Tourism. Pressure from international human rights and indigenous peoples’ groups also played a significant role in the passage of these laws. The new law declared that Japan would henceforth be a multicultural nation. The Hokkaido Former Aborigine Protection Act was thus taken out of effect, and the government’s role shifted from “protecting” the Ainu to promoting Ainu culture.

Giichi Nomura, the former director of the Ainu Association of Hokkaido, characterized the law as follows: “It is a historic move for us and for the nation of Japan. However, this law does not address anything about our land ownership, educational, political, social, and economic rights. These need to be discussed, and we need to step forward” (Uemura, 2008).


Beginning in the 1980s, the United Nations and international indigenous peoples' rights and advocacy organizations have initiated various efforts to raise awareness about the world’s indigenous peoples. As a result, there has been much discussion about education, culture and tradition, protection, self-determination, and land rights. These organizations have also served as monitors of those nations with significant indigenous populations. Japan has not received good grades for creating policies for indigenous peoples, but Japan has definitely received end if such outside pressure (gaiatsu) in regard to change Ainu-related policies.

In 2007, for example, the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples was adopted by the General Assembly (APPENDIX B). Japan supported this declaration. It is not a legally binding, enforceable law, but it demonstrates the commitment of the membership to set a standard for the treatment of indigenous peoples, eliminate human rights violations against them, and assist them in combating discrimination and marginalization. This led to the Japanese government’s 2008 passage of a resolution to create a new law to help the Ainu recover their status, regain their culture, and rebuild the relationship between the Ainu and non-Ainu communities in Japan.
1.2.10. The Government’s Promise and the Hope of the Ainu (2008 –)

In June 2008, just before the G8 summit held in Hokkaido, the Japanese government, for the first time in its history, officially recognized the Ainu as an indigenous people, and promised to create a new law and improve policies to support them. The Democratic Party of Japan (DPJ) defeated the long-governing Liberal Democratic Party (LDP) in May 2009, and Yukio Hatoyama, who is from Hokkaido, became the Prime Minister of Japan. Prime Minister Hatoyama joined the Ainu Seisaku no Arikata ni Kansuru Yushiki-sha Kondan-kai (アイヌ政策のあり方に関する有識者懇談会), an advisory panel of experts on Ainu policy. In addition to Prime Minister Hatoyama, this panel included Ainu members and the governor of Hokkaido Prefecture as a means to improve the lives and communities of the Ainu.

Laws and policies in the past have affected the Ainu. Over the last few decades, there have been some improvements and achievements. Some of these achievements are as follows: the Law for the Promotion of Ainu Culture and the Dissemination and Advocacy of Knowledge in Respect of Ainu Traditions (1997); the recognition of the Ainu as indigenous people during the Nibutani Dam decision (1993); the progress in the International Negotiations on Intellectual Property meeting; the creation of the Liaison Committee of Ministries and Agencies (1996) and the Foundation for Research and Promotion of Ainu Culture (FRPAC) (1997); Japan voting for the Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (2007); and the government’s official recognition of the Ainu as an indigenous group before the G8 summit in Hokkaido (2008).

To influence the government and further promote their movement, some Ainu have chosen to use outsider strategies, or gaiatsu (outside pressure), including collaborative efforts with oversea human rights support groups and other indigenous groups from around the world. The gap between the awareness of the international movement and support for indigenous rights and the lack of recognition (within Japan) of the Ainu as an indigenous people creates a continual motivation “to push for recognition in a variety of matters” (Larson et al., 2008).

1.2.11. Restoration of Ainu Assets Held in Trust by the Japanese Government (1997–)

In light of the abolishment of the Hokkaido Former Aborigine Protection Act and the passing the Ainu Cultural Promotion Law, a decision was made that the Ainu’s communal property and trust assets that were held by the Hokkaido Prefectural governor under the
Protection Act would be returned to entitled Ainu individuals. On September 5, 1997, the Hokkaido Prefectural Government posted the announcement of the return and the amount held by the governor, which totaled approximately 1,470,000 yen (approximately 15,000 US dollars) (Ogasawara, 2004).

Communal property and trust assets, which included Ainu real estate holdings, cash, bonds, and stock certificates, were taken and managed by a group of Wajin prior to the Hokkaido Former Aborigine Protection Act. However, their poor management caused major losses for the Ainu. After passing the Protection Act, the Hokkaido Prefectural governor managed the assets with the assumption that the Ainu were not able to manage finances well. The source for “protecting” the Ainu (under the Protection Act) could be found in these assets, including the properties of the Ainu from the Kuril Islands who were forced to leave their homelands.

On July 5, 1999, 24 Ainu brought a lawsuit against the Hokkaido government for poorly managing these assets and failing to provide the adequate documentation needed to determine the total amount of these assets. The Hokkaido government responded that sufficient research had been conducted to determine this amount; however, the details regarding the assets, including the management of the assets, were not provided. Despite significant efforts, litigation to resolve this issue has yet to succeed (Ogasawara, 2004). Nonetheless, Ainu groups are still seeking justice by questioning the outrageousness of Japan’s legal system and appealing that the Ainu have been bombarded by Japan’s long-term discriminatory assimilation policies.

1.2.12. Ainu Associations, Unity and Disunity

The Hokkaido Ainu Association has been a powerful advocate of the Ainu. It has also served as a communication bridge between the Ainu and the Japanese government and society. The leadership provided through this organization is crucial to the Ainu regaining their dignity as a people; preserving and developing their culture, history, and religion; and passing these along to future generations of Ainu.

On January 13, 1989, Asahi Shimbun newspaper ran an article about the conversation right after the WWII between the Ainu and the General Headquarters (GHQ), which governed Japan after the end of WWII. The headline for this article was “Time to Become Independent?” According to the article, four Ainu representatives in Sapporo were asked by the GHQ if the Ainu were willing to be independent from Japan (Ogasawara,
2004). However, these four representatives responded as follows: "we (Ainu) will not seek for independence from Japan and will make efforts to rebuild the nation as citizens of Japan" (Ogasawara, 2004). The Akan Ainu Association verified this fact of the meeting with the American major general who had this conversation with the four Ainu representatives.

Even though those representatives showed their willingness to avoid seeking independence, debates began among the Ainu society (Ogasawara 2004). Those debates and discussions helped unite Ainu from different regions. This increased unity led to the establishment of the Hokkaido Ainu Association in 1946. The association created a space for the Ainu to grow and develop more confidence as an ethnic group. However, in 1961, the association changed the name to Hokkaido Utari Association (English name remained the same) because the Ainu felt the word “ainu” carried a derogatory meaning.

The Ainu changed the name back to the Hokkaido Ainu Association in 2009 after the government’s official recognition, which in turn ensured the association’s role in both the Japanese government and society and Ainu society became more consistent. As of 2012, there are 6 (shicho) branches and 49 (shibu) groups in Hokkaido. Mainly, the association is a representative of its members in Hokkaido that works for the benefit of the Ainu. However, some Ainu have moved throughout Japan for better job opportunities, among other reasons. Kanto (greater Tokyo area) has 2,700 Ainu residents, but they are not members of the Hokkaido Ainu Association. Even in Hokkaido, some Ainu are not association members.

Currently, only the Ainu Association members in Hokkaido receive welfare benefits through the Hokkaido Ainu Association, which was asked to manage such issues by the Japanese government. As a result, non-Ainu Association members and Ainu living outside Hokkaido are not eligible to receive these benefits. However, the Ainu Association currently has a stronger voice in the Japanese government and society.

1.2.13. Restoring Ioru (1998 –)

In light of the establishment of the Ainu Cultural Promotion Law in 1997, the Foundation for Research and Promotion of Ainu Culture (FRPAC) was established in order to promote the Ainu culture and share the knowledge of Ainu traditions with Japanese society. The FRPAC, along with the Ministry of Land, Infrastructure, Transport and Tourism, the Agency for Cultural Affairs, the Hokkaido Prefectural Government,
and the Hokkaido Utari (Ainu) Association formed an advisory panel (Utari taisaku kondankai) to discuss Ainu issues.

The advisory panel recognized that the preservation and succession of the Ainu language, traditions, and culture based on the Ainu’s identity as an ethnic group alone was not enough (Hokkaido Prefectural Government, 2005). The report also indicated (2005) that the Ainu’s history, traditions, and current issues were not understood well by the Japanese people. The individuals in the Ainu culture who can pass on their traditional knowledge and cultural practices are also aging. The advisory panel suggested it was important to restore a space (ioru) which would support the Ainu traditional lifestyle of coexistence with the environment. The advisory panel studied examples from other countries and consulted with experts in cultural anthropology, physical anthropology, environmental studies, and tourism.

The proposal (Hokkaido Prefectural Government 2005) suggested building ioru and providing a space to be used for the following reasons: a) to safely use the forest in the region; b) to manage the water (ocean, lakes, and rivers); c) to deal with the local fishery associations with regards to the traditional practice of Ainu fishing; and d) to practice traditional ceremonies.

Ainu can use the ioru space to secure resources with fewer regulations for Ainu traditional culture. This space can also be used to pass on the Ainu philosophy and knowledge. The activities conducted in this space include using trees and plants, fishing, and hunting animals, as well as conducting training for cultural practitioners and leaders. The Shiraori area (Ainu population 2500, 12% of the town population) in 2005 and the Biratori area (Ainu population 1400, 23% of the town population) in 2006 were selected by the advisory panel to launch the pilot programs (Ministry of Land, Infrastructure, Transport, and Tourism, 2006). The program in Shiraori is to serve educational purposes, while the program in Biratori is to serve training purposes. The panel is considering the Lake Akan area and Sapporo as future candidates for creating the ioru space (Council for Ainu Policy Promotion, 2010).


The Chief Cabinet Secretary requested that the Ainu Seisaku no Arikata ni Kansuru Yushiki-sha Kondan-kai (アイヌ政策のあり方に関する有識者懇談会; an advisory panel of experts on Ainu policy) produce a report on
its discussions about policy changes in 2008. The Constitution of Japan has often been discussed from the perspective of whether the creation of a special policy and the treatment of a specific population under the law would be contrary to Article 14, which sets forth the principle of equality. The report justifies the existence of Ainu policy as valid in light of historical considerations and Article 2-2 of the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination (Japanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs).

Article 13 of the Constitution has, as its basic principle, respect for individuals. Policies that value Ainu culture and spirituality, including the Ainu language, are important as a means of upholding this principle and allowing the Ainu to choose to live with a strong sense of identity. Addressing gaps in education, socioeconomic status, and quality of life are crucial in meeting the intent of Article 13.

The Ainu Seisaku no Arikata ni Kansuru Yushiki-sha Kondan-kai’s report also highlights the importance of ethnic harmony. The concept creates a model by which the members of a modernized multicultural nation can respect one another’s individuality, culture, and dignity. Thus the government has recognized the Ainu as an indigenous people, and with the new policy changes all of Japanese society should follow suit by upholding respect and appreciation for diversity. Continued discussion and specific implementation plans will be beneficial for Japan as it endeavors to become a truly multicultural nation.

1.3. Problem Statement

The year 2008 was historic for the Ainu because the Japanese government, for the first time in history, recognized them as an indigenous people of Japan. However, despite the government’s promise to create a new law to help the Ainu recover their status, regain their culture, and rebuild relationships between Ainu and non-Ainu people in Japan, this law, as of 2013, has not yet been created. Over a hundred years of discriminatory assimilation policies, as well as the Japanese public’s ignorance of the Ainu people’s cultural values and traditional ways of living, the Ainu had to endure considerable suffering. Little is known about what the Ainu think about their status and situation, their oppression, or the existing policies and law. There are also very few studies that shed light on the Ainu’s awareness and perspectives on the aforementioned challenges to their way of life, or on how they
would like to implement cultural recovery and regain their rights for future generations.

1.4. Statement of Purpose and Research Questions

1.4.1. Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this study is to examine how the Ainu perceive and describe their standing as an indigenous people in Japan; to learn about the Ainu’s understanding of their agency, identity, and the survival of their culture; and to assess what the Ainu want for future generations as well as the actions they are willing to take to secure that future and promote the implementation of Japan’s Ainu recovery policy. By gathering their points of view, the study aims to find what issues are most often discussed among the Ainu people and society, and to better understand Japan’s implementation of existing Ainu-related policies. The Ainu’s stories will help develop a thorough understanding of their expectations for new laws and further studies.

1.4.2. Research Questions

The research questions in this study are as follows:

• **Research Question 1**: In light of the government recognition in 2008, how do the Ainu perceive their standing as a people (culturally, politically, and individually) in Japan?

• **Research Question 2**: What are the opportunities and challenges for the promotion of the rights of the Ainu as an indigenous people in Japan?

• **Research Question 3**: What are the hopes of the Ainu people for future generations?

The interviews focus on how individuals position their identities and perceive their wellbeing in a historical, sociopolitical context in Japan (Research Question 1). The coping mechanisms used by individuals are also considered invaluable strategies for empowerment (Research Question 1 and 2). The findings from the research help examine the interview participants’ awareness of their historical and sociopolitical contexts, their perceptions and attitudes, and their expectations (demands and concerns) (Research Question 2). The findings also help with an assessment of the direct and indirect consequences of the policies and laws in the past (Research Question 2), present, and future (Research Question 3). Overall, this study intends to suggest strategies that will build a space in society for the Ainu people and promote their rights for future generations (Research Question 3).
1.5. Researcher’s Assumptions

Based on the literature reviews and preliminary field research in Japan, the following three primary assumptions were made at the outset of this study: 1) the negative consequences of the Japanese government’s policies made life more challenging for the Ainu; 2) the Japanese public’s ignorance has resulted in the Ainu’s voices remaining largely unheard; and 3) the struggle over assimilation and discrimination policies, Ainu eroded the identity and sense of worth of Ainu people, confiscated their homelands, and caused considerable suffering over several generations.

First, Japan’s Ainu policies of the past and exclusion of Ainu voices in policy and decision making have made life more challenging for the Ainu, affecting their well-being, confidence, and self-identification. In the past, the Japanese government has enacted numerous protective policies for people in Hokkaido. Often, such policies helped Wajin (the dominant ethnic group of Japan) immigrants who had moved to Hokkaido from the main island of Honshu in the late nineteenth century ensure their quality of life by providing land, assistance, educational opportunities, and farming tools. However, the traditional customs of the indigenous Ainu people were suddenly prohibited by outsiders. The government, without negotiation or consideration for the Ainu culture (Tahara, 2006), allocated the land of ainu mosir, or “where Ainu reside.” In order to promote farming and controlled production, the Ainu’s traditional methods of hunting and fishing were banned by the government. The Ainu were thus forced to assimilate into Wajin-Japanese culture. Their unique culture and identity were marginalized, and their voices were silenced by the Wajin-dominated society. All this made life in a harsh environment even more challenging for the Ainu.

Additionally, the Japanese public’s ignorance and/or lack of knowledge of Ainu cultural values and traditional ways of living have caused the Ainu a considerable amount of suffering and struggle. Historically, the voices of indigenous peoples and minority groups have not been heard in education, business, community development, and policy and legal decisions. Their traditions and cultures have often been ignored or even prohibited by the majority. In Japan, particularly since the Meiji era, the government has employed majority rule in its decision-making processes. Consequently, the Ainu suffered the deprivation of their livelihoods, traditions, language, and culture.
Yokoyama (2008) stresses that the Ainu are overlooked, neglected, and underserved. Therefore, the main task of the Japanese government regarding the Ainu is to integrate the Ainu people’s voices and fulfill their unmet social needs.

In the past, many politicians made inappropriate comments in public about the Ainu, and the Ainu Association of Hokkaido has strongly and repeatedly appealed and issued rebuttal statements. What follows are some examples of such comments by politicians:

- “… Japan is an ethnically homogeneous nation…” 1986, Yasuhiro Nakasone, former Prime Minister of Japan;
- “The concept of one ethnic group, one nation, and one language helps Japan grow as a nation.” 1995, Taku Yamazaki, former politician and former Chief Cabinet Secretary;
- “You can say Japan is one nation with one language and one ethnic group. We have the Ainu in Hokkaido, but they are already all assimilated (into Japanese society)…” 2001, Muneo Suzuki, politician from Hokkaido, Leader of New Party-Daichi-Shinminshu;
- “(Japan is) a nation that has one hundred twenty-six million high-level single-race people in a tiny land. This is something Japan should be proud of.” 2001, Takeo Hiranuma, former politician;
- “The crime rate is low in Japan because the nation has a homogeneous race group.” 2003, Yasuhiko Torii, economist, former president of Keio University;
- “There are no other nations besides Japan with one culture, one civilization, one ethnic group, and one language.” “Nowadays, there are many conflicts between races, regions, and religions in the world. We don’t have those in Japan because we are one nation with one civilization and one culture.” 2005, Taro Aso, politician, current Deputy Prime Minister.

Many Ainu, over a hundred years of such policies, have grown up ignorant or ashamed of their cultural heritage (Uemura, 2008). Those policies, and the ensuing consequences, created discrimination toward the Ainu (Uemura, 2008). The Ainu Association of Hokkaido (2008) believes there are many Ainu who do not want to identify themselves as such, and that there are parents who have never told their children that they are Ainu. The available data from 2006 shows that 24,000
people in Hokkaido and 2,700 people in the Tokyo metropolitan area described themselves as being either Ainu or of Ainu ancestry. However, there could be more than 100,000 Ainu currently living in Japan, including those who do not want to identify themselves as Ainu (Ainu Association of Hokkaido, 2008).

The late Shigeru Kayano (1990), an Ainu and former politician, pointed out that the Japanese public’s ignorance of Ainu cultural values and traditional ways of living, combined with the enforcement of laws and policies in the past, have caused the Ainu a considerable amount of suffering and struggle (Uemura, 2008). Even though the rate of Ainu respondents (Uemura, 2008) who have experienced discrimination at work and school has declined dramatically over the past decade due to media exposure that has helped create a more positive image of the Ainu and their culture (Uemura, 2008; Hokkaido Prefectural Government, 2008), low self-esteem, closeted identity, and feelings of shame continue to be problematic (Uemura, 2008). These issues make it difficult to research and assess the Ainu, and could possibly delay solutions to the various issues and problems they are facing (Uemura, 2008).

1.6. Rationale and Significance
1.6.1. Issues Raised by the Ainu

During her presentation regarding observatory participation at the leadership seminars conducted by the Americans for Indian Opportunity (AIO), Naomi Shimazaki (June 2010) attested to the difficulty of using people’s voices to address social needs simply because there is no mechanism with which to collect data. Solidarity issues among Ainu communities and perceptual differences between generations have been obstacles to strengthening their status as well as identifying options and plans to build the necessary conditions for further development.

Many Ainu hide their identity in everyday life in order to avoid discrimination and the stigma of feeling ignorant or ashamed of their cultural heritage. Even though today there is a relatively higher number of the Ainu who are proud of their heritage and active in cultural events, society should create an environment in which all citizens can feel free to appreciate their roots and identity. In such a society it would not be necessary to disown one’s heritage.

The longstanding discriminatory assimilation policies have resulted in certain consequences. To seek success and escape from
racial discrimination in Hokkaido, many Ainu migrated to the Kanto area (greater Tokyo region) and other areas of Japan. The creation of solidarity at the national level among multiple Ainu associations and groups can be an issue. Hokkaido is somewhat more rural, while the Kanto area is a huge urban zone. Thus education, socioeconomic status, and quality of life can vary significantly between these regions. Participation in Ainu-related activities and events, involvement in the Ainu association, and the means to air opinions may also differ between the Ainu in Hokkaido and the Kanto area.

A particular dynamic has emerged as a means of changing behavior in Ainu society. The sequence of Ainu-related laws has engendered different characteristics among the different generations of Ainu society. The generation right after the enforcement of assimilation had no choice if it wanted to survive. They endeavored to act Japanese, speak Japanese, and farm for a living instead of hunting and fishing. They became the “hidden” generation. They did not teach their children the Ainu language, culture, and traditions. However, their struggle, frustration, and anger instilled in their children a desire to seek their roots and identity. The children did not speak the Ainu language and were not familiar with Ainu traditions; instead they sought a way to fight to get their rights back. Many members of that succeeding generation spent much time protesting and engaging in other political acts.

Shimazaki, during her presentation (June 2010), pointed out the difficulty of taking opportunities and developing leadership, particularly among people of the younger generation. The Ainu have been invited to leadership programs such as the Advancement of Maori Opportunity (AMO) in Aotearoa (New Zealand) and the Americans for Indian Opportunity (AIO). They attended workshops and leadership seminars as observers. Given the working situation and conditions in Japan and the language barrier, among other reasons, few Ainu youth have participated in such opportunities abroad. Shimazaki mentions that the opportunities for leadership development have been wasted.

1.6.2. The Japanese Constitution’s Interpretations

“All of the people shall be respected as individuals. Their right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness shall, to the extent that it does not interfere with the public welfare, be the supreme consideration in legislation
and in other governmental affairs” (Article 13 of the Constitution of Japan).

“All of the people are equal under the law and there shall be no discrimination in political, economic or social relations because of race, creed, sex, social status or family origin” (Paragraph 1 of Article 14).

The basic principle of Article 13 of Japan’s Constitution, “respect for individuals,” should be intended to protect the Ainu. Policies in consideration of Ainu culture and spirituality, including the Ainu language, are important to maintain this principle and ensure that the Ainu’s right to live with a strong sense of cultural identity will not be hindered. Article 14 stipulates that all people are equal under the law. Interpretations of the term “equal” can be controversial, particularly in the context of creating laws and policies for the Ainu as some claim that special treatment for one group of citizens would violate Article 14. Since interpretations of the Japanese Constitution can vary, it is important to explore and discuss the foundations of the law as well as the likelihood or viability of such laws and policies.

In 2008, the Japanese Prime Minister and the Cabinet established the Ainu Seisaku no Arikata ni Kansuru Yushiki-sha Kondan-kai (アイヌ政策のあり方に関する有識者懇談会; an advisory panel of experts on Ainu policy) to discuss and consider principles and measures for future Ainu policy (Council for Ainu Policy Promotion, July 2009) with interpreting the current law of Japan. The subsequent report highlighted the importance of ethnic harmony, thus the government has recognized the Ainu as an indigenous people, and with the new policy changes all of Japanese society should follow suit by upholding respect and appreciation for diversity. In its report, the panel suggests that the implementation of education will be a catalyst for the promotion of a better public understanding of the Ainu movement, enlightenment programs, and cultural and language preservation. Furthermore, the report stresses that education will also help in dealing with identity issues, preservation of spaces for the Ainu, continued research, better use of land and resources, and business promotion, particularly in the policies related to tourism and quality-of-life improvement.

A 2009 report to the Prime Minister of Japan and the Cabinet indicates that the Ainu should be included in discussions regarding the
directions of policy changes and cultural renaissance. Another priority, the report stated, was consistent reference to the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (adopted in 2007). Continued discussion that includes the Ainu’s voices and specific implementation plans will be beneficial for Japan as it endeavors to become a truly multicultural nation.

1.6.3. Implications for Social Work and Social Welfare

The profession of social work plays a crucial role in this issue. The International Federation of Social Workers (IFSW) supports the principles of the Draft UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples, and accordingly the preservation of human rights is a keystone in the profession of social work/social welfare. The principles should be interpreted that the profession must respect the dignity and inherent worth of all persons and peoples, should work to preserve each person’s wellbeing, and should work for social justice in all aspects of life, including in the physical, economic, psychological, emotional, and spiritual realms.

As a community member and social welfare scholar, expanding understanding of the situation and issues surrounding the Ainu and their community is encouraged. The researcher would like to expand this study to support their needs and rights, and would also like to become an advocate for further discussion, negotiation, and agreement between the Ainu community and the Japanese government and society.

1.7. Definitions of Key Terminology

Minzoku – According to Sakamoto and Nakamura (2007), “minzoku” are members of the human population who call themselves “we” and share elements such as culture, language, and lifestyle. They are emotionally tied through shared historical background, interests, and plans for the future; however, this can vary depending on time and social context. For example, when a group is recognized as a political community (fitting requirements such as “autonomous” and “nation”), they are often called “minzoku” (Ogasawara, 2004). In the Japanese context, there is no clear differentiation of this term’s use regarding race, ethnic group (ethnos), nation, or peoples—unlike in the English language. The meanings of “minzoku” and “ethnic group” are ambiguous; “Minzoku” does not have to be the same citizenship or race. The use of this term in the context of Japanese society is not fixed, and is dependent on the intention of the user.
The Ainu, the Ainu People, the Ainu Peoples – "Ainu" means "human." If we say "the Ainu people," it literally means human-people. However, there are different uses of this term depending on the context in which it appears. The Center for Ainu Indigenous Studies at Hokkaido University (2012) states that the term "Ainu" is used in the same way as minzoku (referring to people who share a culture, language, and lifestyle). Further, "the Ainu people" is used when referring to an indigenous individual, and "the Ainu peoples" is used when referring to a group of indigenous peoples. Hokkaido prefecture (Center for Ainu Indigenous Studies, 2012) defines Ainu as "people who are considered as Ainu or descended from Ainu, or through marriage or adoption, living as Ainu".

Indigeneity and Indigenous Peoples – The United Nations, The International Labor Organization, and The World Bank make mentions of indigeneity and indigenous people. Indigeneity refers to people who are the original inhabitants of the land. However, that does not just mean they are indigenous peoples (Ogasawara, 2004); the term "indigenous" has political and legal implications (Fowler, 2011). According to the Science Council of Japan’s report on issues and understanding of Ainu policy, although no concrete definition of "indigenous peoples" exists, general definitions include 1) people who lived when colonizers came to the area and their descendants, 2) groups and descendants who cannot continue their unique lifestyles under colonization or the society of other dominant ethnic group(s), 3) groups who have passed on their unique culture, language, history, beliefs, and lifestyle, and 4) groups or individuals who identify themselves as indigenous peoples (2011). The meaning can also become significant with government recognition or after becoming the recipients of compensation. There are approximately 5,000 groups and 250-600 million people who identify themselves as indigenous people in 70 different countries around the world (Science Council of Japan, 2011). Regions like Europe, Africa, and Asia that have long histories of human habitation and migration have uncertain definitions of indigenous people. Since 1995, many countries have suggested meanings of the term "indigenous" and "indigenous people" to the United Nations’ subsidiary body, the Working Group on Indigenous Populations; however, Japan has often made conservative comments such as: "[The] United Nation’s Declaration does not have the force of law." Japan’s dilemma lies in Article 14 of the
Constitution of Japan, which stipulates equality for all. Recognizing the Ainu as indigenous people means affording them their indigenous rights. Should the government give the Ainu “special treatment,” it would be in conflict with Article 14, which dictates domestic laws and regulations.

**Culture, Multiculturalism** – One of the founders of anthropology, Sir Edward Burnett Tylor, defines culture as: “That complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, morals, law, custom, and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society” (Tylor, 1871). There is no doubt that there are multiple cultures in Japan such as Japanese, Okinawan, Ainu, Korean, Chinese, and many others; this makes Japan a multicultural nation. Multiculturalism is closely associated with “identity politics,” “the politics of difference,” and “the politics of recognition,” all of which share a commitment to revaluing disrespected identities and changing dominant patterns of representation and communication that marginalize certain groups (Young, 1990; Taylor, 1992; Gutmann, 2003). Yanasmayan says that multiculturalism is not simply referring to the cultural pluralism of societies or acknowledgement of cultural diversity, but that:

Multiculturalism seeks to offer a remedy to the imbalances and discriminations that stem from diverse ethnic, cultural, or national backgrounds, given the realization that politics and law depend to some degree on shared ethical assumptions and inevitably reflect the norms of the society they are part of (Yanasmayan, 2011; Modood and Werbner, 1997).”

Barry (2001) points out that it is logically impossible to recognize all cultures as equal because cultures have “propositional content” regarding what may be true and false, or right and wrong. Finally, multiculturalism can be in direct opposition to the concept of assimilation (Yanasmayan, 2011).

**Assimilation** – This is defined as the process by which different ethnic heritage groups are absorbed into the dominant culture and/or society. According to Yanasmayan (2011), assimilation is the: “...desired outcome for a society where members would be culturally indistinguishable from one another.” As many Japanese politicians have said in the past, Japanese society resolutely maintains the ideology of homogeneity, and
the dominant group (Wajin) has not been aware of the need for recognition of ethnic differences and group-specific issues, instead valuing the process of becoming the “same” (Yanasmayan, 2011).
CHAPTER II: CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

2.1. Overview

The following theoretical and conceptual frameworks help explain the rationale for this study. Literature reviews on the subject and various indigenous theories have shaped the research questions and methodology of this study. The literature review is critical for this study to be sufficiently grounded in theory-based knowledge and logical explanations (Hofstee, 2006). This critical review of current literature and knowledge should explore the interconnectedness of contexts and perceptions of the data collection, data analysis, and synthesis phases of the study (Bloomberg and Volpe, 2008). To conduct this selected literature review, the researcher used multiple information sources, including books, Internet resources, reports, journals, newspapers, and informal interviews.

Since there are not many academic sources available to refer to when studying the Ainu, the author began learning from studies on indigenous people in general. In light of this, the following three major areas of literature were critically reviewed: (a) perceptions of standing as individuals and as indigenous people (Research Question 1); (b) the characteristics of Japan’s politics and policy consequences (Research Question 2); and (c) the power of storytelling and theory in social action (Research Question 3).

2.2. Indigenous Theories

It is difficult to define indigenous theories with words alone. Such theories are not well defined by Western standards. These theories are more like perspectives, beliefs, and alternative approaches. When one studies about indigenous (or Asian) populations, Western ideas and theories alone are not sufficient when trying to understand causes and reasons; rather, one must learn and try to understand certain cultural nuances despite the ambiguities they may present.

According to a study by Stephens, Nettleton, Porter, Willis, and Clark (2005), in order to address the struggles of indigenous people and challenge policies and practices that have a negative impact on their wellbeing, their views, beliefs, knowledge, and practices should be incorporated into research. Indigenous methodology emphasizes alternative ways of thinking about the process of research. According to Porsanger, indigenous methodology does not conflict with the Western research approach but instead "contributes to the body of knowledge of
indigenous peoples about themselves and for themselves, and for their own needs as peoples rather than as objects of investigation” (2004).

Even though much of the literature indicates that issues remain in terms of the Ainu’s education, socioeconomic status (Section 1.1.2.7.), and quality of life after a century of policies that enforced assimilation and institutionalized discrimination, there are not many studies available indicating how the Ainu think about their status and situation, their oppression, the existing policies and law, or how they would like to implement cultural recovery and regain their rights for future generations.

Wilson (2005) stresses the fact that no adequate formal body exists to address the suffering of indigenous people or to acknowledge that they have been wronged by oppressive policies. By gathering points of view that are grounded in the environment of the Ainu as an indigenous people, the findings will facilitate a deeper understanding of their experiences and values as they make sense of them.

Larson et al. claim that gathered points of view become emergent norms, and those “emergent norms shape governance” (2008). The authors point out the following challenges in the Ainu movement in the context of Japanese politics and society: 1) “the pace of change has been slow and its extent limited” in Japan (p. 53); 2) there are few points of direct contact within the Ainu (p. 53) and a weak civil society (p. 61), with “the regulatory framework in Japan resulting in fewer successful attempts to influence public policy” (p. 62); and 3) difficulties in participation among the Ainu due to “challenges of available time, language ability, and expertise” (p. 61).

Smith (1999) suggests that non-indigenous researchers need to “report back to” and “share knowledge” with the indigenous community. Doing so is necessary to provide a culturally safe environment for the research, and to be open to alternative conceptions of the world, indigenous worldviews, and prevailing ideologies of cultural superiority within social, economic, and political institutions (Morelli and Mataira, 2010). Working closely with the Ainu is appropriate as a means to allow them to define their own struggles and determine the strategies and areas of improvement for their movement.

2.3. Japan’s Politics (Honne & Tatame)/Policy Consequences

It is critical to consider the characteristics of Japanese politics and society, and to reflect the context and emphasis articulated by the Ainu themselves, in order to lead this study into
policy analysis at the depth it deserves. Scholars of Japanese studies consider the concept of honne and tatemae (本音と建前) to be of paramount importance in Japanese culture (Doi, 1973). Sugiyama Lebra (1976) defines honne as “one’s natural, real or inner wishes and proclivities,” whereas tatemae refers to “the standard, principle or rule by which one is bound, at least outwardly.” Shibata (2009) applies the analytical framework of honne and tatemae in the Japanese legal system to reveal the gap between the two in each legal case. Many of the laws and policies that affect the Ainu have revealed the gap between honne (the real intentions of the government) and tatemae (what they say in public), as the “protection” policies of the past actually meant “assimilation” and “discrimination.”

2.4. Power of Storytelling

Many indigenous scholars, including the Mohawk scholar Taiaiake Alfred (2005), suggest that indigenous peoples need to define “struggle” in a way that is appropriate to their circumstances. This will help them seek justice, and eventually increase their wellbeing, so that action can be directed where it is most necessary. In his book, Alfred (2005) states that “oppression creates certain psychological conditions in the group of people that are oppressed,” which is to say they become disempowered. Alfred also observes that “there is little distinction between the mental processes that cause imbalance and negativity at the personal and social or political levels,” and therefore it is crucial to examine each level. He also mentions that there are a variety of means and movements that make sense for different indigenous groups in their own circumstances.

Alfred, in comparing other global anti-colonial struggles and strategies, suggests that “simply protecting (the group’s) wisdom and knowledge is not enough” (2005). Indigenous peoples need to relearn about themselves, reconnect with the teachings of their cultures, remember the lessons from the experiences of their people (Alfred, 2005), and subsequently find a way to educate the public about their status in society. The way they choose an approach ultimately becomes who they are. Therefore, it is relevant for the Ainu to contextualize and emphasize struggles and strategies in order to initiate a conversation.

Richard Delgado, a professor of civil rights law, states, “Storytelling has a degree of explanatory power” (2000). Stories bring forth shared understanding and possess their own value. Stories are
free. Delgado also emphasizes that stories of “outgroups” can invite us to separate ourselves from what we know and what makes sense to us. Mataira and Morelli suggest that “storytelling represents a universally accepted form of knowledge inquiry” (2010). The purpose of using the qualitative method to conduct this study is not to understand the experiences and values of the Ainu as they make sense of them.

Narrative, in the context of critical theory, is a powerful tool for unfolding the storyteller’s views and creating a more policy-relevant metanarrative. Roe (1994) introduces narrative policy analysis and shows the advantage of this approach in reading and analyzing stories by examining the ways in which they are told in representative policies and laws.

Halverson, Goodall, and Corman define transhistorical narrative as a “coherent system of interrelated and sequentially organized stories that share a common rhetorical desire to resolve a conflict by establishing audience expectations according to the known trajectories of its literary and rhetorical form” (2011). This prevailing method of storytelling seeks stories that are deeply embedded in a particular culture. This method helps researchers understand the Ainu’s perspectives and opinions of existing policies as well as their thoughts about potential new laws.
CHAPTER III: RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

3.1. Rationale for Research Approach

Utilizing a qualitative method is appropriate for this study because there are not many studies available regarding what the Ainu think about their status and situation, their oppression, the existing Ainu-related policies and laws, or how they would like to implement cultural recovery. One important goal of this study is to capture the feelings and real voices of the Ainu people.

Through a series of interviews, this study develops a fine-grained sense of contemporary Ainu society. This study discovers and describes the topic focus of Ainu individuals and communities through content analysis. The analysis method identifies outstanding aspects of the content and systematically marshals supporting evidence that strengthens the fundamental arguments of this study (Ueno, 2008; Krippendorff, 1969).

According to Krippendorff (1969), content analysis is "a research technique for making replicable and valid inferences from texts to contests of their use." Lassewell (1960) observes that content analysis focuses on "who says what, through which channels, to whom, and with which effects" in order to understand "what messages were intended to convey or actually contain" (Ueno, 2008; Krippendorff, 1969). Ueno (2008) describes content analysis as "an empirically method, exploratory in process, and predictive or inferential in intent."

This study seeks to gather points of view that are rooted in the environment of the Ainu as indigenous people. Content analysis is an appropriate method to help understand the functions and effects of symbols, meanings, and messages to improve the political and social conditions of life (Ueno, 2008). When it comes to the Ainu, there is not much information or evidence that allows one to utilize variables to conduct research; thus, it will be more illuminating to gather and verify the key words, patterns, and themes to create descriptions and stories that shed light on issues affecting Ainu society. The focus of the study is examining process; structures or outcomes are not the top priority.

3.2. Research Approach

Utilizing qualitative methodology, a total of 15 (5 female and 10 male) Ainu people were interviewed using Japanese language between April and July 2012 with the approval of the University of Hawai'i at Mānoa Institutional Review Board (IRB; CHS number 19464). Five
different locations in Hokkaido were used to interview 13 participants, and 2 were interviewed at 2 different locations in the metropolitan Tokyo area. Their narratives and information were gathered in order to learn about their perspectives and understanding of their lives, their connection to their land, and Ainu-specific policies and laws. The qualitative approach to data collection allows for in-depth interviews revealing the Ainu’s values, beliefs, interactions, processes, and wellbeing practices.

Each interview was tape recorded and transcribed verbatim. From extracting keywords, categories and themes were thus developed and refined on an ongoing basis, guided by the study’s conceptual framework. Peer reviews at different stages were employed as the study progressed. Interview participants were also offered a chance to review the transcribed documents and add, modify, and remove their comments.

3.3. Sample and Population

The research participants were selected based on the concept of purposeful sampling (Patton, 1990). First, when the researcher contacted the Center for Ainu and Indigenous Studies and the Ainu Association of Hokkaido, several individuals were referred. Then, a snowball sampling was employed as participants were asked to refer other individuals after the interview session. The aim was to select people from different age groups and from different areas of Hokkaido and Tokyo. A total of fifteen Ainu people were interviewed. Thirteen were interviewed at five different locations in Hokkaido (Sapporo, Shiretoko, Hakodate, Nibutani, and Shiraoi), and two were interviewed at two different locations in the metropolitan Tokyo area (Kimitsu and Hachiyoji). The details of the demographic information are illustrated in table 2 and 3 below.

Their narratives and information were gathered in order to learn about their perspectives and understanding of their lives, their connection to their land, and Ainu-specific policies and laws. The content analysis approach to data collection allows for in-depth interviews revealing the Ainu’s values, beliefs, interactions, processes, and wellbeing practices.
### Table 3: Demographic Information of the Interview Participants

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<tr>
<th>#</th>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Age</th>
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<td>1</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>Shiretoko</td>
<td>Tour Guide</td>
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<td>Shiretoko</td>
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<td>Nibutani</td>
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<td>51</td>
<td>Hakodate</td>
<td>Business Owner</td>
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<td>Male</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>Sakhalin/Sapporo</td>
<td>Activist</td>
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<td>13</td>
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<td>74</td>
<td>Chiba</td>
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<tr>
<td>15</td>
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<td>Sapporo</td>
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3.4. Information Needed

As a preliminary study, contextual information was gathered through extensive literature reviews and personal interviews. This involved learning about the Ainu’s history, past and current Ainu-related laws and policies, and the culture and environment of the Ainu people.

Demographic information was gathered during the interview sessions, including gender, age, location of residence, and birthplace. Some other personal information was also obtained, such as history, background, and education, in order to help learn what could be underlying each individual’s perceptions, as well as the similarity and differences in perceptions among participants (e.g., gender, age, location) (Bloomberg and Volpe, 2008).

The main interview sessions focused on collecting perceptual information by listening to the participants’ life story, thoughts, and concerns. The information gathered was used to better understand and define the social standing of each interviewee; to learn about the extent of each interviewee’s awareness of his/her agency, identity, and the survival of Ainu culture; and to understand what each interviewee wants for future generations and what actions they are willing to take to secure that future and promote the implementation of Japan’s Ainu recovery policy.

3.5. Research Design

3.5.1. Methods and Procedures for Data Analysis and Synthesis

3.5.1.1. Overview of Research Design

Each interview participants met with the researcher for about 30 to 60 minutes to introduce the interview process, explain the objectives of the study, ensure that their rights as study participants were clear, and ask them to sign a consent form. This preliminary session served as both an icebreaker and a time to gather biographical data. The method of the main interview session, which usually occurred on the same day, using the interview guide (APPENDIX C), involved tape recording narratives or storytelling to capture the participants’ tone of voice; these interviews were transcribed afterwards.

A protocol was approved by the Institutional Review Board (IRB; CHS number 19464) to ensure that the study participants’ rights are protected. During the preliminary session, the interviewer described the rationale of the project. Following this explanation, the interviewer distributed two copies of an informed consent form written
in Japanese for review and completion (see APPENDIX D). The interviewer asked for permission to videotape, audiotape, and take notes on a laptop computer throughout the interview for transcription purposes (see APPENDIX E & F). All participants were welcome to review the transcriptions and notes and suggest revisions. All participants received a copy of the informed consent form. Interview participants were asked if they would like to receive a transcribed copy of their stories after the completion of the project.

While the risks should have been minimal, there might have been discomfort with regard to some of the interview questions. The participants were advised that they could refuse to answer any question, stop the interview, or stop the video recording at any time without a negative consequence. Participants were informed that the findings may be presented in public/professional forums. Interview participants were asked whether their names could be kept in the transcriptions. If requested, identifiers in transcriptions would be replaced with a pseudonym. All transcripts, videotapes, audiotapes, and notes from each interview are securely stored in a locked cabinet. The data are only accessible to the researcher and the dissertation committee members who conducted all data management and analyses.

3.5.1.2. Analytic Approach

After the information was gathered, the data were transcribed verbatim and translated into English from Japanese. While reviewing the transcribed data and field notes, key words were picked in light of the categories of the research questions (see table 4) and were written down in order to conduct conceptual mapping (Novak & Gowin, 1984; Maxwell, 2005). Patterns and messages formulating the overall findings began to emerge (CHAPTER IV).

As part of the analysis process, findings were examined with the following emphases: 1) examining demographic information collected during the interview sessions; 2) examining the policy consequences of the past and current Ainu-related laws and policies; and 3) examining ideas about possible Ainu-related laws and policies for future generations that emerged from the interview sessions in order to capture “what messages were intended to convey or actually contain” (Krippendorff, 1969).
**Chart 4: Overview of Analytic Approach**

Ueno (2008) describes the process of content analysis goes 1) interviewing, 2) transcribing, and 3) categorizing key words to seek frequency and comparison between variables such as age, gender, and location of interviewees in order to capture perceptions, patterns and hypothesis. Ueno (2008) also describes that content analysis identifies important aspects of the content to create evidence, build or support an argument.

Bloomberg and Volpe (2008) emphasize the importance of understanding the synthesis of the data, which includes the following: a) how the research questions are answered by the findings; b) how the findings from interviews are supported from all other data collection methods; c) how the findings relate to the literature; and d) how the findings relate to the researcher’s assumptions about the study. This whole process is interrelated (Bloomberg and Volpe, 2008).

**3.6. Issues of Trustworthiness**

In a qualitative study, researchers “must continue to seek control for potential bias that might be present throughout the design, implementation, and analysis of the study” (Bloomberg and Volpe, 2008).
In this section, the validity and reliability of this study are discussed.

3.6.1. Validity

Several scholars (Bloomberg and Volpe, 2008; Maxwell, 2005) suggest certain strategies to deal with the issue of validity in the context of research, such as "bracketing," "member checks," "and triangulation," which consists of using multiple angles and perspectives to view the findings and interpretations. This study conducted 15 interviews and asked open-ended questions regarding the research questions; reviewed the transcripts of the interviews; and analyzed relevant literatures, interview transcripts, and field/observation notes.

Maxwell (2005) stresses that completely eliminating research validity threats, such as research "bias" and reactivity, is impossible. A common threat is that researchers select data that fit the existing theory or preconceptions that stand out most prominently (Miles & Huberman, 1994, Shweder, 1980; & Maxwell, 2005). Reactivity means that researchers are learning as the study continues and then attempting to control the effects (Miles & Huberman, 1994; & Maxwell, 2005).

However, the essence of this study is to understand how the researcher perceives values and expectations and then to examine how these influence the conduct and conclusions of the study (Maxwell, 2005) by examining the real voices of the Ainu interviewees. This examination consists of recording and analyzing the interviewees' answers to the open-ended questions about their perceptions and opinions regarding the past, the present, and the future. Becker (1970) also points out that "in natural settings, an observer is generally much less of an influence on participants' behavior than is the setting itself."

Multiple scholars provide a checklist of important strategies that can be used to rule out validity threats (Marxwell, 2005; Miles & Huberman, 1994; Becker, 1970; & Patton, 1990). What follows is an excerpted list that examines the strategies of this study.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Strategy</th>
<th>Descriptions</th>
<th>Applications to the Study</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Intensive, Long-Term Involvement</td>
<td>Long-term participant observation provides more complete data about specific situations and events (Becker and Geer, 1957).</td>
<td>The researcher started visiting Ainu communities in Hokkaido and Tokyo from 2008; also volunteered for and planned Ainu events for over four years.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“Rich” Data</td>
<td>Long-term involvement and intensive interviews allow the researcher to provide more detailed descriptive observation notes, thus conveying a picture of what is going on (Becker, 1970).</td>
<td>Preliminary research, interviews, and literature reviews were conducted for over four years.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Respondent Validation</td>
<td>Soliciting feedback about your data and conclusions from the interview participants (Maxwell, 2005).</td>
<td>Interview participants were asked to review the data (transcriptions and field notes).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Searching for Discrepant Evidence and Negative Cases</td>
<td>Identifying and analyzing discrepant data and negative cases (Maxwell, 2005).</td>
<td>A part of this study includes seeking discrepancies in interviewees’ perspectives and opinions.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Triangulation</td>
<td>Collecting information from a diverse range of methods (Maxwell, 2005).</td>
<td>Gathering the data through interviews, literatures, and field/observation notes.</td>
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**Table 5: Checklist of Validity Test**
3.6.2. Reliability

Reliability is another potential issue in a qualitative study when the process and procedures of the study cannot be tracked (Bloomberg and Volpe, 2008). Lincoln and Guba (1985) suggest the findings should be consistent with the data collected. This study’s interviews were all transcribed and translated verbatim.

To establish inter-rater reliability (Miles & Huberman, 1994) to reduce the bias that could arise from only one researcher collecting and analyzing the data, several colleagues were asked to code a few random interviews of the study to ensure consistency.

3.7. Ethical Considerations

Eisenhauer, Orb, and Wynaden (2000) summarize that the purpose of qualitative studies is to describe a phenomenon from the participants’ points of view through interviews and observations. The intention of the researcher is to listen to the voices of participants or observe them in their natural environments. The researcher’s interpretation of these experiences is usually described as an emic perspective (Field & Morse, 1992). Ramos (1989) described the following three types of problems that may affect qualitative studies: how to access participants in order to collect data, the researcher’s subjective interpretations of data, and the design itself.

The researcher was careful when reaching out to the community and finding key people to interview. In 2008, after visiting Ainu ekashi Haruzo Urakawa in Chiba, the researcher was referred to a Ph.D. student at Hokkaido University who has many connections with Ainu people. The researcher visited the Center for Ainu Indigenous Studies (CAIS) where there are many experts in various areas of Ainu studies. The researcher also visited Hokkaido several times, became involved in some local Ainu activities, and built relationships with some Ainu people. Over the course of several years, it was not difficult to select whom to begin interviewing. After these initial interviews, the researcher sought additional referrals from the interviewees. The researcher stayed in close touch with the CAIS and constantly asked for feedback and advice as needed.

Several different efforts were made to minimize the subjective interpretations of the data. All participants were told during the interview that they were welcome to review the transcriptions and notes. The researcher requested peer reviews from a Ph.D. student who is also studying Ainu topics and an Ainu scholar (the data used
pseudonyms and concealed some identifiable names and locations). The purpose of this study was to gather Ainu people’s voices to learn about their awareness, definitions, perspectives, and understandings, not to interpret or generalize based on the researcher’s knowledge alone.

The researcher is tasked with anticipating the possible outcomes of an interview and weighing both benefits and potential harm. Since the Ainu population and communities are somewhat small and some issues are still very sensitive, the disclosure of the interview information without first considering potentially negative consequences could cause damage in personal and community relationships and might even result in legal issues. It is essential for the researcher to explain the purpose of the research precisely to the participants. Most importantly, the researcher has a responsibility to establish safeguards to protect the participants’ rights throughout the study, and to inform them of the risks involved so that they can consider whether it is worth taking such risks to participate in the research.

3.8. Limitations of the Study

3.8.1. Study Sample

Although the study looked for multiple definitions of reality, the collection of fifteen life stories is not representative of the entire Ainu population, and findings cannot be extended to wider populations with the same degree of certainty. The findings of the research are not tested to discover whether they are statistically significant. While the storytelling findings are culturally biased, they may reveal how individuals and communities resist and respond to reality, thereby representing the actual voices of the Ainu.

The selection of the participants could be a concern since most of the interviewees identify themselves as Ainu; in other words, these participants could have stronger voices and identities as Ainu than the average Ainu person living in Japan. The selection of participants in this study could leave out the voices of those who are not comfortable identifying as Ainu; however, those who participated in the study also exhibited different stages of development with regard to their identity as Ainu. Listening to their stories about the past could cover provide a deeper insight into some of the issues related to Ainu identity. Moreover, this study does not seek concrete solutions to the issues affecting the Ainu, but rather seeks to promote the survival of the Ainu culture and society for the sake of future generations.
3.8.2. Non-indigenous Researcher

One difficult aspect of indigenous study conducted by a non-indigenous person (such as the author) is the question of how the researcher is positioned in the study. From the standpoint of the research participants, the analysis may just be an outsider’s report (Pollner and Emerson, 2001). Morelli and Mataira, in their Handbook for Strengths: Enhancing Evaluation Research, list the following important practices required to establish and maintain research relations: “trusting the process, not needing to control it, taking the time necessary, recognizing cultural meanings, being respectful, being willing and open to sharing, and willing to commit” (SEER) (2010).

A higher degree of engagement is essential. The author has, over the past few years, visited various Ainu communities in the greater Tokyo area and in Hokkaido (Sapporo, Nibutani, Asahikawa, and Akan). One day, during a visit with Haruzo Urakawa, an Ainu ekashi (respected elder), the author told him how the author was worried about positioning myself as an outsider and researcher in order to study the Ainu people. He immediately smiled and said, “You aren’t going to make things worse for us, right? You are going to help us with your study and research, and you have many resources and great access to make our voices heard. There’s no reason for us not to welcome you in our community to learn about us and help spread the word about us” (personal interview, June 2009).

Writing this dissertation has been a challenge since it is crucial to consider the relationships within and between different Ainu communities. Smith (1999) suggests that beyond just wanting to empower people whose voices have been silenced and who have been unfairly treated, the non-indigenous researcher should also emphasize local/indigenous knowledge and practices in his or her research and practice. With respect for the relationships within and between different Ainu communities and careful consideration for how to avoid controversial or misleading statements in my writing, this study should make a valuable contribution to the Ainu community.

3.8.3. Insidious Sway

The facts and issues examined in this study are not always observable on the surface, nor do they unfold in a strictly linear fashion. As explained in Section 2.3. (Japan’s Politics (Honne & Tattemae)/Policy Consequences), erosion of the Ainu’s culture, traditions, and history were caused by Japan’s institutional
strategies, laws, and policies. On the surface level, the Japanese government’s tatamæ (what one says in public) was to “protect” Ainu people, but the insidious purpose (honne) was to subvert and disrupt Ainu society. Pharr (1990) argues that authorities in Japan seek to contain social conflicts and issues to the greatest extent possible, using strategies that tend to marginalize minority groups and interests; as a result, such an approach makes it difficult to discern what the problems actually are. Layer upon layer of institutional strategies used to erase the Ainu’s identity and traditions has made it that much more complicated to untangle and understand Ainu-related issues.
CHAPTER IV: PRESENTATION OF FINDINGS

4.1. Introduction and Overview

After conducting fifteen in-depth interviews, common themes and perspectives began to emerge from the stories told. This chapter summarizes the presentation of findings from the interviews using the research questions and demographic data (gender, age groups, and locations) that were collected during the interview process. Patterns, themes, and messages began to emerge while formulating the overall findings.

4.2. Extracting Keywords

In order to organize and analyze the raw data, the key words were identified and categorized based on the research questions (Table 6) in order to reveal the central themes of the study. This process is based on induction; a large set of data was categorized first in order to seek detailed key information.

According to the key words extracted from the interviews, more positive comments were found with regard to culture and individual standing in light of the government’s recognition of Ainu as Japan’s indigenous people (Research Question 1). While this is also related to the challenges (Research Question 2), the majority of the interviewees made negative comments about politics and the Japanese government’s initiatives (Research Question 1) even though they admit that there are more learning and funding opportunities than ever before to improve the circumstances of the Ainu (Research Question 2). Many interviewees commented about their hopes for the future generations (Research Question 3). In fact, the majority of the interview times were used to discuss this topic.
**Research Question 1**  
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>Culture</strong></th>
<th>Fun, avoided, useful, recognition, resources, connection with ancestors</th>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Politics</strong></td>
<td>Not interested, no involvement, distance, unreliable, no trust, unstable</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Individual</strong></td>
<td>Pride, discrimination (past and present), levels of identity as Ainu, shame, guilt, positive/optimistic, parenting, aging, patience</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Research Question 2**  
| **Opportunities** | Resources, funding, people’s interest increased, growing, education, worldwide connections, cultural/tradition preservation, mainstream society’s attitude shifting, the Ainu’s voices will be heard |
| **Challenges** | Unity, geographic differences, isolation, malfunction of association/system, lack of awareness, lack of education/learning opportunities, lack of educators, knowledge/lack of support, voice still unheard, difficult to collaborate within Ainu communities and general public |

**Research Question 3**  
| **Hopes** | Multiculturalism, education, utilizing opportunities, more options, increasing awareness, worldwide connections, no revenge-seeking for understanding, evolving |

Table 6: Extracted Key Words from Interviews
4.3. Findings Related to Research Question 1

Research question 1 asked the interview participants about their perspectives regarding their standing as a people (culturally, politically, and individually) in Japan after the government recognition in 2008. The participants provided generally positive comments with regard to their culture and individual standing; however, the interview participants provided more negative comments regarding politics.

The primary and overriding finding of this study is that all of the interview participants (15 out of 15 [100%]) enjoy Ainu-related activities and hobbies now, such as practicing traditional ceremonies and rituals, teaching Ainu language to children, wood carving, and weaving. Based on the participants’ descriptions, they are optimistic about their current life and they enjoy what they have and what they do now.

I really enjoy weaving. I’m not that good yet, but I enjoy each moment of learning and seeing myself improve every day. Through weaving, I have conversations with my ancestors. When I copy and make the old items, I always ask my ancestors how they felt or what they were thinking when they were making those items. I feel connected to my roots and my identity grows stronger through weaving. This is the most pleasant moment in my life. (Interview #13, 42 year-old female social worker/artist in Tokyo)

It’s just fun being in front of people and performing. I like to be the center of attention. If I weren’t Ainu, I wouldn’t be performing on big stages. I appreciate these opportunities. I still need to learn more, and serving as a master of traditional ceremonies gives me pressure to be a good Ainu, but I feel fulfilled to do this because I feel like I’m contributing to my culture, people, and the next generations. (Interview #1, 44 year-old male tour guide/artist in Shiretoko)

I didn’t really learn the Ainu language until when I became an adult. Since I was always with my grandmothers and
aunties who often spoke the language together, I picked up some words. I thought those were Japanese (language) actually. I was asked to teach Ainu language to children. I don’t want to force them to memorize everything or use it every day. If they can remember some words, later it’ll be useful hopefully because it was to me. Sometimes you can’t express everything in one language, and now I feel like I can express my feelings more… in similar ways as my ancestors did. That’s very honorable. My kid actually won the itak an ro (“speech contest” in Ainu language). I was really proud of not only her, but also myself. I don’t pressure myself, but I hope to be able to say “yes, I learned so many Ainu words” when I die. (Interview #7, 44 year-old female weaver/event planner in Nibutani)

Some interview participants (5 of 15 [33%]) avoided engaging in Ainu activities when they were younger, but they changed their perspectives when they became an adult.

I avoided Ainu-related activities and doing any Ainu hobbies because I didn’t think it was a cool thing to do. I played baseball and I played guitar in the band. I just played as an ordinary kid (like other Japanese kids). But, once a year, my father always took me to the Ainu summer festival. I didn’t really care about going before, but one year, the traditional ritual performers didn’t have enough people. My brother and I were asked to perform, so I had to wear Ainu traditional clothes and had to memorize what I had to do. The next year, I had to do that again, and the following years too. Probably, my fifth year or so after I started participating, I was asked to do one of the important roles in the festival. It was only ten minutes before the event started, but my uncle taught me how to act and what to say, and everything. When I performed, I felt responsible for the role and I really enjoyed that I was part of the ceremony, and that became my pride of being Ainu. (Interview #3, 46 year-old male artist/musician in Asahikawa/Sapporo)
Most of the interview participants (10 of 15 [67%]) said they participated in Ainu festivals and ceremonies when they were children. Those events became a trigger for them to become further involved with Ainu activities and begin some Ainu hobbies.

My parents always took me to Ainu music concerts and events every year when I was a kid. At school, I just played soccer, and there was nothing really Ainu-related at home either. When my parents took me to an Ainu event one year, I took a tonkori (Ainu string instrument) workshop, and I really enjoyed it. When I came home, I asked my father if I could get a tonkori. He asked the instructor about it, and I got his old tonkori. I researched and interviewed with other musicians and elders about how to play better. Now, I like to mix things up with Ainu traditions and contemporary style. By creating a new style, I want people to think this is cool. Now, I really enjoy playing tonkori and I’m glad to have a connection with my roots. (Interview #11, 28 year-old male musician in Sapporo)

Different age groups have distinct topics and issues of their own. Three male interviewees in their 20s seemed to talk more about their interests related to Ainu traditions and culture. All of the interviewees in their 20s answered they have not had many negative experiences while engaging in Ainu-related activities. All of these interviewees in their 20s live in Sapporo and have parents that are involved with Ainu activities. In contrast, interviewees in their 40s and 50s often talk more about their past experiences, current standing with regard to the lessons learned from the past, and how to pass their knowledge to future generations.

My parents are Ainu musicians, and since I was a baby, I was in an environment where everybody was doing Ainu stuff. So, it’s just natural for me to do Ainu activities and play Ainu music. My school friends tell me it’s so cool that I am able to do Ainu-related stuff. I enjoy what we are doing because it’s also our family time. I grew up with other kids (other members’ children) as well. I don’t really know the time when Ainu were discriminated against and struggled,
but I understand that what we do helps our (Ainu) group to be more well-known in general society in Japan. I know it’s important. (Interview #5, 22 year-old male musician/city worker in Sapporo).

I just avoided and hated to get involved with other Ainu people and events when I was younger. I was already in my mid-30s when I started becoming engaged with Ainu-related events. I always wish I started early because I enjoy it now. I have a passion for these events now. I just don’t want younger kids to hesitate about getting involved. I don’t want younger kids to feel ashamed about being themselves. There’s no way you can erase your own roots, so don’t waste your time, you know. I always think about how I can provide more opportunities to younger generations to get engaged because I always wish I had those opportunities early. (Interview #3, 46 year-old male artist/musician in Asahikawa/Sapporo)

Interviewees in their 60s and 70s spoke about their childhood memories more than any other generations. It seems they feel very excited and proud to be Ainu. At the same time, this generation witnessed their parents’ generation’s struggles. Their parents had to stop living as Ainu, had to hide their true identity, and had to lie about being Ainu to their children. The interviewees in their 60s and 70s appear to see the transformation of the Ainu’s social status over years. It also appears they really value their Ainu identity.

My mother was great. Because my father was lazy, [and he] didn’t do anything, my mother had to go to the field to get food, raise all of the kids, and deal with neighbors. She did good. She also taught me to work hard and behave well. She told me not to behave like Ainu, especially at schools. I never went to school that much because I thought it was a waste. But now young kids don’t think of the time we suffered, right? In some sense, it’s good. They can shout out that they are proud of being Ainu if they want to. It’s very different now because I never really said anything [about being Ainu or behaving like Ainu] to my kids, but
they chose to do so. It is changing now. This change is good. (Interview #14, 74 year-old male activist in Chiba)

There are five female interviewees and ten male interviewees in this study. One of the most outstanding characteristics from the interviews regarding gender was that almost all of the female interviewees talked about their concerns about their future and how to raise their children (four out of five have children), while more male interviewees talked about their career, politics, and the social situations they are in. Although three of the male interviewees who are in their early 20s are not married and two other male interviewees do not have their own child, only one out of the remaining five male interviewees talked about their own children.

I am worried about my daughter [who is a teen]. I am worried about how to raise her. You know, I don’t want to push her about the Ainu identity, and doing any Ainu related activities. I want her to have choices. Now, she’s in the boarding school. Before she left the house, she and I sat down and talked about it. I was very serious and nervous to bring up the conversation, but then she laughed and told me not to worry too much. It looks like she’s so optimistic and comfortable about who she is. (Interview #7, 44 year-old female weaver/event planner in Nibutani)

There is a history of the Ainu being discriminated against and separated from the mainstream society. Perspectives about Ainu people are often a common topic of discussion among the Ainu communities. Eleven of fifteen (73%) participants indicated that the Ainu are wonderful people with a great tradition and culture; the same percentage of the participants also indicated that other people (non-Ainu people) see the Ainu more positively now.

I think the Ainu have such a beautiful tradition and culture. We always respected nature and our surroundings. We knew how to coexist with them, how to maintain the balance. It was the same for inner balance too. We are very peaceful people, and often care for others and future generations. We value the cycle of life, so we treat
everything in the community with high respect. Now, I live wearing jeans and drinking beer. Yes, of course, I like this modern life too, but it’s all about the balance. I will make great effort not to lose our beautiful culture, and I want as many people as possible to know about our people and culture. (Interview #2, 68 year-old female inn owner in Shiretoko)

Many tourists from not only Japan but also overseas countries come to the museum. Most of them are shocked to learn Japan has indigenous people. After they learn about our culture and history, many often tell me that the Ainu are such a cool people. People often asked me, “Why don’t you just use your Ainu name (not Japanese name)?” I think that’s one way to show the Ainu identity, but I also think being Japanese (citizen) is a side of me. I don’t like some parts of the history, but the past is past, I can’t really change it. Now, this is who I am too. Considering all this, it is the whole situation that makes the current Ainu nowadays. (Interview #12, 55 year-old male museum director in Shiraoi)

A few interviewees spoke about their experience of being harassed because they were Ainu or discriminated against by Wajin classmates when they were younger.

I live in a small town. There are not many Ainu in this town. This town is known as an international city because there’s a long history of many international people living here. One time, there was an international food festival. Competitors cook and describe what they’ve cooked, and participants came from different countries like Russia, China, US, Korea... and we participated as Ainu representatives. Some Wajin audience members started calling out to us, “Go home! We don’t need Ainu here, go home!” When I opened the souvenir store, someone threw a stone at our store window. People here don’t know about Ainu at all, so they feel threatened or something. We don’t say we’ll hurt you. We don’t say we are going to be an
independent nation. Ignorance is really scary. (Interview #8, 51 year-old male business owner in Hakodate)

When I was in elementary school, I think we had more Ainu students at school, so I didn’t really realize we were “different.” When I went to junior high school, students from different elementary schools come to this junior high school, and there were more Wajin classmates, then I realized that I was “different.” This is sort of orthodox...even a joke now... but some kids called me “Ah, inu! (Hey, there’s a dog!)” and then laughed at me. Some kids came to me and asked to see my body hair because the Ainu are known for being hairy. I wasn’t really ashamed or sad or anything. I just thought they were stupid. (Interview #3, 46 year-old male artist/musician in Asahikawa/Sapporo)

Well, if you ask me whether I was discriminated against by Wajin, I should say yes, but it all depends on how you look at it. I’m such a positive person, so I live my life very smoothly. Only time I was down was when my boyfriend broke up with me (laughs) You know, life is short and life goes on, so I just try to enjoy my life. Sometimes unpleasant customers come to the store, but I try my best to find a few good sides of the person. “Treasure every encounter, for it will never recur,” right? If I am nice enough, then this person might learn something about the Ainu for the first time, and that could lead to something good in the future. (Interview #7, 44 year-old female weaver/event planner in Nibutani)

A few participants talked about challenging stories from the past, such as Ainu-related policy consequences, bullying at school, and mistreatment by Wajin and other Ainu. These stories show that things have improved significantly since their childhood period.

Our family moved like four or five times. My parents were involved in politics. My father held a higher position in the Ainu Council. Also, there were good benefits that Ainu could receive before, so I guess we were wealthy. We had
good furniture and a big TV. My parents were often away from home so I was pretty much raised by my grandmother living nearby. My father later lost the position, and I think the allocation of benefits didn’t really come to us after a while. Oh, we became poor. That was the poorest moment of my life. I didn’t think I was able to go to high school, but my uncle and aunty helped me go to high school. My parents and other sibling moved to Sapporo, but I stayed at my uncle’s to go to high school. I had no vision for the future then. (Interview #3, 46 year-old male artist/musician in Asahikawa/Sapporo)

Even though they admit that there are more learning and funding opportunities than ever before to improve the circumstances of the Ainu, the majority of the interviewees made negative comments about politics and the Japanese government’s initiatives.

I don’t trust the government because of what they have done. Even after the recognition (of 2008), things haven’t been really changing except for the cultural promotion. I read the news about the land issues, but the government hasn’t been very open about the information that they have. They are trying to resolve the issue, but I don’t see the fairness in their attempts. I’m not a politician or anything, so I rather spending time on my own thing. (Interview #4, 44 year-old female artist/weaver in Asahikawa/Sapporo)

Politics is a bit far place for me to deal with. We have Ainu Association people. They deal things with the government, so I don’t really get involved. (Interview #11, 28 year-old male musician in Sapporo)

A few interviewees told stories about being mistreated by Wajin researchers (an example of such treatment is mentioned in section 1.2.6.) and government officials in the past.

I remember my mother was crying when I was a kid. I asked her why, and she said she found out her grandparents’ grave
might have been dug up and that the university researchers stole some of their belongings. I couldn’t believe my ears hearing what she said. For the purpose of research, university people just dug up someone’s grave!? Then, I started realizing that those Wajin researchers didn’t see us (Ainu) as human beings. We were the study subjects. Now, Hokkaido University built a charnel house and I participate in the annual ceremony to offer prayers (icharupa). The university once in a while provides a report session to tell us about the current status of returning remains and belongings, but we don’t really know what happened to my great grandparents’ belongings. It’s just frustrating since nothing has been happening. (Interview #9, 67 year-old male activist in Sakhalin/Sapporo)

Sometimes Wajin scholars and university students come and ask me to participate in some interviews. But it doesn’t really matter because no matter what they hear and write, it doesn’t matter to us. My everyday life hasn’t changed because of them. They just do that for their own benefits. Sometimes they just come and they think they know everything. They tell us “you should do this and that.” It’s none of their business. (Interview #7, 44 year-old female weaver/event planner in Nibutani)

This seems to indicate that people’s motivation and involvement could be dependent on money allocations from the Ainu Association. There is another example that illustrates how people’s lifestyle could be influenced by the Ainu Association’s money. Another interviewee (40s) spoke about his childhood when his family was wealthier:

My father was in a higher position of the [Asahikawa Ainu] Council. Our family was probably very wealthy because we had a big house and a big TV. Other kids’ houses didn’t have those. And, all of a sudden, both of my parents started working, and I had to move to my uncle’s. I couldn’t even go to high school without my uncle’s financial help. My younger brother pretty much gave up on going to high school when he was in junior high school. We
became so poor at one point. (Interview #3, 46 year-old male artist/musician in Asahikawa/Sapporo)

Another story occurred when recruiting interviewees as it was difficult to find many people in their 30s that were available. While it is dangerous to generalize about people in their 30s, especially given the small sample size in this study, the following story is an example of someone from a different generation's (40s) perspective on this current generation of Ainu in their 30s:

When those guys in their 30s were younger (around the late 1980s and early 1990s), the [Ainu] Association [of Hokkaido] had more money, so they paid us to perform and participate in Ainu-related events. Now, because of the economy, we don’t get paid much [for performing and participating in Ainu-related events]. Those of us in our 40s are okay because we think it’s cool that we can do something Ainu-related, but the generation (in their 30s) is like, once they don’t get paid, they won’t participate, they don’t even come. Oh, that generation... (laughs). (Interview #1, 44 year-old male tour guide/artist in Shiretoko)

Compared to the Ainu in Sapporo (where there are many Ainu people and the Ainu Association of Hokkaido is located) who talk mainly about survival, the Ainu from other regions of Japan have their own interests and areas of focus specific to their regions beyond just survival. Interviewees in Tokyo (2 out of 15 [13%]) spoke about their stories of moving to Tokyo from Hokkaido. Both of them mentioned how difficult it is to unite with other Ainu in the Tokyo area. They also indicated that the government focuses more on the Ainu in Hokkaido, and as a result, some felt a sense of separation from Hokkaido.

It’s not about Hokkaido or Tokyo, and I don’t think it’s about Ainu or Japanese. I think it’s about how we can create a society that respects different ethnic groups and different cultures by respecting each other. We are a
minority, so our voices might not be heard, but I still believe we can teach a lot to them (Japanese) just as we are learning so much from them. I still talk to my folks in Hokkaido and visit them once in a while, but I’ve heard that the Hokkaido Ainu sometimes say about us, “Those Ainu who escaped! Those Ainu who left and gave up on their own land!” Whenever I am, I think I understand my responsibility and I’m always thinking of our people and future. (Interview #14, 74 year-old male activist in Chiba)

4.4. Findings Related to Research Question 2

Research question 2 asked the interview participants about the opportunities and challenges for promoting the Ainu’s rights as an indigenous people in Japan.

The majority of participants (12 of 15 [80%]) said that many more opportunities for Ainu to meet other indigenous peoples of the world, particularly after the government officially recognized the Ainu as an indigenous people of Japan in 2008 increased. The majority of interview participants reflected how social status, living situations and their perspective changed as indigenous people after 2008.

I have been to Hawaii, mainland USA, Canada, New Zealand, Australia, Switzerland, Norway, and Taiwan before because the Ainu were invited. The Ainu Association assigned me to go visit, participate in the programs, and perform in these countries. I had opportunities to meet with other indigenous people in the world and I learned from them. I still maintain the friendships with someone of them, and asked for advice about what we can do too. (Interview #3, 46-year old male artist/musician in Asahikawa/Sapporo)

People come here [Shiretoko] very often after this place became a World Heritage site. The tour agency includes the option of a “nature tour with indigenous people.” I’m the only Ainu tour guide here, so when someone requests the tour, I’ll be the tour guide. Some people don’t know about the Ainu at all, but I think it’s great because now they know about the Ainu a bit, and they bring their friends next time. I have spoken about the Ainu in this town often.
I even speak on radio once a week. I didn’t know a whole bunch about the Ainu, history, plants, and mountains, but I studied. My life has been more stable here with my job, so I started thinking of passing the knowledge to the next generations. Maybe I’m just getting old. (laughs). It’s been a great opportunity for me. (Interview #1, 44 year-old male tour guide/artist in Shiretoko)

Since I work at the store, many customers come and ask me lots of questions about the Ainu. I really enjoy each encounter because I feel like I’m becoming ‘more’ Ainu [by speaking about the Ainu]. There is always potential in each meeting as well. We could do something together. Maybe I can connect them with someone I know for a project or something. It’s like destiny that we meet here too, so I’d like to value this. (Interview #2, 68 year-old female inn owner in Shiretoko)

Some participants feel that they have grown by engaging with their surrounding environment or in the process of learning something.

The environment around me really taught me lessons. The current situation, even though there are some struggles, enables me to do what I enjoy. My ancestors couldn’t achieve as much because of the societal pressure, laws, and policies, but here I am sitting and making these sculptures and teaching about the Ainu. My surroundings really raised me. (Interview #1, 44 year-old male tour guide/artist in Shiretoko)

I’m 75 years old, but I am still learning. When I go to my hometown, I always meet my neighbor. She’s a bit older than me, but she can still correct what I’m doing wrong. (Interview #14, 74-years old male activist in Chiba)

There was a system in the city in which I could get paid to learn about Ainu stuff, so I quit my old job and learned carving at the center for six months. It was fun. There were people who were learning carving, weaving, and
performing Ainu traditional rituals. We gathered a lot and talked about the future. I felt lucky to have such an opportunity, and that training led to my profession now.
(Interview #1, 44 year-old male tour guide/artist in Shiretoko)

The majority of participants (11 out of 15 [73%]) learned Ainu traditions from elders in the community or family members. Perhaps it is because the interview participants in this study were more likely identify themselves as Ainu and get involved in Ainu communities, but there were more learning opportunities available in their neighborhoods or within the family. However, this finding shows that there are still resources available at many places to learn about the Ainu traditions and culture. Similarly, the majority of participants (10 of 15 [67%]) indicated that they gained more knowledge of ways of life outside the school from within their communities. These participants explained why some people do not feel it is a necessity to go to school as the government’s data indicate Ainu’s lower college enrollment rates (See the Section 1.1.2.7.).

I learned everything from ekashi (respected elder): when to go to the mountain, what wild plants to pick to eat, how to hunt bears and deer, how to catch salmon, how to take care of family and community. She taught me the way of living, values, and philosophy. What else do I need to know? Now, with the recent nuclear issues, the government struggles how to implement the laws and regulations. To me, it was predictable because we (human) were going against the nature. The kamuy (god, spirits) get upset for sure. People nowadays just seek more money. When you only look at that, you forget about the details. Sometimes those details are too much trouble, they take lots of time, but when you think about consistency, you need that process. I learned that from ekashi. I know it, so I’m smart enough. I wouldn’t have to go to school because I know how to live.
(Interview #14, 74 year-old male activist in Chiba)

The government says Ainu don’t go to school, Ainu are not smart enough, but my grandmother and aunties know so much
stuff already. I learned how to find which tree is appropriate to make clothes, how and when to bark a tree, what plants are good to use as medicine, how to cook, etc. My grandmother did yukar (Ainu tradition of oral literature), so I know many stories. Those are stories from my hometown. You can’t really learn them at school, right? Okay, yes, maybe I need to go to school if I want to go to a good college, and have a high-paying office job, but I’m from here (a small Ainu town), and I’ll live here. I know what I need to know already. It doesn’t make sense to leave my hometown and my family in order to become someone I don’t want to be. (Interview #7, 44 year-old female weaver/event planner in Nibutani)

Interview participants who live in Sapporo more talk about getting Ainu-related services or participating in Ainu-related programs and events. This might be because the headquarters of the Ainu Association of Hokkaido, the Foundation of Research and Promotion of Ainu Culture (FRPAC), Hokkaido University’s Center for Ainu Indigenous Studies (CAIS), and the Hokkaido Prefectural Government are all located in Sapporo. These interviewees thus have access to more Ainu-related services. Many of the interview participants who live in Sapporo (7 out of 8) talked about events and programs sponsored or coordinated by those organizations. One of the interviewees works as a social welfare counselor hired by the City of Sapporo. She talked about her work.

I was hired by the city, and was also asked to work here by the Ainu Association. I work here because the process of receiving welfare benefits is complicated, and since I know more about this process, I can give guidance to people. I’m a social worker [author’s note: people in Japan often claim to be a social worker even if they are not certified]. I just have more knowledge about this subject. Do any universities or social work professionals work with us? Not really. I think the Ainu should be in this field [social work, counseling] because we understand more about the Ainu people. (Interview #15, 45 year-old female city worker in Sapporo)
I’ve been working here [at the Ainu Cultural Center]. The City of Sapporo and the Ainu Association of Hokkaido have a deal, I guess, so I’m here working for a few years. Tourists and people come here, so I give a tour. It’s good to have a job so that I can be more independent from my parents. I can also learn a lot about the Ainu. During my break, I often go to the library and read books. There are many books about Ainu history and culture. When people ask me questions, I don’t know many answers but I can always ask someone here. Other Ainu folks also come here to learn and take lessons in cooking, weaving, and the Ainu language. I’m becoming more interested in these subjects too. (Interview #10, 20 year-old male musician/city worker in Sapporo)

Through the Ainu Association of Hokkaido, their members can also apply for college scholarships. The correlation between scholarship availability and enrollment rates of higher education for the Ainu is unknown, but this study’s interviewees mentioned about the scholarship opportunities available for high school students.

There’s a scholarship through the Ainu Association. I became a member of the Ainu Association in order to use those benefits. When my son was going to college, we applied for the scholarship, but it wasn’t enough. It’s not just entrance fees and tuition, but textbooks, club activities, school trips, all of those cost money, so I decided to work more in order to earn more money. (Interview #4, 44 year-old female artist/weaver in Asahikawa/Sapporo)

Of the interviewees, four (2 in their 20s, 1 in his 40s and 1 in his 50s) have a college degree. They talked about how going to college broadened their career opportunities.

When I went to college (Hokkaido University), I was an ordinary college student, working more than studying. But I learned social manners from working. I worked at a yakitori restaurant for almost four years, from the time I was a
freshman until graduation. My experience there really gave me confidence about working, so after that I worked for a bigger company. (Interview #8, 51 year-old business owner in Hakodate)

I went to college because I thought I was going to be working for a big corporation. I got paid good, and I was doing good, but it’s more likely that going to college and studying increased my ability to think logically. I felt there were more opportunities waiting in my future. (Interview #12, 55 year-old male museum director in Shiraoi)

I finished college a few years ago. I’m the first college graduate in my family, I think. I looked for a job at larger corporations, but the economy in Japan is not doing well, so it was hard for me to find a job. But through my connection with the Ainu Association, I am working for the city right now. I oversee different Ainu-related programs and I do tours at the museum too. (Interview #5, 22 year-old male musician/city worker in Sapporo)

Many interviewees shared their ideas about leadership and community organizing among the Ainu society, not all of which is positive.

Leadership is a bit messy in Ainu society now. It seems like there’s no mechanism for gathering ideas. There are always surprises. An Ainu political party? No one knew about it, and only a few people started it without even asking the opinions of others. What direction are we heading in now? I don’t know. (Interview #3, 46 year-old male artist/musician in Asahikawa/Sapporo)

Sometimes I wish those old folks were dead already (laughs), no, I’m just exaggerating. Yes, I really appreciate them for what they have done. Our seniors have created the structure and survived an environment in which they were still discriminated against and treated badly for
so many years. It’s just that there’s no democratic way to gather voices that can lead the way in the larger society, and the same is true in Ainu society as well. I feel like the powers [within Japanese and Ainu society] don’t listen to what we say. (Interview #6, 50 year-old male city worker in Sapporo)

...If I was asked to be a leader, I don’t know if I’m capable enough to do it. I don’t know anything about politics. I don’t have money, so I can’t quit my job and just focus on those association matters. (Interview #3, 46 year-old male artist/musician in Asahikawa/Sapporo)

Hokkaido is big. Each Ainu community has a different history, culture, and focus now. I think that’s okay. The problem is the central government sees us as one group to deal with, but we are not just one Ainu group. Shiraoi, Nibutani, Akan, Sapporo, Asahikawa... we are all different. We face different issues, so I think linear connections [author’s note: working collaboratively with other regions including the government] are most important. If the government can be aware of that, things will be different, but it won’t be that way, so we need to advocate for that. The government could also deal with each of us individually, but it probably never will because it takes so much energy. The association needs to be flexible and innovative, and emphasize the linear connections of each region. I think we are still learning. (Interview #7, 44 year-old female weaver/event planner in Nibutani)

This interviewee living in the Tokyo area mentioned feeling distant from Hokkaido.

Some Ainu in Hokkaido think of us (Ainu in Tokyo) as betrayers who left the homeland. We are not eligible to receive benefits because the (Japanese) government allocates money to the Ainu Association of Hokkaido and provides benefits to its members only. I moved to Tokyo because I thought I could make more money to support my
family, rather than just staying in Hokkaido and depending on the government’s money. I’ve stayed in touch with those Ainu in Hokkaido. I know most of the Ainu in the Tokyo area. It’s a small world here. We have to unite because the things we are fighting for are very big. We have no time to be divided. All Ainu need to unite together and have stronger voices because what we want should be the same.

(Interview #14, 74 year-old male activist in Chiba)

Locations are also a crucial factor when looking at different trends. Almost half of the interview participants (8 out of 15 [53%]) currently live in Sapporo. Most of them (5 of 8 [63%]) were born and/or grew up in different cities or towns, and then moved to Sapporo at a later age. One of the interview participants currently lives in Sapporo; however, his ancestors are from Sakhalin (Karafuto). He organizes the Karafuto Ainu Association. Hearing his story was illuminating because it raises more issues worth exploring.

Karafuto Ainu are called Enchu. The population was around 1,700 in the early twentieth century. Compared to the Ainu in Hokkaido, we were very different, like the difference between Wajin and Okinawans. We were forced to move out of Karafuto twice, by the Treaty of St. Petersburg (1875) and at the end of WWII (1945). We were forced to move to Wakasakanai in Hokkaido (Wakkanai-Soya area). You know, Wakasakanai is from wak-sak-nay in the Ainu language; it means “river without drinking water.” You can imagine how severe this location would be. The Enchu were forced to move there by the government and the treaty. Now, the government recognized the Ainu, but the Ainu (of Hokkaido) isn’t the only group who suffered. We were discriminated against not only by Wajin, but also by the Hokkaido Ainu too. I’m trying to gather information regarding the history, culture, languages, etc., but there just seems to be a lack of evidence. I’m conducting interviews because I want to gather the Enchu’s voices, but there are not many Enchu alive anymore. I come to this [Ainu event] because there are no other places for me to go. I speak out, maybe people think I’m crazy, but I have to speak out for the Enchu.
What doesn’t make sense, however, is that I need a passport to go to my ancestor’s grave. I am (my ancestors) from there, and I need a passport to go there! Isn’t that crazy!? (Interview #9, 67 year-old male activist in Sakhalin/Sapporo)

While the main focus of the Japanese government’s policies and studies centers on the Ainu of Hokkaido, there are also Enchu (Karafuto Ainu) and the Ainu of the Kuril Islands. According to Ogasawara (2004), around the late eighteenth century, Russia missionaries noted there were around 200 residents in the northern Kuril Islands that hunted sea otters and marine animals for food. As a result of the treaty of St. Petersburg, about ten Kuril Ainu were forced to move to the Kamchatka Peninsula. Another 100 were forced to move to the southern Kuril Islands by the Japanese government (Meiji) in the late nineteenth century. To this day, very little is known about the Kuril Ainu or the Enchu (Ogasawara, 2004). The Russian government has not published much information on indigenous peoples in the Sakhalin and Kuril Islands (Ogasawara, 2004).

One interviewee indicated about the Ainu is seeking to obtain a special seat in the National Diet.

I was surprised to hear about the Ainu Minzoku To (political party). It may be one way to lead the Ainu society, but I don’t like to be treated differently just because I’m Ainu, or because we are Ainu. Of course, there was a time when we suffered because of the government and our identity, property, and culture were taken away for such a long time, but if we are labeled “special,” that’s also the beginning of a different kind of discrimination. We say what we have to say, but whoever wants to do it and can do it, should do it. (Interview #10, 20 year-old male musician/city worker in Sapporo)

With regard to the challenges they face, the interview participants expressed several concerns. The majority of participants (10 out of 15 [67%]) indicated that since most of the knowledgeable Ainu are aging now, time is limited when it comes to learning about
Ainu history, traditions, and customs in order to pass these on to future generations. Some participants also expressed the burden imposed by the Japanese government’s policies and laws as they strive to restore what the Ainu once had and pass their knowledge on to the children.

My grandmother is 92 years old. I know that time is limited. I’d like to learn a lot more from her. Now, I think the time is better. There are more open spaces to learn about the Ainu customs, but I just have regrets that there was a time when we couldn’t learn about them. If the time limit wasn’t there, we wouldn’t feel this pressure that we might not be able to learn everything, but all I have to do is just do my best to learn as much as I can from my grandmother. (Interview #15, 45 year-old female city worker in Sapporo)

I’m doing as much as I can. I’m not very organized and I just do whatever I feel like, but things I learned from ekashi (respected elders) in my community are very valuable. I would like to pass this knowledge onto children. They don’t have to be Ainu or Japanese because this knowledge is useful to live, I think. Now, after the tsunami and earthquake in the Tohoku region, the news often discusses energy use and conservation. I think modern people got spoiled, but we [the Ainu] don’t take things for granted. We don’t really need so much stuff. It’s very simple. I’d like to teach these ideas to children. (Interview #14, 74 year-old male activist in Chiba)

I just want to say this to the government. This (Hokkaido) was our land, and we had our way to use it. They just invaded and took the land and all the resources. The law (Cultural Promotion Law) promotes our culture and tries to revive us, but if there are so many limitations on the policies and laws, how can we revive what we had? (Interview #7, 44 year-old female weaver/event planner in Nibutani)
I don’t really trust politics or the Japanese government. It just takes forever. I think we should focus on what we can do on our end. Those who can teach and pass the knowledge on will die if we wait for the new law to be established. (Interview #13, 42 year-old female social worker/artist in Hachioji)

After 2008, the government really gave lots of efforts to promote the Ainu culture. We received so much money to conduct the traditional events. We could use those money to travel to another country to attend some indigenous people’s gatherings and meetings. Learning opportunities have increased. But, I feel like the government just gives us money, and they don’t really care about us. (Interview #3, 46 year-old male artist/musician in Asahikawa/Sapporo)

There were a few participants (4 of 15 [27%]) who told stories about discrimination as a challenge to promoting the rights of indigenous people.

The government should also focus on the education of the general public, not just of the Ainu children. Since Wajin kids don’t know much about the Ainu, they could have any assumptions about us. If people don’t know about something, they usually get afraid and use defense mechanisms to protect themselves. Speaking of discrimination, there’s nothing wrong with us. It is the ones who discriminate that need to learn or change their perspectives. (Interview #4, 44 year-old female artist/weaver in Asahikawa/Sapporo)

(Wajin) researchers often come to conduct an interview and ask me whether I was discriminated against at school or not. Yes, maybe I was, but it all depends on how you look at it. I believe we need to keep moving forward. You (researchers) hear I was discriminated, and maybe your report says “Oh poor Ainu, they are discriminated against, they received mistreatment.” That’s not what I want. I want the researchers or government to think about what caused
the discrimination and work (fix) on it. (Interview #15, 45 year-old female city worker in Sapporo)

4.5. Findings Related to Research Question 3
During their interviews, participants spoke most often about their hope for the future of the Ainu and society as a whole. Interview participants have strong visions for the future. The majority of participants (13 out of 15 [73%]) mentioned that they want a better society in Japan where Ainu and Wajin can learn from each other.

This may be a simple wish, but I just want a better society in Japan. After the recognition, with the fast pace, so many things are changing, which is a good thing. I really hope that there are more places for us to be able to speak out and for the general public to listen and learn about what we have to say. I think it’s good for everyone to learn about different angles of opinions and to learn to discuss fairly. (Interview #10, 20 year-old male musician/city worker in Sapporo)

There are so many things that we (Ainu, Wajin and everyone in Japan) can learn from each other. It’s such a waste if we miss out on these opportunities. (Interview #6, 50 year-old male city worker in Sapporo)

A significant amount of participants (11 out of 15 [73%]), especially those in their forties, expressed that it is important for different generations to support each other.

I often think about how to raise my daughter. My daughter goes to a boarding school in a different town where there are less Ainu. I’m not sure if I should go to the visiting day for parents at school or if I am afraid of saying where we come from because they would know we are Ainu. My daughter always laughs when I bother too much. I guess I shouldn’t, but I just think a lot about how I should show things to my daughter. My husband even says she will have her own way to deal with things, and I shouldn’t worry too much, but I want to give her many options. She wouldn’t
have to do any Ainu stuff if she doesn’t want to. Anyhow, I’d like to be supportive. (Interview #7, 44 year-old female weaver/event planner in Nibutani)

The majority of the participants (11 out of 15 [73%]) expressed that they would like to offer more options (such as educational opportunities and more resources to choose) to Ainu children and future generations.

The younger generations are lucky because they have so many learning sources compared to when I was younger. They can be anything, but I’m sure they will face challenges and obstacles and they will struggle. I want to make whatever efforts I can to make their environment even better, maybe in education, politics, or living conditions. Our generations are doing a variety of things, which is good, and I think we need to have stronger unity to make things better. (Interview #3, 46 year-old male artist/musician in Asahikawa/Sapporo)

I’m not smart enough to make a difference, but I hope what I do will lead to bringing more opportunities for my kids. (Interview #6, 50 year-old male city worker in Sapporo)

I want my kids to go to college. It’s because I believe they will have more options for their career and future. If they decide to do Ainu-related activities, that’ll be great, but I don’t want to put any pressure on them. They could go abroad somewhere like Hawaii. They could be an engineering if they like. But what you do does not change who you are. Right now, I think education in Japan teaches you there is a certain standard norm for what you can become. There’s so many limitations placed on young people. I think the education system should allow more variety in teaching methods. I heard Hawaii has immersion schools that teach everything in Hawaiian language. The graduates of those schools could still go to college. I heard there are spaces for them to grow and receive an education. An Ainu immersion school sounds good. Koreans have schools in
Japan, right? Maybe teachers could take them (Ainu students) to the mountains one day, or maybe to the river, and teach them how to conduct ritual ceremonies. Of course, learning basic subjects is important, but creating such a hands-on learning environment with flexibility is ideal. I want the people to think it’s okay not to go to the best school in the nation, it’s okay not to find a job at the best company in the nation, as long as we are happy. In order to do that, the government must establish the infrastructure and, most importantly, there must be a change of awareness in society. That’s something that the government and scholars should research more, I believe. (Interview #8, 51 year-old male business owner in Hakodate)

The only solution is education. There is no place for people to learn. When I was a kid, there was almost none. It has changed a bit recently, but because there is no teaching material, no one can really teach. Probably teachers feel it’s a touchy topic, so they just avoid it to be safe. Many Japanese talk about “human rights or discrimination” without appropriate knowledge, and as a result, things become controversial right away. Teachers actually need to study about the Ainu’s history and current situation, but it’s hard to get involved because the Ainu would say “this and that” too (laughs). It might be difficult to know how much they can get involved and teach. Standards should be set. At the Ainu Museum we are often asked to give lectures to teachers. (Interview #12, 55 year-old male museum director in Shiraoi)

We say education, but what kind of education is what really matters. I’m not smart, so someone smart, someone from a university can probably examine the meaning of education more. However, education is needed not only for Ainu but Wajin as well. It’s a part of Japanese history. For high school and entrance examinations, students try to memorize what year which government was established, and who did what type of history, but no, the most important thing is what meanings are behind each history and what stories are
there. (Interview #6, 50 year-old male city worker in Sapporo)

For the language and history, I think it’s important that Ainu become teachers and researchers so they can teach Ainu kids and Wajin kids about the Ainu. There are some people who go to college and all, but it’s not enough. (Interview #8, 51 year-old male business owner in Hakodate)

I will fight against the government and mainstream Ainu society. I’m a minority not only in Japan, but also in Ainu society too. People might think of me as outrageous and crazy, but the government sees the Ainu as only one group. My ancestors are from Sakhalin, which I don’t know much about because the government forced us to move to Hokkaido, and there are not many sources to learn from about our homeland. Even though I may be the only one, as long as I’m shouting, my voice exists, and someday things will be moving along. (Interview #9, 67 year-old male activist in Sakhalin/Sapporo)

I built this space (learning space for Ainu and Japanese children to learn about diversity and culture) from scratch because I feel pity for kids these days to go to school from morning to night just to pass the exams or go to “better” schools. To me, good schools are within nature. You can learn so much from the mountains, the ocean, and people. I’m not making much money, but as long as I can, I’d like to continue. There are some supporters and volunteers who help me do this. (Interview #14, 74 year-old male activist in Chiba)

I think we need to have an Ainu idol. To me, it was Van Halen, somebody whom they can look up to so they can copy what they do and be proud of what they do. Okinawans were the same right? The musicians, movies, tourism, and culture of Okinawa became very popular, and younger people and the general public started thinking “Oh, Okinawa is cool!” If we have an Ainu idol, maybe younger Ainu will think ‘Oh,
Ainu is cool! I want to do something Ainu-related too.' If that happens, it will be awesome. (Interview #3, 46 year-old male artist/musician in Asahikawa/Sapporo)

The majority of the interview participants (10 out of 15 [67%]) said it is important for the Ainu people and culture to continue improving and evolving.

Some people call us “disappearing people”, but we are not. Japanese are the same. People who wear kimono or follow the traditions are not there anymore. I mean, we are adopting the new culture and customs. We wear jeans and drink beer now, but we are still Ainu, and we can always preserve our culture and customs. It’s about your willingness, about whether you want to keep it or not. We keep our identity, but we also need to keep improving and evolving, otherwise we won’t be able to survive in this globalized society. It’s the same for any other race or ethnic groups too. (Interview #12, 55 year-old male museum director in Shiraoi)

Now, the Japanese government recognized us as indigenous people of Japan, and the world is with us. We should have our confidence back. Based on our confidence about who we are, we can discuss to see where we want to go and what we want to do. (Interview #4, 44 year-old female artist/weaver in Asahikawa/Sapporo)

The majority of the interviewees made comments about seeking ways and guidance to improve the living situation, social status, and arrangement of welfare benefits for the Ainu people.

Many people come and ask for stories from us, but I don’t feel anything has really changed much for us. I’m wondering if those university professors just come and gain information for their own benefit, but not for us. (Interview #7, 44 year-old female weaver/event planner in Nibutani)
I don’t really know how politics work, so it’ll be great if there were services that provided more guidance on how we can speak out and have our voices reach society. I guess now we just go ask the association, but they are not professional. (Interview #3, 46 year-old male artist/musician in Asahikawa/Sapporo)

4.6. Summary

Interview participants shared their personal stories from both the past and the present. They shared a variety of insights and opinions in response to each research question. Overall, all of the interview participants indicated that their everyday life is meaningful and enjoyable.

Depending on the age group of the interviewees, there were several different attitudes toward Ainu-related involvement and identity. It appears that members of the younger generations are able to participate in Ainu-related activities more naturally and comfortably when their parents and family are already involved. Middle-aged interviewees (40s, 50s) shared a variety of stories with regard to their involvement in Ainu-related activities when they were younger. Some avoided Ainu-related activities and events when they were younger; however, as a result of certain events/triggers, they started getting more involved. Family and community involvement with Ainu-related events and activities affects individuals’ attitudes, experiences, and involvement with Ainu communities.

The Ainu Association of Hokkaido has served a key role in representing the Ainu and also coordinating traditional events and providing services to its members. The initiatives of the Japanese government and the leadership of the Ainu Association of Hokkaido also affect Ainu people. Interview participants gave examples of the challenges and struggles they are facing as well as the opportunities increasingly available to them since the Japanese government recognized the Ainu as an indigenous people in 2008.

The interview participants spent the most time discussing their hopes for the future. Female interviewees frequently discussed their concerns about how to raise their children. Creating a better living environment and increasing educational opportunities for the Ainu were both emerged as overriding themes in the discussions with the interviewees. The importance of the Japanese government’s initiatives
and the necessity of stronger leadership within the Ainu society were also emphasized. The interview participants also discussed seeking guidance and help from academia and professions.
CHAPTER V: ANALYSIS, INTERPRETATION AND DISCUSSIONS

5.1. Introduction and Overview

This study has several limitations (as described in the Methods section). The findings from fifteen life stories are not representative of the entire Ainu population and cannot be extended to wider populations with the same degree of certainty. However, by examining the key words, themes, and findings from the interviews and stories, further discussions can be conducted to seek strategies that help improve the Ainu’s overall situation. This chapter covers the discussion of the consequences of Ainu-related laws and policies in the past and present. It concludes with a discussion regarding the future of Ainu and Japan based on the findings of the interviews and stories.

5.2. Policy Consequences

Policies are always established for particular purposes. At the same time, policies often have unintentional consequences; in some cases, a policy’s stated purpose does not match its true intention (Section 2.3.). The aim of this analysis category (policy consequences) is to see whether any Ainu-related policies (Section 1.2.) in the past caused any positive and/or negative consequences by examining the findings (Chapter IV).

For the Ainu, Japan’s incursion into ainu mosir (Hokkaido) changed the traditional ways of Ainu society. A common result of globalization throughout history has been the merging and blending of peoples and cultures. One result of Wajin moving into ainu mosir (Hokkaido) was that the Ainu gained neighbors with whom they could trade and argue with. Rather than collaborating together within each Ainu community, however, the Ainu began developing a sense of competition.

When the Japanese government sent the development commission in 1869, the intentional deprivation of the Ainu’s land, resources, traditions, and culture was enacted with a series of land laws for development (1869-1890s). One indirect consequence of these laws was that many of the Ainu’s stories began disappearing; it is no exaggeration to say that the essence of their culture began to slowly fade away. The survival of the Ainu’s identity has been threatened as a result of this deprivation continuing for over a century.
In the previous chapter, an Enchu (Karafuto Ainu) interviewee mentioned the influence of the Treaty of St. Petersburg (1875) when Russia took Sakhalin and many Enchu were forced to move to Hokkaido. The stated purpose of the treaties between Russian and Japan was to set boarder lines, but the indirect consequence of these treaties was that they threatened the Enchu’s and Kuril Ainu’s survival.

The extent to which Japan’s policies and laws intentionally discriminated against and forced the assimilation of the Ainu is exhaustive. With the Census Registration Act (1871) and the Hokkaido Former Aborigine Protection Act (1899-1997), the Ainu were forced to hide their identity and change their way of life. The power of policies and laws silenced the Ainu’s identity for over a century.

After international indigenous people’s rights and human rights advocacy organizations initiated various efforts to raise awareness about the world’s indigenous people, Japan started following this international trend. Japan supported the Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (2007), which caused many Ainu to begin demanding that the government’s role change from “protecting” (that is to say, assimilating and discriminating) to “promoting” the Ainu culture and people. This, in turn, caused many people within the mainstream of Japan to change their perspectives about the Ainu.

The Law for the Promotion of Ainu Culture and the Dissemination and Advocacy of Knowledge in Respect of Ainu Traditions (Ainu Cultural Promotion Law) (1997) has given rise to many opportunities, such as new programs and support for Ainu communities. With regard to the Ainu language and identity and the passage of the Ainu’s knowledge and history, the Ainu have lost a great deal already. At this point, all Japan as a nation can do is to continue making efforts. Knowing that there will be serious consequences from any Ainu-related policies and laws, continuous in-depth discussion regarding such policies and laws will be important.

5.3. Discussions for the Future

This study’s major findings of the nature are concerned with what the interview participants’ “messages were intended to convey or actually contain” (Krippendorff, 1969). Based on the interviews and the stories the interviewees shared, the major findings are as follows:

1) Analysis of the Japanese government’s Ainu related policies provide evidence of consistent disruption of Ainu ways of living, values, and cultural traditions. The Ainu have lost a great deal
already with regard to their language and identity; the generational transmission of their knowledge and history has also been seriously weakened. The power of policies and laws silenced the Ainu’s identity for over a century and continues to have pervasive, debilitating effects on the Ainu people and culture.

2) As a result of this purposeful disruption, Ainu represented in this study do not have a unified position. As was mentioned several times, the Ainu are having a hard time gathering and unifying their voices. The following reasons for this difficulty were hypothesized by the interview participants: a) the Ainu live in different locations spread throughout Japan; b) historically, the Ainu also lived in different communities and thus they did not have a unified message at any point in the past; or c) there is a lack of strong leadership within the Ainu community.

3) The Ainu tend to want to live in harmony. Of course, this does not mean that the Ainu people do not feel anger toward injustice or as the result of conflicts. Indeed, there are some heated arguments among the Ainu people over land issues and during discussion sessions. However, the Ainu people are overall a very peaceful people who like to avoid disputes. Many of the interviewees mentioned they would like to look for peaceful settlements and solutions; these interviewees also appear to be thinking more about the future of Japan as a whole.

4) Study participants realize there are numerous issues that need to be resolved in order to move forward with their cultural restoration; this means not only reclaiming their identity and values, but also educating themselves and advocating for law reforms and new policies.

5) Honoring and applying the Ainu way of life, values and worldview to contemporary living may be inextricably tied to the Japan’s future relevance and survival in a changing world. For example, by opening the country’s inclusion of diverse people in governance, and understanding the importance of indigenous people’s ways in maintaining ecologically sustainable practices. The Ainu also need to be educated about their history and the policies that were used to eliminate their culture. As a result, they will be better equipped to advocate and influence the direction of the government. Many interviewees mentioned that their learning resources are still scarce and teachers are aging. The interviewees mentioned that now is the time, not later, to learn and pass on their knowledge to the next generations.
Based on the overriding themes from the interviews and stories, further discussions on education, leadership, and the importance of seeking guidance and professional help will be conducted in next section.

### 5.3.1. Education

Education was the overriding key word heard during this study. The majority of interviewees mentioned education as a crucial factor to help shift people’s awareness, disseminate the Ainu culture and traditions, and improve the social conditions of the Ainu as indigenous people of Japan. Based on the interviews, education reform is crucial to achieve these implementations: a) teaching development (curriculum, materials, and teacher development); b) universities’ policies increasing opportunities (scholarships); and c) changing the larger society’s attitudes and norms through education.

The Council for Ainu Policy Promotion (2012) and an Advisory Panel of Experts on Ainu Policy (July 2009) have both discussed reform and developing curriculum that would incorporate Ainu history and culture as a learning subject in the early education system. Development of teaching materials and teacher training will be crucial as it is important to set a standard so teachers feel more comfortable with teaching this subject.

There was a suggestion during the interview that academia should be more involved in examining and developing the curriculum and teaching methods; it was also suggested that the Ainu themselves should become teachers in order to teach their own culture and history. The Center for Ainu Indigenous Studies (CAIS), which has become the center of learning resources for Ainu studies and is located at Hokkaido University, employs one full-time professor who is Ainu. The CAIS can continue to serve as a key player in this field.

Is there enough support and opportunity for Ainu students to pursue higher education? Hokkaido University is the largest national university located in ainu mosir (Hokkaido). However, Hokkaido University does not provide any scholarships to Ainu students as of 2013. The statistics regarding how many Ainu students attend Hokkaido University are unavailable.

One interviewee indicates the reason for this lack of scholarships is because the Japanese Constitution stipulates that no special treatment should be provided to anyone (Section 1.6.2.). However, a private university (Sapporo University) recently began
offering scholarships to Ainu students in 2010. The 2006 data (Ainu Association of Hokkaido, 2006, Hokkaido Prefecture Government, 2006) indicates only 17.3% of college-age Ainu (the Association members) were enrolled in college (compared to 38.5% for college-age non-Ainu in Hokkaido and 53.7% of college-age youth nationwide) (Section 1.1.2.6). It is still unknown if Sapporo University’s scholarship helps increase the Ainu’s rate of college enrollment, but it is nonetheless encouraging that such an educational opportunity now exists for the Ainu.

As of 2012, the Council for Ainu Policy Promotion continues the discussion on how to disseminate information about the Ainu in Japanese education and society. The latest report (2012) indicates the usage of tourism and the media to educate the general public about the Ainu people and culture. Though the Council stresses the importance of further discussion, the details regarding implementation are not available yet. An Advisory Panel of Experts on Ainu Policy emphasizes that it is important that the Ainu people arrive at their own decisions and strategies about how to maintain and develop their culture (July 2009).

5.3.2. Leadership

Even though the Ainu Association of Hokkaido currently has a stronger voice in the Japanese government and society, gathering voices is a challenge (as mentioned in Section 1.7.1). The Ainu Association of Hokkaido is a representative for the Ainu members in Hokkaido only, however, there are more Ainu (non-Association members) living in Hokkaido and elsewhere throughout Japan, especially in the greater Tokyo area.

According to the Center for Ainu Indigenous Studies’ report (2009), some Ainu are seeking a special seat in the National Diet to ensure there is a space in politics where the voices of the Ainu can be heard. The Council for Ainu Policy Promotion (2012) is also aware of this request. Discussions on having a “special” spot for the Ainu have recently emerged. There are mixed opinions about this among the Ainu people. While more interviewees of the CAIS report from the senior generation [age groups of 60s, 70s and 80s] (53.7%) want to have a special seat in the National Diet, other generations believe it is not a priority (34.8%) (Center for Ainu Indigenous Studies, 2009). The discussions regarding leadership and how to implement those should be continued.
Several interviewees mentioned the importance of increasing educational opportunities in order to develop leaders within the Ainu communities. One interviewee mentioned that he felt he is not capable of being a leader or a representative for Ainu society because he is not sufficiently educated. If there were more educational opportunities for the Ainu youth, a greater number of Ainu could develop critical thinking and management skills, thus giving them more confidence to take leadership within their communities. The majority of the interviewees said that leadership is necessary for the Ainu to survive and address issues such as reclaiming their identity, values, and meaning, as well as educating themselves and gathering and unifying their voices to advocate for law reforms and new policies.

5.3.3. Seeking Guidance and Professional Helps

The interview participants made negative comments about politics; however, they are still seeking guidance and professional help. Of course, the Japanese government should actively and purposefully support the recovery and restoration of Ainu culture if Japanese culture as a whole is to survive as well. The Ainu need to be educated about their history and the policies that were used to eliminate their culture. As a result, they will be better equipped to advocate and influence the direction of the government.

Although the interview participants do not trust politics, they did express their wish for better educational opportunities and professional/expert guidance. While academics (such as those working at the Center for Ainu Indigenous Studies) can take the lead, community organizations, such as nongovernmental organizations and professional associations, can also become a major force in assisting the Ainu society. One interviewee is a social service counselor for the Ainu. If there were more people like her, it would be easier for the Ainu to gather their voices in order to seek out help and guidance. The majority of the interviewees made comments about seeking ways and guidance to improve the living situation, social status, and arrangement of welfare benefits for the Ainu people. Further discussion regarding specific strategies and the implementation of such strategies is necessary.

5.4. Synthesis

After reviewing what was learned through the findings and analysis, it is clear that the Ainu have many things to say. Finding the best way to reach out and hear their voices is a challenge that
must be discussed further. Even though the Ainu Association of Hokkaido has a strong connection within the Ainu society in Hokkaido and serves as a strong voice to the Japanese government and local Ainu communities, interviewees talked about the importance of reforming the leadership among the Ainu communities. The Ainu living outside Hokkaido are currently ineligible for welfare benefits and other services. Solidarity that transcends geographic locations is necessary for the Ainu strengthen their collective voice and address the issues facing all Ainu.

Education was an overriding theme discussed by the majority of interviewees. One interviewee suggested improving the Japanese public schools’ curriculum so that it teaches all Japanese students about the Ainu’s history, culture, and social issues. Enhancing teaching materials and training teachers to teach about Ainu subjects (preferably Ainu teachers) is suggested to be implemented. Additionally, systematic reforms, such as providing more educational opportunities and scholarships for the Ainu, are necessary.

In order to accomplish these suggestions in the previous paragraph, further discussion on defining and interpreting Ainu-related policies and laws is important. The issue raised through the discussion with the interview participants is that the government is focusing solely on promoting culture and improving living conditions without focusing on the Ainu’s indigenous rights (land issues, issues of compensations, or an official apology from the Japanese government). The Japanese government’s organizations, such as the Council for Ainu Policy Promotion, the Advisory Panel of Experts on Ainu Policy, and the Center for Ainu Indigenous Studies will continue initiating these discussions. Moreover, it is very important that the Ainu’s voices are included in these discussions in order to regain what they have lost (their rights), enhance programs and activities to address the issues they are facing, and improve their social situation.

Outside the Ainu community, the Japanese government and civil society could work together to establish a support system to achieve these goals. The social work profession in Japan is in need of further systematic reforms, including a redefinition of this profession’s role in helping minority populations in Japan and promoting the importance of multiculturalism in mainstream Japanese society.
5.5. Reexamination of Assumptions from Chapter 1

In Section 1.5, the researcher outlined the following three assumptions underlying this study: 1) the negative consequences of the Japanese government’s policies made life more challenging for the Ainu; 2) the Japanese public’s ignorance has resulted in the Ainu’s voices remaining largely unheard; and 3) the struggle over assimilation and discrimination policies, Ainu eroded the identity and sense of worth of Ainu people, confiscated their homelands, and caused considerable suffering over several generations.

The first assumption held true. Japan’s incursion into ainu mosir and the Hokkaido Former Aborigine Protection Act (General Allotment Act) forced a change in the lifestyle, perspectives, and customs of the Ainu. Such drastic changes are evident in the fact that the Ainu language is now endangered and the passage of traditional customs from generation to the next is increasingly difficult. Statistics regarding the socioeconomic status of the Ainu today also attest to the longstanding negative consequences of the Japanese government’s Ainu-related policies. However, the interviewees in the study had positive, future-oriented perspectives. Many took advantage of utilizing the services and programs implemented under the new supportive laws and policies and are also thinking more about the future generations of the Ainu.

The second assumption appears to be a central concern for many of the interviewees in this study. Most of the interviewees talked about their ideas regarding how to ensure their opinions and demands reach mainstream Japanese society and affect decision-making processes. Education (inside and outside Ainu society), leadership (within the Ainu society), and seeking professional help (such as from social workers) can all be better utilized in order to remedy existing concerns.

If limited to this study participants, the third assumption was more likely the other way around. The interviewees in this study are members of the Ainu Association and people who were known and could be referred by other Ainu people. They identify themselves as Ainu. However, there may be more Ainu people who do not identify themselves as Ainu, both in Japan and around the world. If it was possible to hear their stories, this third assumption could have been true. One hopes that all future efforts will have positive consequences for the Ainu people and society, thus creating a better environment for these hidden
Ainu in which they feel supported enough to fully identify themselves as Ainu.
CHAPTER VI: RECOMMENDATIONS

6.1. Introduction and Overview

The goal of this study was to examine how the Ainu perceive and describe their standing as an indigenous people in Japan (Research Question 1); to learn about the Ainu’s understanding of their agency, identity, and the survival of their culture (Research Question 2); and to assess what the Ainu want for future generations as well as the actions they are willing to take to secure that future and promote the implementation of Japan’s Ainu recovery policy (Research Question 3).

This study’s interview participants talked frankly about their past experiences and current situations, sharing not only personal stories but also stories about what their community and Ainu society as a whole has experienced. However, throughout the interview process, their passionate emphasis on the future and succeeding generations was very clear. This study’s recommendations are all interconnected and will be explored in light of each major finding; education inside and outside Ainu society, leadership within the Ainu society, and seeking professional help (such as from social workers). Conducting of these wouldn’t be possible with the reforms of laws and policies.

6.2. Recommendations

6.2.1. Laws and Policies

“The apology opened the opportunity for a new relationship based on mutual respect and mutual responsibility between Indigenous and non-Indigenous Australia. Because without mutual respect and mutual responsibility, the truth is we can achieve very little.”

― Former Australian Prime Minister, Kevin Rudd

Although the topic of apology did not come up among this study’s interviewees, the Japanese government’s sense of responsibility to regain the trust of the Ainu is crucial. The law is a system of established rules in a nation or community. In the past, the laws of Japan caused negative consequences for the Ainu people and communities. History has proven that laws are powerful enough to change people’s perspectives and attitudes and even threaten people’s identity and existence. Thus, laws today and in the future can also be powerful enough to change people’s perspectives and attitudes, but this time to support and empower the indigenous peoples of Japan.
Since the government recognized the Ainu as Japan’s indigenous people in 2008, the government created the Council for Ainu Policy Promotion and the Advisory Panel of Experts on Ainu Policy to discuss the definitions and meanings of Japanese laws in order to implement potential Ainu-related policies. Based on this study’s findings, it is clear that many interviewees do not trust politics, most likely because of how the government treated the Ainu in the past. Furthermore, they also know it takes a long time to change laws and implement policies, so they choose to express their cultural identity elsewhere, for example by practicing traditional knowledge and creating art, crafts, music, and entertainment. However, the law plays a major role in setting the principles and guidelines that people follow in everyday life. The government can take initiatives to gain the trust of the Ainu communities by listening to the voices of the Ainu and implementing laws and policies to regain what the Ainu once had and now long to regain.

Education was the key concern of the interviewees. It is crucial for the Japanese government to provide more educational opportunities for the Ainu, which includes offering more college scholarships, and the Japanese government should offer more Ainu-related course. Changing the curriculum, improving teaching methods, and offering teacher training in order to offer Ainu-related subjects is important for the following reasons: 1) for the Ainu to have greater access to resources to learn about their own history and culture; and 2) to raise awareness and increase understanding among Wajin about the existence of Japan’s indigenous people and the issues they face in Japanese society.

The Ainu Cultural Promotion Law was established in 1997. The survival of the programs and services that benefit the Ainu depends largely on the government’s budget. With regard to sustainable management, the government can discuss and consider ways to encourage mainstream society and local communities to financially support these programs and services and participate in sustainable management. The law can ensure continued existence of these programs and services by providing funds.

The Council for Ainu Policy Promotion and the Advisory Panel of Experts on Ainu Policy have discussed and implemented the laws and policies that promote and preserve Ainu culture and traditions (under the Ainu Cultural Promotion Law). The majority of the interviewees were worried that the time is to learn the traditions and customs from Ainu
elders is limited since they are aging. The Center for Ainu Indigenous Studies has taken initiatives to document what elders know and provide opportunities for younger generations to have hands-on learning experiences. The Japanese government has made efforts to preserve the Ainu’s art, crafts, culture, traditions, and languages, even though no matter how much effort the Japanese government makes to preserve the Ainu culture it will never be enough.

However, the Ainu Cultural Promotion Law, the Council for Ainu Policy Promotion, and the Advisory Panel of Experts on Ainu Policy have not really indicated a willingness to work toward recovering the Ainu’s rights, including land use (except for creating ioru spaces: Section 1.2.13.), education, compensation, and receiving an official apology from the Japanese government. The Japanese government is still the key player in improving the social conditions of the Ainu by establishing new laws and policies.


6.2.2. Ainu Leadership

"Choices, one way or the other, are going to determine the existence of our people." — Mohawk scholar, Taiaiake Alfred

Some interviewees feel that the Ainu need to unite more and gather the voices of their people in order to push the government to acknowledge their demands. Even with the small population of Ainu in Japan, there are disparities between different Ainu communities. One interviewee suggested that the government needs to shift its perspective regarding how to deal with the Ainu, even though the likelihood of this happening is doubtful because of how time-consuming it would be. Because the Ainu live in different regions in Hokkaido and throughout Japan, and each has region has different cultures,
traditions, focuses, and needs, this interviewee also suggested that the government should talk to the Ainu in each region separately.

The contributions of the Ainu Association of Hokkaido have been very influential since 1946. The association has been the strongest Ainu voice heard by the Japanese government and has handled and resolved many issues for the Ainu communities. However, the association’s services are provided solely to the association members in Hokkaido. The Ainu living in Tokyo and other areas of Japan and the world are not eligible for these services; furthermore, it is not clear what one has to do to become eligible for these services.

Many interviewees have a lot to say about the association as well. Particularly after the Ainu Cultural Promotion Law was enacted and the government recognized the Ainu as Japan’s indigenous people, opportunities for the Ainu to appear in the media and participate in overseas events with other indigenous people around the world have increased. However, as mentioned in Section 1.6.1, gathering the voices of the Ainu living in a variety of locations has proven challenging.

One interviewee indicated that he felt he is not capable of being a leader in the community because he is not educated. This type of attitude could change once there are more educational opportunities available to the Ainu. As an example, the Ainu Association of Hokkaido once sent a young Ainu, Kaori Tahara overseas to study for her master’s degree and interned as an Indigenous Fellow at the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights in Geneva, Switzerland in 1997. She came back to Japan and became a politician and Vice-President of the New Party Daichi in 2007. People expected her to lead the Ainu people like how the late former politician Shigeru Kayano did, however, she had to quit to get married. Even though she decided to quit, this is a good example of how educational opportunities could foster future leaders in the Ainu communities.

Some Ainu are seeking a special seat in the Japanese National Diet to ensure the Ainu’s voices reach mainstream society. When the late Ainu politician Shigeru Kayano was a member of the diet, he helped end the Former Aborigine Protection Act (which discriminated against and forced the assimilation of the Ainu) and changed the perspectives of the members of the National Diet to create the Ainu Cultural Promotion Law. The government is aware of this need of obtaining a seat in the National Diet, and the Council for Ainu Policy Promotion and the
Advisory Panel of Experts on Ainu Policy should continue discussing and considering how to respond to this need.

The study participants also discussed other methods of using their voices and reaching out, not through hard power (government, law, and policy), but through the soft power of people and communities. Interviewees generally have a positive impression about what other non-Ainu people think of the Ainu; the increasingly positive image of the Ainu has helped the Ainu to promote Ainu culture and raise awareness about Ainu-related issues. Some interviewees used the example of Okinawans using music, movies, media and tourism to shift the mainstream’s attitude toward Okinawans. As a result, many people think Okinawans and Okinawa are cool now. Some community organizations, like the WIN-AINU (World Indigenous Peoples Network AINU), create a space for the Ainu who have not been involved in Ainu programs and activities before to learn how to become more involved. Without question, future laws can help promote and protect these kinds of opportunities as well.

**Key Stakeholders:** Ainu Association of Hokkaido, Japanese government, Japan’s Prime Minister, Japan’s Cabinet Office (CAO), Japanese Ministry of Education, Science and Culture, Council for Ainu Policy Promotion, Advisory Panel of Experts on Ainu Policy, Hokkaido Prefecture Government, Center for Ainu Indigenous Studies of Hokkaido University, Foundation for Research and Promotion of Ainu Culture (FRPAC), nonprofit organizations, media, Japan National Tourism Organization, Ainu

### 6.2.3. Education

"Education is the most powerful weapon we can use to change the world" — Activist, Former President of South Africa, Nelson Mandela

Even if the government and its laws are not working, and if no new social change movements were to arise from within the Ainu community, education can still have a powerful role to play in shaping the future of Japan. There has been discussion about how to reform the Japanese school curriculum to include learning about diverse cultures, history, and people, but discussion is not enough; implementation of such a curriculum is truly important to broaden the mainstream society’s awareness and understanding of other ethnic groups and issues. In Japan, students learn in history class about the ethnic minority groups of Japan (and their history) in just one or two pages
from their textbooks. Some teachers might even skip these sections because this material is not going to be on the entrance exam. Thus, students most likely will not think these subjects are important to learn because the teaching guidelines say so.

If the Japanese government aims to become a truly multicultural nation, respect for diversity is needed. To teach diverse cultures, teaching materials, teaching methods, and teacher training are necessary. As indicated in Section 6.2.1, the law can assure that these educational issues are addressed. Hokkaido’s largest university, Hokkaido University, established the Center for Ainu Indigenous Studies (CAIS). Hokkaido University and the CAIS offer many courses for the students and public to learn about Ainu-related subjects. As a result of conducting research on how Ainu people are living and also initiating projects to preserve and disseminate Ainu culture and traditions, the CAIS has been working closely with the Ainu people and gathering their voices. The CAIS can also become a key player in advocating the Ainu’s rights, as long as it does not conflict with the university policy based on the government’s policy to consider all citizens equal under the law as stipulated in Japan’s Constitution. The flexibility and interpretation of this policy is a matter for future discussion.

As explained in Section 6.2.1, laws are a key factor in reforming education, including developing curriculum, teaching methods, and teacher training. Scholarship opportunities for Ainu students to pursue higher degrees (not only through the Ainu Association of Hokkaido but also from universities) will help increase the amount of Ainu students and teachers at the university level. As one of the interviewees mentioned, it will be ideal when many more Ainu students learn about Ainu-related subjects and many more Ainu teachers teach Ainu-related subjects at the university level.

As indicated in Section 6.2.2, leadership can be fostered through more educational opportunities. One interviewee said he feels he is not capable of becoming a leader because he is not educated. He also mentioned he cannot afford to quit his job to go to school or dedicate his time to taking leadership within Ainu society. If more scholarships were available, more Ainu students would be able to attend college to learn logical thinking, communication, management skills, and foreign languages, and eventually those students will have a greater chance of becoming leaders in both Ainu society and mainstream Japanese society.
Some interviewees talked about immersion schools. If the government allowed the graduates of Ainu immersion schools to be eligible to attend college, there would be more options for the Ainu students who want to pursue their education. With more scholarship opportunities for the Ainu to study education and become teachers, a new generation of Ainu teachers teaching Ainu-related subjects could be fostered.

**Key Stakeholders:** Japanese government, Japan’s Prime Minister, Japan’s Cabinet Office (CAO), Japanese Ministry of Education, Science and Culture, Japan Teachers Union, Council for Ainu Policy Promotion, Advisory Panel of Experts on Ainu Policy, Hokkaido Prefecture Government, Center for Ainu Indigenous Studies of Hokkaido University, Ainu Association of Hokkaido, Foundation for Research and Promotion of Ainu Culture (FRPAC), nonprofit organizations, Ainu, Japanese public

### 6.2.4. Social Work

“Never be afraid to raise your voice for honesty and truth and compassion against injustice and lying and greed. If people all over the world...would do this, it would change the earth.” – Nobel Prize and Pulitzer Prize awardee, American writer, William Faulkner

The majority of the interviewees made comments about seeking guidance to improve the living situation, social status, and arrangement of welfare benefits for the Ainu people. According to the International Federation of Social Workers (IFSW), “[protecting] human rights and social justice are fundamental to social work” (July 2001).

The researcher contacted several social work professors in the Sapporo region, especially those who have written articles about the Ainu in the past. Because many of the websites of Japanese universities do not list faculty members’ contacts, most of the scholars were difficult to reach. One of the scholars mentioned that his paper was guided by the literature and support of the Center for Ainu Indigenous Studies. Regarding the support in the field, the scholar recommended the researcher contact the Association of Certified Social Workers.

Japan has the following four independent social work professional associations (Oshima, 2012): the Japanese Association of Certified Social Workers (36,000 members), the Japanese Association of Social Workers in Health Services (4,700 members), the Japanese Association of Psychiatric Social Workers (8,500 members), and the Japanese
Association of Social Workers (800 members). Although each has a different history of establishment and a different membership system, they largely share the same mission. According to the Japanese Association of Certified Social Workers’ web site, the association’s mission was inspired by the International Federation of Social Workers’ mission (IFSW), which is as follows:

_The social work profession promotes social change, problem solving in human relationships and the empowerment and liberation of people to enhance well-being. Utilizing theories of human behavior and social systems, social work intervenes at the points where people interact with their environments. Principles of human rights and social justice are fundamental to social work_ (July 2001).

Oshima (2012) of the Tokyo Association of Certified Social Worker indicates that while the definitions of the profession and roles of social workers in Japan are still developing, the field is definitely growing and improving. The social workers should be involved in the issues that people are longing to see addressed. Even though the key words “indigenous people” and “Ainu” are not searchable in the web site of the Japanese Association of Social Workers, the association is aware of the need to reach out to the Ainu and other minority populations of Japan (Oshima, personal communication, October 2012).

Oshima (2012) also observes that reforms and creation of Ainu-related policies and laws to address the surrounding issues are crucial, and that the duty of the Association of Social Workers is to engage the Ainu population by listening to their needs and advocating on their behalf within the context of the decision and policy-making process of Japanese society.

While this is related to reforms in education, changing the education system and the licensing guidelines for professional social workers to include more in both curriculums about the concept of multiculturalism, diverse populations, and related issues will help the Association of Social Workers to achieve its mission. Oshima indicates that the board members of the association continue to discuss and seek appropriate definitions and concepts in this regard that can be incorporated into the mission. Furthermore, as the social service counselor interviewee indicated, if opportunities for the Ainu to become professional social worker increase, it would be beneficial for Ainu society as a whole since more Ainu voices could be gathered. This,
in turn, would afford a more direct understanding of the issues the Ainu are facing and a greater ability to ensure these issues are addressed in the decision and policy-making process in Japan.

The definition of the profession and the role of social workers in Japan is a work in progress. However, there are still many gaps between what the Ainu are seeking and what services they have been offered through laws and policies. Thus, social workers in Japan should take the following initiatives: 1) go into the Ainu community and get involved; 2) listen to what the Ainu have to say, learn from them, and provide services if necessary; and 3) continuously discover the gaps between what social work can offer to the Ainu communities and what the Ainu people really want.

The mission of the social work profession is to advocate and support the development of actions, movements, programs, and services to improve the living situation, social status, and arrangement of welfare benefits for the Ainu people. Both the social work profession and social work education should develop effective approaches to become the voice for populations whose voices have been silenced by the mainstream society and to advocate on their behalf to the government, policy makers, and the mainstream public.

Education is a key tool for social workers must utilize in order to enter the Ainu community and become involved. Morelli and Mataira (2010) emphasize that recognizing cultural meanings is one of the most important elements of engaging with indigenous people and communities. For example, certain common norms in Japan’s mainstream society might not be accepted in the Ainu community, verse visa. Being respectful and knowledgeable of the Ainu people, culture, traditions, and history is essential if social workers want to make a significant contribution to the Ainu community.

Other than providing the services and advocating, the profession can adopt multiple approaches to address the issues in the Ainu community, such as promoting the importance of conducting research. Although some scholars and students study the Ainu’s history, law, language, art, and music, it seems there is little social science research conducted on the Ainu. For example, what do we know about the health issues of the Ainu people? Some interview participants mentioned that their family members died of heart disease while cancer is the most common cause of death in Japan. There is simply no mechanism to find out if this is the case in Japan now. Furthermore, what do we know
about the trauma the Ainu have experienced through successive generations? Since social workers are often exposed to real community issues, further research utilizing the perspectives gained from hearing the real stories of the Ainu could contribute very much to academia.

As Linda Smith (1999) suggested, the researcher should report back to and share knowledge with the indigenous community, and in so doing could actualize the mission of the social work profession, which the IFSW has stated as follows: “the social work profession promotes social change, problem solving in human relationships and the empowerment of liberation of people to enhance well-being” (IFSW, July 2001).

CHAPTER VII: CONCLUSION

Since the Ainu were recognized as Japan’s indigenous people by the Japanese government in 2008, various possibilities and opportunities have emerged in Japan, not only for Ainu society but for Japanese society as a whole. This study intended to shed light on the road we are collectively building toward the future of Japan.

Education not only broadens the opportunities for the Ainu but also helps develop Japanese society’s multicultural awareness. The implementation of curriculum, teaching materials, and teacher trainings for Ainu-related subjects has been under discussion for several years now. Such reforms in education will be beneficial for the Ainu because they will have more resources to learn how to ensure the sustainability of Ainu culture, customs, and traditions. These reforms will also be beneficial for Japanese people because there will be more opportunities to learn about the multicultural diversity of Japanese society.

The government’s role shifted from “protection” (assimilation and discrimination) to promoting the Ainu culture after the Ainu Cultural Promotion Law was enacted in 1997. With the official recognition of the Ainu as indigenous people in 2008, the government’s role has shifted even more toward supporting the Ainu people, culture, traditions, customs, and society. Even though the supporting law that the government promised to establish after recognizing the Ainu in 2008 has yet to be implemented as of 2013, many discussions among Japanese lawmakers have been conducted in order to raise awareness about diversity and foster a sense of multiculturalism in Japan. Such discussion has also been conducted to debate the meanings and implications of Ainu-related laws and policies, particularly with regard to the Japanese Constitution.

For the Ainu, many discussions have been conducted as well to seek methods of survival for their culture, traditions, customs, language, and history. In order to regain their rights, the Ainu need to unite, decide what direction they want to go, and constantly speak out to advocate their own best interests. The direction they decide to go will play a great role in determining their future.

Social work professionals can become crucial players to monitor what is going on within the Ainu community and speak out for the Ainu and fight for social justice in Japanese society. The voices and wisdom of Japan’s indigenous people should be heard and incorporated into the
decision-making processes that affect both the future of the Ainu and the future of Japanese society as a whole.

The Japanese government insidiously controlled the wealth and dignity of the Ainu people for more than a century. As a result, ignorance about the Ainu became widespread throughout Japanese society and the Ainu’s voices were silenced. Even though the Japanese government’s recent recognition of the Ainu as Japan’s indigenous people has brought attention to the Ainu’s struggle to preserve their culture, dignity, and values, there is still a lack of awareness about the Ainu’s situation in Japanese society. During this study’s interviews, participants emphasized what is required to improve the Ainu’s future, including education, leadership, and law/policy making. The participants expressed their conviction that improvements in these areas were important not just for improving the wellbeing and happiness of Ainu communities, but also for improving Japanese society as a whole. The study participants discussed what is most important to transmit to future generations in order to recover and rediscover the wealth, dignity, and values that each human being inherently possesses. The purposeful support and recognizing the strength of diversity by the Japanese government, citizens and Ainu society will help Japan become a truly multicultural nation in the future.
APPENDIX A: LAW FOR THE PROMOTION OF AINU CULTURE AND THE DISSEMINATION AND ADVOCACY OF KNOWLEDGE IN RESPECT OF AINU TRADITIONS


ARTICLE 1 (Purpose)

This act aims to have Japanese society respect the Ainu’s pride in being an Ainu people and to contribute to supporting the various cultures in our country by implementing policies to disseminate knowledge regarding Ainu tradition and culture (hereinafter “Ainu Traditions”), which are the sources of Ainu people’s ethnic pride, and to promote Ainu culture (hereinafter “Promotion of Ainu Culture”), as well as to educate the nation to the state of Ainu Traditions.

ARTICLE 2 (Definition)

Under this act, “Ainu Culture” includes the Ainu language, as well as music, dance, crafts, and other cultural derivatives that have been perpetuated by the Ainu people or have yet to be developed.

ARTICLE 3 (Duties of the National Government and Regional Governmental Bodies)

(1) The national government shall make efforts to implement policies to foster succession of Ainu Culture through its people, to promote public awareness of Ainu Traditions, to promote the monitoring and study of Ainu Culture in order to contribute to the promotion of Ainu Culture, and to implement other policies to promote Ainu Culture. Additionally, the national government shall make efforts to provide advice and support necessary to regional governmental bodies to carry out the Promotion of Ainu Culture.

(2) Regional governmental bodies shall make efforts for the Promotion of Ainu Culture according to the social circumstances of their respective areas.

ARTICLE 4 (Respect in Implementing Policies)

The national and regional governmental bodies shall respect the autonomous will and ethnic pride of the Ainu people in the Promotion of Ainu Culture.

ARTICLE 5 (Fundamental Policy)

(1) The Prime Minister shall establish a fundamental policy (hereinafter “Fundamental Policy”) for the Promotion of Ainu Culture.
(2) The Fundamental Policy shall establish the following:

- Fundamental prescriptions for the Promotion of Ainu Culture;

- Other necessary prescriptions related to the Promotion of Ainu Culture;

- Prescriptions related to the dissemination of knowledge regarding Ainu Traditions to the nation, as well as those related to the implementation of measures to educate the people;

- Prescriptions related to the monitoring and study of Ainu Culture, which contribute to the Promotion of Ainu Culture; and

- Important prescriptions that should be considered when implementing measures related to the Promotion of Ainu Culture.

(3) Prior to the establishment of the Fundamental Policy or any future changes thereto, the Prime Minister shall consult with the Secretary of the Hokkaido Development Bureau, the Minister of Education, and heads of other administrative organs concerned, and shall consider the opinions of the Prefectures Concerned as provided in Article 6 section 1.

(4) As soon as the Prime Minister establishes a Fundamental Policy, he shall notify the public of it, and as he amends it, he shall notify the public of the amendments thereto. Further, the Prime Minister shall notify the Prefectures Concerned as provided in Article 6 section 1.

ARTICLE 6 (Fundamental Program)

(1) Prefectures administrative bodies that the national government designates by ordinance are deemed appropriate for the comprehensive Promotion of Ainu Culture in light of their respective social circumstances (hereinafter “Prefectures Concerned”). The Prefectures Concerned shall establish a fundamental program (hereinafter “Fundamental Program”) to carry out the Promotion of Ainu Culture in accordance with the Fundamental Policy.

(2) The Fundamental Program shall establish the following:

- Basic policies for the Promotion of Ainu Culture;

- Prescriptions for implementing the details for the Promotion of Ainu Culture;

- Prescriptions for disseminating knowledge regarding Ainu Traditions to local residents, as well as for implementing the details of plans to educate local residents; and

- Other important prescriptions that should be considered
when implementing measures related to the Promotion of Ainu Culture.

(3) Each Prefecture Concerned, upon the establishment of the Fundamental Policy or any future modifications thereto, shall submit same to the Secretary of the Hokkaido Development Bureau and the Minister of Education without delay, and shall make an official announcement of these developments.

(4) The Secretary of the Hokkaido Development Bureau and the Minister of Education shall make efforts to provide necessary advice, recommendations, and information to the Prefectures Concerned to help them establish and smoothly implement their respective Fundamental Programs.

ARTICLE 7 (Appointment)

(1) Upon filing an petition, the Secretary of the Hokkaido Development Bureau and the Minister of Education shall be allowed to appoint no more than one Japanese juridical person to be responsible for performing the duties described in Article 8 of this Act, if the juridical person established for the Promotion of Ainu Culture is in compliance with Civil Law No. Article 34 (#89/1896) and is ascertained to be able to perform the duties provided in Article 8 adequately and reliably.

(2) When the Secretary of the Hokkaido Development Bureau and the Minister of Education appoint a juridical person in accordance with Article 7 Section 1 of this Act, they shall make an official announcement of the name, address, and office location of said juridical person (hereinafter “Appointed Juridical Person”).

(3) The Appointed Juridical Person shall notify in advance the Secretary of the Hokkaido Development Bureau and the Minister of Education of any intent to change its name, address, or office location.

(4) The Secretary of the Hokkaido Development Bureau and the Minister of Education shall make an official announcement of all relevant matters upon receipt of any notification from the Appointed Juridical Person in accordance with Article 7 Section 3 of this Act.

ARTICLE 8 (Duties)

(1) The Appointed Juridical Person shall perform the following duties:

(a) Foster the succession of Ainu Culture through its people and perform other duties related to the Promotion of Ainu Culture;

(b) Promote awareness of Ainu Traditions and perform other duties to educate the public by disseminating knowledge regarding Ainu Traditions;

(c) Monitor and study that contributes to the Promotion of Ainu
Culture;

(d) Provide advice, support, or other help to those who perform monitor and study that contributes to the Promotion of Ainu Culture, who promote public awareness of Ainu Traditions, or who disseminate knowledge regarding Ainu Traditions; and

(e) Other duties necessary for the Promotion of Ainu Culture in addition to those duties provided for in the foregoing subsections.

ARTICLE 9 (Relating to the Project Plan)

(1) The Appointed Juridical Person shall draft a business plan and prepare a revenue and expenditure budget and shall submit them to the Secretary of the Hokkaido Development Bureau and the Minister of Education each fiscal year, pursuant to orders from the Office of the Prime Minister and the Ministry of Education. Upon making any amendment to the submitted plan or budget, the Appointed Juridical Person must follow the same procedure.

(2) The business plan provided for in Section 1 shall be made in accordance with the required prescriptions of the Fundamental Policy.

(3) The Appointed Juridical Person shall draft a project report and prepare a settlement of accounts, and submit them to the Secretary of the Hokkaido Development Bureau and the Minister of Education at the end of each fiscal year, pursuant to orders from the Office of the Prime Minister and the Ministry of Education.

ARTICLE 10 (Collection of Reports and On-site Inspections)

(1) In order to ensure that this Act is enforced to its fullest, the Secretary of the Hokkaido Development Bureau and the Minister of Education may require the Appointed Juridical Person to report on his duties; send their officials to the Appointed Juridical Person’s office to inspect the performance of his duties, his accounting books and documents, or other matters; or have their officials question any person concerned.

(2) Officials who carry out inspections under Section 1 of this Article shall carry official identification and shall show such identification when requested to do so by persons concerned.

(3) Inspections carried out under Section 1 of this Article shall not be recognized as criminal investigations.

ARTICLE 11 (Orders to Improve)

If the Secretary of the Hokkaido Development Bureau and the Minister of Education determine that the Appointed Juridical Person’s administration of the duties provided in Article 8 of this Act requires improvement, said offices may order the Appointed Juridical Person to take measures necessary to improve the administration of such duties.

ARTICLE 12 (Relating to the Revocation of Appointment)
(1) If the Appointed Juridical Person violates an order issued pursuant to Article 11 of this Act, the Secretary of the Hokkaido Development Bureau and the Minister of Education may revoke the appointment of the Appointed Juridical Person.

(2) If the Secretary of the Hokkaido Development Bureau and the Minister of Education revoke the appointment of the Appointed Juridical Person in accordance with Article 12 Section 1, they shall make a public announcement of the reasons for such revocation.

**ARTICLE 13 (Penalty)**

(1) Pursuant to Article 10 Section 1 of this Act, a person shall be fined an amount not to exceed ¥200,000 if he or she refuses to make a required report or makes a false report; refuses, interferes with, or prevents a required inspection; or does not answer or falsely answers a question as required.

(2) If a representative, agent, employee, or other worker of the Appointed Juridical Person commits a violation described in Article 13 Section 1, the individual who commits the violation shall be fined; additionally, the Appointed Juridical Person shall be fined for the individual's conduct as described in Section 1.

**Supplemental Provisions**

**ARTICLE 1 (Date of Effect)**

This Act will take effect on a date not to exceed three months from the Act's promulgation that shall be provided by order of the government.

**ARTICLE 2 (Repeal of the Act for the Protection of the Previous Indigenous People of Hokkaido)**

(1) The following acts will be repealed:

(a) Act for the Protection of the Previous Indigenous People of Hokkaido (#27/1899);  

(b) Act for the Protection of Land Disposition of the Indigenous People of Asahikawa (#9/1934).

**ARTICLE 3 (Temporary Measures Prior to the Repeal of the Act for the Protection of the Previous Indigenous People of Hokkaido)**

(1) The Governor of Hokkaido shall control the communal properties of the indigenous people of Hokkaido (hereinafter "Communal Properties"), which have been under the administration of Article 10 Section 1 of the Act for the Protection of the Previous Indigenous People of Hokkaido ("Previous Protection Act of 1899" in the following section), until the Communal Properties are restored to its owners in accordance with sections 2 to 4 of this Article, or reverts to the Appointed Juridical Person or
(2) In restoring the Communal Properties to its owners, the Governor of Hokkaido shall publish notice of matters specified in the Ministry of Welfare ordinance in the official gazette, which are related to each properties administered under Article 10 Section 3 of the Previous Protection Act of 1899.

(3) The owners of the Communal Properties may request the Governor of Hokkaido to restore their Communal Properties within one year of the public notice provided in Section 2 of this Article.

(4) The Governor of Hokkaido shall not restore the Communal Properties to owners until the term provided in Section 3 of this Article expires except where all the owners of the Communal Properties make a request as provided in section 3 of this Article before the term expires.

(5) If the owners of the Communal Properties do not request restoration as provided in Section 3 of this Article within the term as provided in the same section, the Communal Properties will transfer to the Appointed Juridical Person (but if there is no Appointed Juridical Person as provided by Article 7 Section 1 when the term provided in Section 3 of this Article expires, the Communal Properties will transfer to the Government of Hokkaido).

(6) If the Communal Properties transfer to the Appointed Juridical Person, the juridical person shall use the properties to cover expenses required to perform its duties for the Promotion of Ainu Culture.

ARTICLE 4 (Partial Amendment of the District Government Act)

District Government Act (#67/1947) is amended in part as follows: The annex figure #3-1(49) is deleted.

ARTICLE 5 (Partial Amendment of the Hokkaido Development Act)

The Hokkaido Development Act (#126/1950) is amended partially as follows:
The following provision shall be added to Article 5 section 1.

(g) Perform administrative activities related to the Act for the Promotion of Ainu Culture & Dissemination of Knowledge regarding Ainu Traditions (#52/1997) except administrative activities that are under the control of the Prime Minister provided in Article 5 of the same act.

ARTICLE 6 (Partial Amendment of the Ministry of Education Enabling Act)

The Ministry of Education Enabling Act (#146/1949) shall be amended in part as follows:

Section 103 of Article 5 shall be numbered as “104”; Sections 100 through 102 shall each be raised by one; and the following section shall be added after Section 99:
(100) Perform administrative activities related to enforcement of the Act for the Promotion of Ainu Culture & Dissemination of Knowledge regarding Ainu Traditions (#52/1997).

The phrase “up to section 103” in Article 13 shall be amended to read “up to section 104.”
Resolution adopted by the General Assembly [without reference to a Main Committee (A/61/L.67 and Add.1)]


The General Assembly,

Taking note of the recommendation of the Human Rights Council contained in its resolution 1/2 of 29 June 2006, by which the Council adopted the text of the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples,

Recalling its resolution 61/178 of 20 December 2006, by which it decided to defer consideration of and action on the Declaration to allow time for further consultations thereon, and also decided to conclude its consideration before the end of the sixty-first session of the General Assembly,

Adopts the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples as contained in the annex to the present resolution.

107th plenary meeting
13 September 2007

Annex

United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples

The General Assembly,

Guided by the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations, and good faith in the fulfillment of the obligations assumed by States in accordance with the Charter,

Affirming that indigenous peoples are equal to all other peoples, while recognizing the right of all peoples to be different, to consider themselves different, and to be respected as such,

Affirming also that all peoples contribute to the diversity and richness of civilizations and cultures, which constitute the common heritage of humankind,

Affirming further that all doctrines, policies and practices based on or advocating superiority of peoples or individuals on the basis of national origin or racial, religious, ethnic or cultural differences are racist, scientifically false, legally invalid, morally condemnable and socially unjust,

Reaffirming that indigenous peoples, in the exercise of their rights, should be free from discrimination of any kind,
Concerned that indigenous peoples have suffered from historic injustices as a result of, inter alia, their colonization and dispossession of their lands, territories and resources, thus preventing them from exercising, in particular, their right to development in accordance with their own needs and interests,

Recognizing the urgent need to respect and promote the inherent rights of indigenous peoples which derive from their political, economic and social structures and from their cultures, spiritual traditions, histories and philosophies, especially their rights to their lands, territories and resources,

Recognizing also the urgent need to respect and promote the rights of indigenous peoples affirmed in treaties, agreements and other constructive arrangements with States,

Welcoming the fact that indigenous peoples are organizing themselves for political, economic, social and cultural enhancement and in order to bring to an end all forms of discrimination and oppression wherever they occur,

Convinced that control by indigenous peoples over developments affecting them and their lands, territories and resources will enable them to maintain and strengthen their institutions, cultures and traditions, and to promote their development in accordance with their aspirations and needs,

Recognizing that respect for indigenous knowledge, cultures and traditional practices contributes to sustainable and equitable development and proper management of the environment,

Emphasizing the contribution of the demilitarization of the lands and territories of indigenous peoples to peace, economic and social progress and development, understanding and friendly relations among nations and peoples of the world,

Recognizing in particular the right of indigenous families and communities to retain shared responsibility for the upbringing, training, education and well-being of their children, consistent with the rights of the child,

Considering that the rights affirmed in treaties, agreements and other constructive arrangements between States and indigenous peoples are, in some situations, matters of international concern, interest, responsibility and character,

Considering also that treaties, agreements and other constructive arrangements, and the relationship they represent, are the basis for a strengthened partnership between indigenous peoples and States,

Acknowledging that the Charter of the United Nations, the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights and the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, as well as the Vienna Declaration and Programme of Action, affirm the fundamental importance of the right to self-determination of all peoples, by virtue of which they freely determine their political status and freely pursue their economic, social and cultural development,
Bearing in mind that nothing in this Declaration may be used to deny any peoples their right to self-determination, exercised in conformity with international law,

Convinced that the recognition of the rights of indigenous peoples in this Declaration will enhance harmonious and cooperative relations between the State and indigenous peoples, based on principles of justice, democracy, respect for human rights, non-discrimination and good faith,

Encouraging States to comply with and effectively implement all their obligations as they apply to indigenous peoples under inter- national instruments, in particular those related to human rights, in consultation and cooperation with the peoples concerned,

Emphasizing that the United Nations has an important and continuing role to play in promoting and protecting the rights of indigenous peoples,

Believing that this Declaration is a further important step forward for the recognition, promotion and protection of the rights and freedoms of indigenous peoples and in the development of relevant activities of the United Nations system in this field,

Recognizing and reaffirming that indigenous individuals are entitled without discrimination to all human rights recognized in inter- national law, and that indigenous peoples possess collective rights which are indispensable for their existence, well-being and integral development as peoples,

Recognizing that the situation of indigenous peoples varies from region to region and from country to country and that the significance of national and regional particularities and various historical and cultural backgrounds should be taken into consideration,

Solemnly proclaims the following United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples as a standard of achievement to be pursued in a spirit of partnership and mutual respect:

**Article 1**
Indigenous peoples have the right to the full enjoyment, as a collective or as individuals, of all human rights and fundamental freedoms as recognized in the Charter of the United Nations, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and international human rights law.

**Article 2**
Indigenous peoples and individuals are free and equal to all other peoples and individuals and have the right to be free from any kind of discrimination, in the exercise of their rights, in particular that based on their indigenous origin or identity.

**Article 3**
Indigenous peoples have the right to self-determination. By virtue of that right they freely determine their political status and freely pursue their economic, social and cultural development.
Article 4
Indigenous peoples, in exercising their right to self-determination, have the right to autonomy or self-government in matters relating to their internal and local affairs, as well as ways and means for financing their autonomous functions.

Article 5
Indigenous peoples have the right to maintain and strengthen their distinct political, legal, economic, social and cultural institutions, while retaining their right to participate fully, if they so choose, in the political, economic, social and cultural life of the State.

Article 6
Every indigenous individual has the right to a nationality.

Article 7
1. Indigenous individuals have the rights to life, physical and mental integrity, liberty and security of person.

2. Indigenous peoples have the collective right to live in freedom, peace and security as distinct peoples and shall not be subjected to any act of genocide or any other act of violence, including forcibly removing children of the group to another group.

Article 8
1. Indigenous peoples and individuals have the right not to be subjected to forced assimilation or destruction of their culture.

2. States shall provide effective mechanisms for prevention of, and redress for:
   (a) Any action which has the aim or effect of depriving them of their integrity as distinct peoples, or of their cultural values or ethnic identities;

   (b) Any action which has the aim or effect of dispossessing them of their lands, territories or resources;

   (c) Any form of forced population transfer which has the aim or effect of violating or undermining any of their rights;

   (d) Any form of forced assimilation or integration; (e) Any form of propaganda designed to promote or incite racial or ethnic discrimination directed against them.

Article 9
Indigenous peoples and individuals have the right to belong to an indigenous community or nation, in accordance with the traditions and customs of the community or nation concerned. No discrimination of any kind may arise from the exercise of such a right.

Article 10
Indigenous peoples shall not be forcibly removed from their lands or territories. No relocation shall take place without the free, prior and informed consent of the indigenous peoples concerned and after agreement on just and fair compensation and, where possible, with the option of return.
Article 11
1. Indigenous peoples have the right to practice and revitalize their cultural traditions and customs. This includes the right to maintain, protect and develop the past, present and future manifestations of their cultures, such as archaeological and historical sites, artefacts, designs, ceremonies, technologies and visual and performing arts and literature.

2. States shall provide redress through effective mechanisms, which may include restitution, developed in conjunction with indigenous peoples, with respect to their cultural, intellectual, religious and spiritual property taken without their free, prior and informed consent or in violation of their laws, traditions and customs.

Article 12
1. Indigenous peoples have the right to manifest, practice, develop and teach their spiritual and religious traditions, customs and ceremonies; the right to maintain, protect, and have access in privacy to their religious and cultural sites; the right to the use and control of their ceremonial objects; and the right to the repatriation of their human remains.

2. States shall seek to enable the access and/or repatriation of ceremonial objects and human remains in their possession through fair, transparent and effective mechanisms developed in conjunction with indigenous peoples concerned.

Article 13
1. Indigenous peoples have the right to revitalize, use, develop and transmit to future generations their histories, languages, oral traditions, philosophies, writing systems and literatures, and to designate and retain their own names for communities, places and persons.

2. States shall take effective measures to ensure that this right is protected and also to ensure that indigenous peoples can understand and be understood in political, legal and administrative proceedings, where necessary through the provision of interpretation or by other appropriate means.

Article 14
1. Indigenous peoples have the right to establish and control their educational systems and institutions providing education in their own languages, in a manner appropriate to their cultural methods of teaching and learning.

2. Indigenous individuals, particularly children, have the right to all levels and forms of education of the State without discrimination.

3. States shall, in conjunction with indigenous peoples, take effective measures, in order for indigenous individuals, particularly children, including those living outside their communities, to have access, when possible, to an education in their own culture and pro- vided in their own language.

Article 15
1. Indigenous peoples have the right to the dignity and diversity of
their cultures, traditions, histories and aspirations which shall be appropriately reflected in education and public information.

2. States shall take effective measures, in consultation and cooperation with the indigenous peoples concerned, to combat prejudice and eliminate discrimination and to promote tolerance, understanding and good relations among indigenous peoples and all other segments of society.

**Article 16**
1. Indigenous peoples have the right to establish their own media in their own languages and to have access to all forms of non-indigenous media without discrimination.

2. States shall take effective measures to ensure that State-owned media duly reflect indigenous cultural diversity. States, without prejudice to ensuring full freedom of expression, should encourage privately owned media to adequately reflect indigenous cultural diversity.

**Article 17**
1. Indigenous individuals and peoples have the right to enjoy fully all rights established under applicable international and domestic labor law.

2. States shall in consultation and cooperation with indigenous peoples take specific measures to protect indigenous children from economic exploitation and from performing any work that is likely to be hazardous or to interfere with the child’s education, or to be harmful to the child’s health or physical, mental, spiritual, moral or social development, taking into account their special vulnerability and the importance of education for their empowerment.

3. Indigenous individuals have the right not to be subjected to any discriminatory conditions of labor and, inter alia, employment or salary.

**Article 18**
Indigenous peoples have the right to participate in decision-making in matters which would affect their rights, through representatives chosen by themselves in accordance with their own procedures, as well as to maintain and develop their own indigenous decision-making institutions.

**Article 19**
States shall consult and cooperate in good faith with the indigenous peoples concerned through their own representative institutions in order to obtain their free, prior and informed consent before adopting and implementing legislative or administrative measures that may affect them.

**Article 20**
1. Indigenous peoples have the right to maintain and develop their political, economic and social systems or institutions, to be secure in the enjoyment of their own means of subsistence and development, and to engage freely in all their traditional and other economic activities.

2. Indigenous peoples deprived of their means of subsistence and
development are entitled to just and fair redress.

Article 21
1. Indigenous peoples have the right, without discrimination, to the improvement of their economic and social conditions, including, inter alia, in the areas of education, employment, vocational training and retraining, housing, sanitation, health and social security.

2. States shall take effective measures and, where appropriate, special measures to ensure continuing improvement of their economic and social conditions. Particular attention shall be paid to the rights and special needs of indigenous elders, women, youth, children and persons with disabilities.

Article 22
1. Particular attention shall be paid to the rights and special needs of indigenous elders, women, youth, children and persons with disabilities in the implementation of this Declaration.

2. States shall take measures, in conjunction with indigenous peoples, to ensure that indigenous women and children enjoy the full protection and guarantees against all forms of violence and discrimination.

Article 23
Indigenous peoples have the right to determine and develop priorities and strategies for exercising their right to development. In particular, indigenous peoples have the right to be actively involved in developing and determining health, housing and other economic and social programmes affecting them and, as far as possible, to administer such programmes through their own institutions.

Article 24
1. Indigenous peoples have the right to their traditional medicines and to maintain their health practices, including the conservation of their vital medicinal plants, animals and minerals. Indigenous individuals also have the right to access, without any discrimination, to all social and health services.

2. Indigenous individuals have an equal right to the enjoyment of the highest attainable standard of physical and mental health. States shall take the necessary steps with a view to achieving progressively the full realization of this right.

Article 25
Indigenous peoples have the right to maintain and strengthen their distinctive spiritual relationship with their traditionally owned or otherwise occupied and used lands, territories, waters and coastal seas and other resources and to uphold their responsibilities to future generations in this regard.

Article 26
1. Indigenous peoples have the right to the lands, territories and resources which they have traditionally owned, occupied or otherwise used or acquired.

2. Indigenous peoples have the right to own, use, develop and control the lands, territories and resources that they possess by reason of
traditional ownership or other traditional occupation or use, as well as those which they have otherwise acquired.

3. States shall give legal recognition and protection to these lands, territories and resources. Such recognition shall be conducted with due respect to the customs, traditions and land tenure systems of the indigenous peoples concerned.

Article 27
States shall establish and implement, in conjunction with indigenous peoples concerned, a fair, independent, impartial, open and transparent process, giving due recognition to indigenous peoples’ laws, traditions, customs and land tenure systems, to recognize and adjudicate the rights of indigenous peoples pertaining to their lands, territories and resources, including those which were traditionally owned or otherwise occupied or used. Indigenous peoples shall have the right to participate in this process.

Article 28
1. Indigenous peoples have the right to redress, by means that can include restitution or, when this is not possible, just, fair and equitable compensation, for the lands, territories and resources which they have traditionally owned or otherwise occupied or used, and which have been confiscated, taken, occupied, used or damaged without their free, prior and informed consent.

2. Unless otherwise freely agreed upon by the peoples concerned, compensation shall take the form of lands, territories and resources equal in quality, size and legal status or of monetary compensation or other appropriate redress.

Article 29
1. Indigenous peoples have the right to the conservation and protection of the environment and the productive capacity of their lands or territories and resources. States shall establish and implement assistance programmes for indigenous peoples for such conservation and protection, without discrimination.

2. States shall take effective measures to ensure that no storage or disposal of hazardous materials shall take place in the lands or territories of indigenous peoples without their free, prior and informed consent.

3. States shall also take effective measures to ensure, as needed, that programmes for monitoring, maintaining and restoring the health of indigenous peoples, as developed and implemented by the peoples affected by such materials, are duly implemented.

Article 30
1. Military activities shall not take place in the lands or territories of indigenous peoples, unless justified by a relevant public interest or otherwise freely agreed with or requested by the indigenous peoples concerned.

2. States shall undertake effective consultations with the indigenous peoples concerned, through appropriate procedures and in particular through their representative institutions, prior to using their lands
or territories for military activities.

Article 31
1. Indigenous peoples have the right to maintain, control, protect and develop their cultural heritage, traditional knowledge and traditional cultural expressions, as well as the manifestations of their sciences, technologies and cultures, including human and genetic resources, seeds, medicines, knowledge of the properties of fauna and flora, oral traditions, literatures, designs, sports and traditional games and visual and performing arts. They also have the right to maintain, control, protect and develop their intellectual property over such cultural heritage, traditional knowledge, and traditional cultural expressions.

2. In conjunction with indigenous peoples, States shall take effective measures to recognize and protect the exercise of these rights.

Article 32
1. Indigenous peoples have the right to determine and develop priorities and strategies for the development or use of their lands or territories and other resources.

2. States shall consult and cooperate in good faith with the indigenous peoples concerned through their own representative institutions in order to obtain their free and informed consent prior to the approval of any project affecting their lands or territories and other resources, particularly in connection with the development, utilization or exploitation of mineral, water or other resources.

3. States shall provide effective mechanisms for just and fair redress for any such activities, and appropriate measures shall be taken to mitigate adverse environmental, economic, social, cultural or spiritual impact.

Article 33
1. Indigenous peoples have the right to determine their own identity or membership in accordance with their customs and traditions. This does not impair the right of indigenous individuals to obtain citizenship of the States in which they live.

2. Indigenous peoples have the right to determine the structures and to select the membership of their institutions in accordance with their own procedures.

Article 34
Indigenous peoples have the right to promote, develop and maintain their institutional structures and their distinctive customs, spirituality, traditions, procedures, practices and, in the cases where they exist, juridical systems or customs, in accordance with international human rights standards.

Article 35
Indigenous peoples have the right to determine the responsibilities of individuals to their communities.

Article 36
1. Indigenous peoples, in particular those divided by international
borders, have the right to maintain and develop contacts, relations and cooperation, including activities for spiritual, cultural, political, economic and social purposes, with their own members as well as other peoples across borders.

2. States, in consultation and cooperation with indigenous peoples, shall take effective measures to facilitate the exercise and ensure the implementation of this right.

Article 37
1. Indigenous peoples have the right to the recognition, observance and enforcement of treaties, agreements and other constructive arrangements concluded with States or their successors and to have States honor and respect such treaties, agreements and other constructive arrangements.

2. Nothing in this Declaration may be interpreted as diminishing or eliminating the rights of indigenous peoples contained in treaties, agreements and other constructive arrangements.

Article 38
States, in consultation and cooperation with indigenous peoples, shall take the appropriate measures, including legislative measures, to achieve the ends of this Declaration.

Article 39
Indigenous peoples have the right to have access to financial and technical assistance from States and through international cooperation, for the enjoyment of the rights contained in this Declaration.

Article 40
Indigenous peoples have the right to access to and prompt decision through just and fair procedures for the resolution of conflicts and disputes with States or other parties, as well as to effective remedies for all infringements of their individual and collective rights. Such a decision shall give due consideration to the customs, traditions, rules and legal systems of the indigenous peoples concerned and international human rights.

Article 41
The organs and specialized agencies of the United Nations system and other intergovernmental organizations shall contribute to the full realization of the provisions of this Declaration through the mobilization, inter alia, of financial cooperation and technical assistance. Ways and means of ensuring participation of indigenous peoples on issues affecting them shall be established.

Article 42
The United Nations, its bodies, including the Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues, and specialized agencies, including at the country level, and States shall promote respect for and full application of the provisions of this Declaration and follow up the effectiveness of this Declaration.

Article 43
The rights recognized herein constitute the minimum standards for the survival, dignity and well-being of the indigenous peoples of the world.
Article 44
All the rights and freedoms recognized herein are equally guaranteed to male and female indigenous individuals.

Article 45
Nothing in this Declaration may be construed as diminishing or extinguishing the rights indigenous peoples have now or may acquire in the future.

Article 46
1. Nothing in this Declaration may be interpreted as implying for any State, people, group or person any right to engage in any activity or to perform any act contrary to the Charter of the United Nations or construed as authorizing or encouraging any action which would dismember or impair, totally or in part, the territorial integrity or political unity of sovereign and independent States.

2. In the exercise of the rights enunciated in the present Declaration, human rights and fundamental freedoms of all shall be respected. The exercise of the rights set forth in this Declaration shall be subject only to such limitations as are determined by law and in accordance with international human rights obligations. Any such limitations shall be non-discriminatory and strictly necessary solely for the purpose of securing due recognition and respect for the rights and freedoms of others and for meeting the just and most compelling requirements of a democratic society.

3. The provisions set forth in this Declaration shall be interpreted in accordance with the principles of justice, democracy, respect for human rights, equality, non-discrimination, good governance and good faith.
APPENDIX C: INTERVIEW GUIDE

Interview Guide
(Interview will be conducted in Japanese.)

Introduction
Irankarapte!

Thank you for your willingness to share your life story, thoughts and concerns. The information gathered will be used to better understand and define your standing as a person; to learn about the extent of your awareness of agency, identity and the survival of the culture; and to understand what you want for the future generations and what actions you are willing to take to secure that future and promote the implementation of Japan’s Ainu recovery policy.

If you brought your photos or personal items that you can share your stories with, please feel free to use them. I prepared a timeline chart of historic events and past and current policies that affected the Ainu people, which you may keep. Please feel free to ask any questions.

Part 1: Past
Please share what it was like growing up?
Probes:
   a) Can you tell me about your hometown?
   b) What was it like growing up in your hometown? (photos of your hometown?)
   c) Can you tell me about your family (parents, grandparents, siblings, neighbors, friends)? (photos?)
   d) Do you have any memories from school?
   e) Did you/your family practice any Ainu traditions? Cooked Ainu food? Spoke Ainu? (photos?)
   f) What were you most interested in then?
   g) What did you want to be when you grow up?
   h) Were there any challenges or struggles that you had to deal with? How did you cope with them?
   i) Do you have any stories or opinions about this policy/law (using a timeline chart of policy/law)?

Part 2: Present
Probes:
   a) What do you do for living? Please share how you got there?
   b) Do you practice any Ainu traditions now? Cook Ainu food? Speak Ainu? (photos?)
   c) Are you identified as Ainu?
   d) What is it like being Ainu in this country (Japan) to you?
   e) How actively are you involved with the Ainu community (association) and/or cultural events? (photos?)
   f) What are you most interested now?
   g) Are there any challenges or struggles that you’re facing now? How are you dealing with those?
   h) In light of _____________ (policy/law), how do you feel about the current situation of Ainu in this country?

Part 3: Shifting
Probes:
a) Have any of your attitudes changed over time? If so, what way? What was the reason?
b) Have any events or anyone influenced (in regard to involvement in Ainu culture or who you are now)? If so, what way?

Part 4: Future
Probes:
   a) What are the challenges for you now? How are you working on those?
   b) If someone hasn’t heard about Ainu people and culture, how would you describe to them?
   c) What do you expect from the government? Any challenges?
   d) What do we need in this country? Any challenges?
   e) What strategies would be necessary for the Ainu society? Any challenges?

Part 5: “Native Image-Making”
Probes
   a) (Do you have any other photographs you can show me?)
   b) (Using a map) Where (which city/town) do you have a memory?
   c) (Using a timeline chart of policies/laws) Do you have any stories/opinions??

Part 6: Conclusion

We sincerely appreciate your taking time to share your stories. They are greatly appreciated. In closing, do you have anything you would like to add?
Additional comments or questions?

Iyayiraykere!
APPENDIX D: INFORMED CONSENT FORM

Agreement to Participate in
In Search of Ainu Voices Research Project

Mitsuharu Vincent Okada, Ph.D. Candidate
Social Welfare Program, Myron B. Thompson School of Social Work
University of Hawai‘i at Manoa

My name is Mitsuharu Vincent Okada and I am a Ph.D. student at the Myron B. Thompson School of Social Work (MBT SSW) at the University of Hawai‘i at Manoa (UH). I am conducting a project to document and archive recollections of Ainu people’s life stories. I am asking for your participation in this project.

Activities and Time Commitment: If you agree to participate, I will interview you twice or three times at a time and place convenient to you. The first interview (preliminary session) will be conducted simply to get your biographical data. I will also explain about the interview process. This preliminary session will not be audio-video recorded. The main (second) interview session will last 90-120 minutes. I am going to ask you about your life story. With your permission, I will record the main interview(s) using a digital audio-video recorder. The interviews will be informal and conversational.

After the main interview(s), I will transcribe the tapes, that is, type a written record of the interview(s). Then, I will check and edit the transcript for accuracy. Then I will send you the transcript so you can make any changes that you would like. Depending on how many changes you indicate, I may ask you for another interview to clarify any discrepancies. I will then incorporate your revisions into the final transcript. After the completion of the project I would like to give you a transcribed copy and a DVD (recording data) of your story as a gift.

With your permission, findings may be presented in public/professional forums. At the completion of the project, I would like to store the transcript and digital audio-video files of my interviews with you in the digital archives of the Ainu Association offices in Tokyo and Hokkaido, Japan and public libraries. The purposes of storing these files are to: (1) maintain a “living” audible file of the interviews, as they sounded, and (b) permit students, scholars and the public to listen/watch to the interviews and learn more about the Ainu people and culture.

Voluntary Participation: Your participation in this project is voluntary and you may withdraw from participation at any time, up to the completion date of this project, which is expected to be August 2012. During the interviews, you can choose to stop answering any question(s) at any time for any reason. If you disapprove of, wish to change, add to, delete, or otherwise change the transcripts or the audio file of the interviews, you may do so at any time up to the completion of this project. If you decide that the transcripts and/or audio files should not be archived, we will end the project.

Benefits and Risks: There is no direct benefit to you in participating in this research project. However, your participation will contribute to more understanding of the Ainu people’s lifestyle, culture, well-being, views, knowledge and practices. Because of the need to create an authentic record and make available to scholars and the general public a reliable document, it is important that your actual name appears as the interviewee on the transcript. In addition, the transcripts and audio/video files of the interviews will include your name and personal recollections. Thus, one potential risk to you is a loss of privacy. Another potential risk is that some topics you discuss during the interviews might bring back painful or unpleasant memories. In such cases, we can take a break, skip the topic, and/or you may choose to stop participating altogether.

Privacy and Confidentiality: As noted previously, in order to accurately document your story, it is important that your name appears as the interviewee on the transcript. However, you retain the right to change, delete, or add information in the transcripts and audio-video files. If requested, identifiers in transcriptions will be replaced with a pseudonym. In case interview participants choose to keep the names anonymous, any portions of audio and video tapes will be used solely for the purposes of analyzing data from the interviews. Upon request of the interview participants, all of the data will be destroyed upon the completion of the study. Your participation is no obligatory, and absolutely your choice.

Questions: Please contact me, Mitsuharu Vincent Okada, at (942) 384-xxxx (Japan) or +1 (310) 498-xxxx (US) or email me at okadam@hawaii.edu if you have any questions regarding this project. If you have questions about your rights as a research participant, contact the UH Committee on Human Studies at +1 (808) 956-5007 or via email at uhirc@hawaii.edu (English).

Agreement to Participate in In Search of Ainu Voices Research Project
“I certify that I have read and that I understand the information in this consent form, that I have been given satisfactory answers to my questions concerning the project, and that I have been told that I am free to withdraw my consent and to discontinue participation in the project at any time without any negative consequences to me.

I herewith give my consent to participate in this project with the understanding that such consent does not waive any of my legal rights.”

Printed Name of Interviewee ____________________________
Signature of Interviewee ____________________________
Date ____________________________

[ ] PARTICIPANT COPY [ ] PROJECT COPY
参加同意書

目次：
このプロジェクトは、アイヌの皆さんのライフストーリーをお伺いさせていただくことから、日本という国の中での皆さんの日常生活、独自性、文化保存に向けた思いなどを伺いさせていただきたいと思っております。また、次世代のどのようなことを残して行いたいか、その為に具体的にどのようなことをにしていただきたいと思われているか、これからの成立されるであろうアイヌ新法をどう確立していかたいか、またそれに対する思いなど検証させていただきたいと思っております。約20名の方々にお話を伺わせていただく予定です。皆さんの話を記録保存し、そしてアイヌの方々の名前等個人情報を、その為に必要なものとして、上記の情報を【参加同意書】の続きをご覧ください。参加するにあたり、上記の情報を読み確認いたしました。

手順：このプロジェクトでは、2〜3回参加者の皆様とお話させていただく予定です。まず、準備セッションとして、全面的にアイヌの文化を説明させていただく予定です。ご承知の通り、このプロジェクトは、アイヌの文化のさらなる振興に向け、日本の先住民族であるアイヌ、アイヌの文化のさらなる振興に向け大きな財産になると信じております。

プロジェクト終了時には、皆様の最終文字起こしをしました最終ファイルとDVDを贈呈させていただきたいと思います。ご同意いただけるようでしたら、お講演をお願いいたします。インタビューの内容や、アイヌの言語、文化、アイヌの生活、考え、知識、伝統などを事実により近い「生の声」として語り、日本の先住民族であるアイヌ、アイヌの文化のさらなる振興に向け大きな財産になると信じております。

参加に関してまして、すべて任意であり、いかなるときにでも参加の辞退をお申し付けいただけます。皆様のお話し、皆様のお話をお聞くために、録音/録画させていただきます。個人情報シート、文書のシートを大切に保管し、その記録保存を含む全てのファイルを皆さんに送付させていただきます。このプロジェクトの終了時には、こちらの個人情報基本情報を、研究チーム以外の人々に提供することを辞退承ってい全てのファイルを破棄させていただくことを希望しております。皆様の「生の声」を、研究者、学生、そしてアイヌの方々のみならず、多くの人に残し伝えつとすることを、日本の先住民族であるアイヌ、アイヌの文化のさらなる振興に向け大きな財産になると信じております。

リスク：このプロジェクトによるリスク発生は、少ないかもしれませんが、個人的な経験などお話しいただくことで、不快感や衝撃を感じることがあるかもしれません。その場合は、必要な支援を確保させていただきます。また皆様のお名前等個人情報をそのまま記録保存させていただくことにありますが、ご希望により、ファイル上の名前を仮名に変更させていただく、または、プロジェクト終了後に、すべての録音/録画データを破棄させていただく予定です。

その他：お話ししたお話を情報、プライバシーポリシーとして徹底して管理させていただきます。個人情報シート、文字起こしのファイル、録音/録画テープやノートなどは、鍵のあるロッカー/パスワードの必要なオンラインファイルにて保管させていただきます。参加者の許可なしにこのプロジェクトの内容の使用はございません。これらのデータを保存目的としてアイヌ協会にて保管させていただくかご希望をお聞かせください。ハワイ大学のCommittee on Human Studiesはこのプロジェクトにより集めた情報を探査させていただくことがあります。ご不明な点、不安に思う点などございましたら、いつでもご質問ください。プロジェクト責任者：岡田光晴 電話：042-384-xxxx email: okadam@hawaii.edu。その他、このプロジェクトによる皆様の権利等ご質問がある場合は、英語のみの対応となります。ハワイ大学Committee on Human Servicesまでご連絡ください(電話：1-808-956-5007 US. 住所：1960 East-West Rd. Biomedical Bldg. B-104, Honolulu, HI 96822 U.S.A. (email: uhirb@hawaii.edu)。

参加者同意：このプロジェクトに参加するにあたり、上記の情報を読み確認いたしました。

氏名 _______________________________________
署名 _______________________________________
日付 _______________________________________

[□] 参加者コピー [□] プロジェクト責任者コピー
APPENDIX E: INFORMED CONSENT TO AUDIO RECORDING/USE

INFORMED CONSENT TO AUDIO RECORDING/USE
(This will be written in Japanese.)

As part of this project, we will make an audiotape recording of your story while you participate in the interview. We would like you to indicate what uses of this audiotape you are willing to consent to by initialing below. You are free to initial any number of spaces from zero to all of the spaces. We will only use the audiotape in ways that you agree to. If you do not initial any of the spaces below, the audiotape will be destroyed upon the completion of the study.

The audiotape can be studied by the research team for use in the research project. (AS APPLICABLE) please initial: ___

The audiotape can be used for publications. please initial: ___

The audiotape can be used in classrooms to students. please initial: ___

The audiotape can be used in public presentations. please initial: ___

The audiotape can be used on television and radio. please initial: ___

The audiotape can be restored and shared at the Ainu Associations. please initial: ___

The audiotape can be restored and share at public libraries. please initial: ___

Other requests: ____________________________________________________________

My signature below confirms that conditions of my consent to be audio recorded have been explained to me, and I understand the following:

● I am not required to be audio recorded and I am under no obligation to have the main interview session recorded.

● I can change or withdraw my permissions that I initial above at any time during or after the session.

● I have the right to review recordings with the research author.

● Recordings will be used by the research author and his dissertation committee members (University of Hawaii faculty) for data analysis purposes, and for these permissions that I initial above.

● The original copy of this consent form will be kept in a locked file in the primary investigator’s residency (1811 East-West Rd. Honolulu HI 96848, U.S.A.).

● I may contact Mitsuharu Vincent Okada at 1-310-498-xxxx (US) or 81-423-84-xxxx (Japan) or okadam@hawaii.edu (email) at any time with questions or concerns.

________________________________________________________
Signature of Participant Date

________________________________________________________
Signature of Researcher Date

☐ PARTICIPANT COPY ☐ PROJECT COPY
録音に関する、またその使用に関する同意書
(Japanese version of Informed Consent to Audio Recording/Use)

皆さんのお話をお伺いする際に、録音させていただく予定です。その録音データの使用に関しての使用許可範囲をお伺いさせていただくため、イニシャル（例: 山田太郎→Y.T. または、T.Y.）をご記入ください。記入に関しては皆様ご自身の意思で決定いただくものです。同意いただいた目的以外でデータを使用させていただくことはございません。ご希望の方には、最終文字起しファイル上にて個人情報を仮名に変更したり、個人情報個所に関してのみの削除することも可能です。イニシャルを全くいただけない場合には、プロジェクト終了とともにすべての録音データを破棄いたします。

同意される内容にイニシャルをご記入ください。

録音データは研究目的のために使用することを認める。
イニシャル: ______

録音データを他のプロジェクト目的に使用することを認める。
イニシャル: ______

録音データを出版する際に使用することを認める。
イニシャル: ______

録音データの大学等、クラスルームでの使用を認める。
イニシャル: ______

録音データの学会等での発表の際の使用を認める。
イニシャル: ______

録音データのテレビ/ラジオ等での使用を認める。
イニシャル: ______

録音データを保存目的でアイヌ協会図書室に置くことを認める。
イニシャル: ______

この同意書に署名することで、録音データ使用に関する条件に関して説明を受け、下記事項の内容を理解したこととします。

■ いかなる場合においても、このプロジェクト参加内容を録音される義務は全くございません。
■ プロジェクトの最中、または終了後にいたっても、これらの同意を破棄していただくことが可能です。
■ 参加者の方々は、プロジェクト責任者とともに録音データをお聞きいただくことが可能です。
■ 録音データは、プロジェクト責任者とハワイ大学の博士論文担当教授（5名）によりデータの確認/分析をさせていただくため、また上記でイニシャルをいただいた目的のみで利用させていただきます。
■ 録音テープは、プライベートな情報として徹底して管理させていただきます。鍵のあるロッカー/パスワードの必要なオンラインファイルにて保管させていただきます。
■ 参加者の許可なしにこのプロジェクトの内容の使用はございません。
■ これらのデータを保存目的としてアイヌ協会にて保管させていただけるかご希望をお聞かせください。
■ ハワイ大学のCommittee on Human Studiesはこのプロジェクトにより集められた情報を拝見させていただくことがあります。


氏名

署名

日付

□参加者コピー

□プロジェクト責任者コピー
APPENDIX F: INFORMED CONSENT TO VISUAL RECORDING/USE

INFORMED CONSENT TO VISUAL RECORDING/USE
(This will be written in Japanese.)

As part of this project, we will make a videotape recording of you while you participated in the interview. We would like you to indicate what uses of this videotape you are willing to consent to by initialing below. You are free to initial any number of spaces from zero to all of the spaces. We will only use the videotape in ways that you agree to. If you do not initial any of the spaces below, the videotape will be destroyed upon the completion of the study.

The videotape can be studied by the research team for use in the research project. (AS APPLICABLE) please initial: ___
The videotape can be used for publications. please initial: ___
The videotape can be shown in classrooms to students. please initial: ___
The videotape can be shown in public presentations. please initial: ___
The videotape can be used on television and radio. please initial: ___
The videotape can be restored and shared at the Ainu Associations. please initial: ___
The videotape can be restored and share at public libraries. please initial: ___

Other requests: _______________________________ _______________________________ _______________________________

My signature below confirms that conditions of my consent to be visually recorded have been explained to me, and I understand the following:

● I am not required to be visually recorded and I am under no obligation to have the main interview session(s) recorded.

● I can change or withdraw my permissions that I initial above at any time during or after the session.

● I have the right to review recordings with the research author.

● Recordings will be viewed by the research author and his dissertation committee members (University of Hawaii faculty) for data analysis purposes, and for these permissions that I initial above.

● The original copy of this consent form will be kept in a locked file in the primary investigator's residency (1811 East-West Rd. Honolulu HI 96848, U.S.A.).

● I may contact Mitsuharu Vincent Okada at 1-310-498-xxxx (US) or 81-423-84-xxxx (Japan) or okadam@hawaii.edu (email) at any time with questions or concerns.

__________________________________________________________ ____________________________
Signature of Participant Date

__________________________________________________________ ____________________________
Signature of Researcher Date

☐ PARTICIPANT COPY ☐ PROJECT COPY
録画に関する、またその使用に関する同意書
(Japanese version of Informed Consent to Visual Recording/Use)

皆さんのお話をお伺いする際に、録画をさせていただく予定です。その録画データの使用に関しての使用許可をお伺いさせていただきます。下記にあります項目で同意いただける内容であれば、イニシャル（例：山田太郎→Y.T. または、T.Y.）をご記入ください。記入に関してましては皆様ご自身の意思で決定していただくものです。同意いただいた目的以外でデータを使用させていただくことはございません。

（同意される内容にイニシャルをご記入ください。）

録画データは研究目的のために使用することを認める。 イニシャル：
録画データを他のプロジェクト目的に使用することを認める。 イニシャル：
録画データを出版する際に使用することを認める。 イニシャル：
録画データの大学等、クラスルームでの使用を認める。 イニシャル：
録画データの学会等での発表の際の使用を認める。 イニシャル：
録画データのテレビ/ラジオ等での使用を認める。 イニシャル：
録画データを保存目的でアイヌ協会図書室に置くことを認める。 イニシャル：

この同意書に署名することで、録画データ使用に関する条件に関して説明を受け、下記事項の内容を理解したこととします。

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氏名 署名 日付

□参加者コピー

□プロジェクト責任者コピー
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ainu</th>
<th>English</th>
<th>Japanese</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>usa okay utar uaynukor wa, pirka horari, sasuysir pakno situri kuni</td>
<td>Wishing for the eternal felicitous life for each other with respect for the diversity of people</td>
<td>多様な人々が互を尊重し、幸福な暮らしが永遠につづくように</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iyairaikere</td>
<td>Thank you</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ainu</td>
<td>People, human</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ainu mosir</td>
<td>Great calm lands Where Ainu reside</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ekashi</td>
<td>Respected elder</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kamuy</td>
<td>God, spirit</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mintara</td>
<td>Garden (to play)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>irankarapte</td>
<td>Greeting, let me touch your heart softly</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wajin (Japanese word)</td>
<td>Japanese, term used to describe the dominant ethnic group of Japan</td>
<td>和人</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>itak an ro</td>
<td>Ainu speech contest</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kamuynomi</td>
<td>Offering a prayer</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ainu nenoan ainu</td>
<td>Human like human</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pirka</td>
<td>Beauty</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kotan</td>
<td>Village, town</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chashi</td>
<td>Historical remain with Okhotsk cultural influence</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ioru</td>
<td>Living space</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>shamo</td>
<td>Wajin in general, but it also means “someone sly”</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>shisam</td>
<td>Wajin who has better understandings of Ainu (people and culture), good neighbor</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>utari</td>
<td>Cohorts, colleagues</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chipusanke</td>
<td>Ceremony for launching new canoes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>asircep nomi</td>
<td>Celebration of salmon hunting</td>
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<tr>
<td>tonkori</td>
<td>Ainu music instrument, string instrument</td>
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<tr>
<td>icharupa</td>
<td>Annual ceremony to offer prayers to ancestors</td>
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<tr>
<td>yukar</td>
<td>Ainu tradition of oral literature</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
REFERENCES


Prime Minister of Japan and His Cabinet. (July 29, 2009). Chief Cabinet Secretary Yushiki-sha Kondan-kai Report [Houkoku sho]: Retrieved


Urakawa, H. (June 1, 2009). Personal Interview.


